

BIOGRAPHIA NAUTICA:
O R,
M E M O I R S
O F T H O S E
ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN,
T O W H O S E
INTREPIDITY AND CONDUCT
T H E
ENGLISH ARE INDEBTED,
F O R
The VICTORIES of their FLEETS, the INCREASE of their
DOMINIONS, the EXTENSION of their COMMERCE,
A N D T H E I R
PRE-EMINENCE ON THE OCEAN.

INTERSPERSED WITH

The most material Circumstances of NAVAL HISTORY, from
the NORMAN INVASION to the Year 1779.
Embellished with COPPER-PLATES,

By DR. J. CAMPBELL, and JOHN KENT, Esq.
IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. V.

ENGLAND IS A LAND WHICH CAN NEVER BE CONQUERED WHILST
THE KINGS THEREOF KEEP THE DOMINION OF THE SEAS.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

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AMERICAN STEAMSHIP

INTER-OCEANIC AND COAST

EXCURSIONS AND TRAVEL

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MEMOIRS

OF

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c.

INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE

NAVAL HISTORY.

Containing the Naval History of GREAT-BRITAIN, from the
accession of her Majesty Queen Anne, to the Union of the
Two Kingdoms.

WE are now come down to that reign, under which the
nation was extremely happy at home, and her repu-
tation carried to the highest height abroad.

Queen Anne acceded to the throne on the eighth of March,
1701-2 being then about thirty-eight. She had shewn a very just
moderation in her conduct from the time of the Revolution,
and she opened her reign by a well-considered speech to her
privy-council, in which she declared how sensible she was of
the loss the nation sustained by the death of the late king, and
the burthen it brought upon herself, which nothing, she said,
could encourage her to undergo, but the great concern she had
for the preservation of the religion, laws, and liberty of her
country; and that no pains should be wanting on her part, to
defend and support them. She expressed plainly her opinion for

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carrying

carrying on the preparations against France, and supporting the allies; and said, she would countenance those who concurred with her in maintaining the present constitution.

In pursuance of this declaration, the queen wrote to the states-general to assure them, that she would follow exactly the steps of her predecessor, in the steady maintenance of the common cause against the common enemy: and as a further proof of her sincerity, she appointed the earl of Marlborough, whom the late king had sent ambassador to the states, captain-general of her forces, and gave him a blue ribband. She likewise declared Sir George Rooke vice-admiral of England, and George Churchill, Esq; admiral of the blue. These steps were sufficient to demonstrate the reality of the queen's intentions; she appointed her consort George prince of Denmark, lord high admiral.

The first expedition in the new reign, was that of Sir John Munden, rear-admiral of the red, which was intended for intercepting a squadron of French ships, that were to sail from the Groyne, in order to carry the new viceroy of Mexico to the Spanish West-Indies. This design was concerted by the earl of Pembroke. He sailed on the 12th of May, 1702, with eight ships of the third rate, one fourth rate, and two frigates; when he was at sea, he communicated his orders to his captains, which had been absolutely secret. On the sixteenth he found himself on the coast of Galicia; whereupon he sent the Salisbury and Dolphin to gain intelligence, in which they failed. He then sent them a second time, and they brought off a Spanish boat and a French bark, with several prisoners, who asserted, that there were thirteen French ships of war, bound from Rochelle to the Groyne; and therefore Sir John issued the necessary orders for keeping his squadron between them and the shore, that he might be the better able to intercept them. These orders were issued on the twenty-seventh, and the very next day he discovered fourteen sail between cape Prior and cape Ortugal, close under the shore, to whom he instantly gave chase; but they outtailed him, and got into the Groyne before he could come up with them.

Upon this he called a council of war, wherein it was concluded, that it was most expedient for them to follow the latter part of their instructions, by which they were directed, in case they could do nothing on the coast of Spain, to repair into the Soundings, there to protect the trade, and to give notice of their return to the board of admiralty. This Sir John did, about the middle of June; but then the squadron being distressed for provisions, it was found necessary, on the twentieth of that month, to repair into port.

The miscarriage of this design made a very great noise: it was discovered that only eight of the twelve ships that had been chased

chased into the Groyne, were men of war, and that the rest were only transports: it was also said, that Sir John Munden had called off the Salisbury, when she was actually engaged with a French man of war, and that he had discharged the prisoners he had taken very precipitately. To quash these reports, and to explain the whole affair to the world, the high-admiral issued his commission for a court-martial, for the trial of Sir John Munden, at which several persons of distinction were present.

This court sat on board her majesty's ship the Queen at Spithead, on the thirteenth of July, 1702, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, admiral of the white, president. The court being sworn, and having examined the several articles exhibited against rear-admiral Munden, gave their opinion, that he had fully cleared himself from the whole matter contained in them; and had complied with his instructions, and behaved himself with great zeal and diligence in the service. But it was thought necessary to lay him aside, that the impartiality of the new administration might the better appear.

On the fourth of May, 1702, her majesty declared war against France and Spain; this declaration was thought necessary before the grand fleet sailed. The great view of king William was to prevent the French from getting possession of the Spanish West-Indies. With this view he resolved to send a grand fleet, under the command of the then high-admiral, with a body of land forces, under the command of the duke of Ormond, to make themselves masters of Cadiz. By this means, and by the help of a squadron he had sent into the West-Indies, and which was to have been followed by another, as soon as Cadiz was taken, he hoped this might be effected.

The scheme was well laid, and the secret well kept; for though the preparing of so great an armament could not be hid, yet the intent of it was so effectually concealed, that not only France, and Spain, but Portugal too, that crown being then in alliance with France and Spain, had equal cause to be alarmed; which had consequences very favourable to the grand alliance in all those countries. In some cases, delay does as much as dispatch in others. All the maritime provinces in the Spanish and French dominions were alarmed, the Italian states were intimidated.

After the queen's accession, Sir George Rooke was declared admiral of this fleet, vice-admiral, and lieutenant of the admiralty of England. The duke of Ormond remained, as before, and the Dutch having joined the fleet with their squadron, the admiral hoisted the union flag on board the Royal Sovereign on the 30th of May, 1702; and on the first of June the prince of Denmark dined on board the admiral. Besides Sir George Rooke, there were the following flags, *viz.* vice admiral Hopson, rear-

admiral Fairburne, and rear-admiral Graydon. There were five Dutch flags. The strength of this fleet consisted in thirty English, and twenty Dutch ships of the line, exclusive of small vessels and tenders. As to the troops, the English consisted of 9663, and the Dutch of 4138. On the nineteenth of June, the fleet came to anchor at St. Helen's. On the twenty-second, the two rear-admirals, Fairbourn and Graydon, were detached with a squadron of thirty English and Dutch ships, with instructions first to look into the Groyne, and in case there were any French ships there, to block them up; but if not, to cruise ten or twelve leagues N. W. off Cape Finisterre, till they should be joined by the fleet.

On the tenth of August the fleet reached the rock of Lisbon, where the next day they held a council of war. On the twelfth they came before Cadiz, and anchored at the distance of two leagues from the city, Sir Thomas Smith, quarter-master-general, having viewed and sounded the shore on the backside of the isle of Leon, in which Cadiz stands, and reported, that there were very convenient bays to make a descent: the duke of Ormond vehemently insisted in a council of war, upon landing in that isle, in order to make a sudden and vigorous attack upon the town, where the consternation was so great, that in all probability the enterprize would have succeeded; but several of the council, especially the sea-officers, opposing the duke's motion, it was resolved, that the army should first take the fort of St. Katharine, and Port St. Mary, to facilitate thereby a nearer approach to Cadiz.

The next day the duke of Ormond sent a trumpet with a letter to don Scipio de Brancacio, the governor, whom the duke had known in the Spanish service, in the last confederate war: but in answer to the letter, inviting him to submit to the house of Austria, Brancacio declared, he would acquit himself honourably of the trust that was reposed in him by the king. On the fifteenth of August, the duke of Ormond landed his forces in the bay of Bulls, above a mile on the left of St. Katherine's fort, the cannon of which fired on the men all the while, but with little execution. The first that landed were twelve hundred grenadiers, led by brigadier Pallant, and the earl of Donnegal; they were obliged to wade to the shore, and were all very wet when they reached it. In the mean time captain Jumper in the *Lenox*, and some English and Dutch light frigates, kept firing on the horse that appeared near the coast, and they were soon after repulsed by the English foot.

The duke of Ormond having left a garrison of three hundred men in La Rotta, marched on the twentieth of August towards Port St. Mary's. Some squadrons of Spanish horse, about six hundred in number, fired upon the duke's advanced guards, and killed lieutenant-colonel Gore's horse, amongst the dragoons, but

but retired on the approach of the English grenadiers, of whom a detachment under colonel Pierce, of the guards, were sent to take fort St. Katherine ; which they did, and made a hundred and twenty Spaniards prisoners of war. The duke entered Port St. Mary's, attended by most of the general officers : and notwithstanding the strict orders the duke had issued against plunder, there was a very great failing in the execution of them, for which Sir Henry Bellasis and Sir Charles O'Hara were put under arrest. When they came to England, Bellasis was dismissed the service ; and though O'Hara escaped public censure, he did not private.

It being found too difficult to approach Cadiz while the Spaniards were in possession of Matagorda fort, over against the Punta, it was ordered to be attacked, and a battery of four pieces of cannon erected against it ; but upon every firing, the guns sunk into the sands, and after a fruitless attempt, the design was given over, and the troops ordered to embark, which was done accordingly, with intention to make the best of their way home. The Spaniards did indeed endeavour to disturb them in their retreat, but with very little success ; a detachment of English and Dutch troops, under the command of colonel Fox, having quickly repulsed them, with the loss of a few horse, who were the most forward in the attack, which discouraged the rest so, that few or none of our people were lost in getting aboard their ships.

In most of our histories, the Cadiz expedition is treated as not much to the reputation of the nation in general, and of Sir George Rooke in particular. The disorders at St. Mary's did not at all affect Sir George Rooke, who had nothing to do with them, nor was ever charged with them. That he did not pursue with great eagerness the burning the ships, or destroying the place, has indeed been imputed to him as an act of bad conduct.

While the admiral was intent on bringing the fleet and forces safely home, Providence put it in his power to do his country a more signal and effectual service, than even the taking of Cadiz would have been. Captain Hardy, who commanded her majesty's ship the Pembroke, was sent to water in Lagos bay, where he understood from his conversation with the French consul, who industriously sought it in order to boast of their good fortune, that they had lately received great news, though he would not tell him what it was. Soon after arrived an express from Lisbon, with letters for the prince of Hesse and Mr. Methuen ; which, when he was informed they were no longer on board the fleet, he refused to deliver, and actually carried them back to Lisbon. In discourse, however, he told captain Hardy, that the galleons, under the convoy of a French squadron, put into Vigo the sixteenth of September. Captain Hardy made what haste he could with this news to the fleet, with which, however, he did not

meet

meet until the third of October, and even then the wind blew so hard, that he found it impossible to speak with the admiral till the sixth, when he informed him of what he had heard.

Upon this Sir George called a council of war immediately, by whom it was resolved to sail to the port of Vigo, and attack the enemy. In order to this, some small vessels were detached to make a discovery of the enemy's force, which was done effectually by the Kent's boat; and the captain understood that *Monf. Chateau-Renault's* Squadron of French men of war, and the Spanish galleons, were all in that harbour; but the wind blowing a storm, drove the fleet to the northwards as far as *Cape Finisterre*, and it came not before the place till the eleventh of October. The passage into the harbour was not above three quarters of a mile over, with a battery of eight brass, and twelve iron guns on the north-side, and on the south was a platform of twenty brass guns, and twenty iron guns, as also a stone fort, with a breast-work and deep trench before it, ten guns mounted, and five hundred men in it. There was, from one side of the harbour to the other, a strong boom composed of ships-yards and top-masts, fastened together with three-inch-rope, very thick, and underneath with hausers and cables. The top-chain at each end was moored to a seventy gun ship, the one was called the *Hope*, which had been taken from the English, and the other was the *Bourbonne*. Within the boom were moored five ships, of between sixty and seventy guns each, with their broad-sides fronting the entrance of the passage, so as that they might fire at any ship that came near the boom, forts, and platform.

The admirals removed the flags from the great ships into third rates, the first and second rates being all too big to go in. Sir George Rooke went out of the *Royal Sovereign* into the *Somerset*; admiral Hopson out of the *Prince George* into the *Torbay*; admiral Fairbourne out of the *St. George* into the *Essex*; and admiral Graydon out of the *Triumph*, into the *Northumberland*. A detachment of fifteen English, and ten Dutch men of war, with all their fire-ships, frigates, and bomb-vessels, were ordered to go upon the service.

The Duke of Ormond, to facilitate this attack, landed on the south-side of the river, at the distance of about six miles from Vigo, two thousand five hundred men; then lord Shannon at the head of five hundred men, attacked a stone fort at the entrance of the harbour, and having made himself master of a platform of forty pieces of cannon, the French governor, *Monf. Sozel*, ordered the gates of the place to be thrown open, with a resolution to have forced his way through the English troops. But though there was great bravery, yet there was but very little judgment in this action; for his order was no sooner obeyed, than the grenadiers entered the place sword in hand, and forced the garrison, consisting of French and Spaniards, in
number

number about three hundred and fifty, to surrender prisoners of war. This was a conquest of the last importance, and obtained much sooner than the enemy expected, who might otherwise have prevented it, since they had in the neighbourhood a body of at least ten thousand men, under the command of the prince of Brabant. It was likewise of prodigious consequence in respect to the fleet, since our ships would have been excessively galled by the fire from the platform and fort.

As soon, therefore, as our flag was seen flying from the place, the ships advanced, and vice-admiral Hopson in the *Torbay*, crowding all the sail he could, ran directly against the boom, broke it, and then the *Kent*, with the rest of the squadron, English and Dutch, entered the harbour. The enemy made a prodigious fire upon them, both from their ships and batteries on shore, till the latter was possessed by our grenadiers, who seeing the execution done by their guns on the fleet, behaved with incredible resolution. In the mean time, one of the enemy's fire-ships had laid the *Torbay* on board, and had certainly burnt her, but that luckily the fire-ship had a great quantity of snuff on board, which extinguished the flames when she came to blow up: yet the vice-admiral did not absolutely escape. Her fore-top-mast was shot by the board, most of the sails burnt or scorched, the fore-yard consumed to a coal, the larboard throwds, fore and aft, burnt at the dead eyes, several ports blown off the hinges, her larboard-side entirely scorched, one hundred and fifteen men killed and drowned; of whom about sixty jumped over-board, as soon as they were grappled by the fire-ship. The vice-admiral, when he found her in this condition, went on board the *Monmouth*, and hoisted his flag there.

In the mean time captain William Bokenham, in the *Association*, a ship of ninety guns, lay with her broadside to the battery, on the left of the harbour, which was soon disabled; and captain Francis Wyvill, in the *Barfleur*, a ship of the same force, was sent to batter the fort on the other side, which was very dangerous, since the enemy's shot had pierced the ship through and through, and for some time he durst not fire a gun, because our troops were between him and the fort; but they soon drove the enemy from their post, and then the struggle was between the French firing, and our men endeavouring to save their ships and the galleons. In this dispute the *Association* had her main-mast shot, two men killed, the *Kent* had her fore-mast shot, and the boatswain wounded; the *Barfleur* had her main-mast shot, two men killed, and two wounded; the *Mary* had her bowsprit shot. Of the troops there were only two lieutenants and thirty men killed, and four superior officers wounded; a very inconsiderable loss, considering that the enemy had fifteen

French

French men of war, two frigates, and a fire-ship, burnt, sunk, or taken ; as were also seventeen galleons.

We are next to mention what was performed by several detachments made for particular services. Among these the squadron commanded by captain Leake, claims the first notice. On the 24th of June, 1702, he received instructions from his royal highness, to proceed to Newfoundland, with a small squadron, in order to protect the trade. He failed in pursuance of these instructions, and arrived in Plymouth Sound, on the 22d of July, where having gained the best intelligence he could, as to the state of our own affairs, and of those of the enemy, he so effectually pursued the design on which he came thither, that by the end of October he found himself ready to proceed with the homeward-bound ships for England, having taken twenty-nine sail of the enemy, and burnt two. Of these, three were laden with salt, twenty-five with fish, and one from Martinico with sugar and molasses ; besides which, he burnt and destroyed all the fishing-boats and stages, &c. at Trepassy, St. Mary's, Colinet, great and little St. Lawrence's, and the island of St. Peter's at the entrance of Fortune-bay, being all very considerable establishments of the French in Newfoundland. At the latter of these places, there was a small fort of six guns, which he totally demolished : after all which extraordinary success, he sailed home safely, though the weather was bad, and arrived with the squadron under his command at Portsmouth, on the 10th of November in the same year.

In this, as in the former war, nothing gave us or the Dutch more disturbance, than the expeditions made from time to time by the French ships at Dunkirk, where this year they had a small squadron under the command of the famous monsieur de Pointis. This induced his royal highness to equip a particular squadron under the command of commodore Beaumont, which had orders in the latter end of the month of June, to sail to the mouth of that port, to keep the French ships from coming out. The states-general had, for the same purpose, a much stronger squadron, under the command of rear-admiral Vanderdussen, as they apprehended, though it afterwards appeared, that the French kept seven or eight ships there purely to amuse us and the Dutch, and to keep us in motion.

I am now to speak of admiral Benbow's expedition to the West-Indies, and of his unfortunate death, the memory of which I could, for the honour of my country, wish should be buried in oblivion ; but since that is impossible, I shall give the fairest and fullest account of the matter that I am able, having taken all the pains that I possibly could, to be perfectly informed of every circumstance relating to that affair.

He arrived at Barbadoes on the 3d of November, 1701, from whence he sailed to examine the state of the French, and of our own

own Leeward-islands. He found the former in some confusion, and the latter in so good a state of defence, that he did not look upon himself under any necessity of staying, and therefore sailed to Jamaica. There he received advice of two French squadrons being arrived in the West-Indies, which alarmed the inhabitants of that island and of Barbadoes very much. After taking care, as far as his strength would permit, of both places, he formed a design of attacking Petit Guavas; but, before he could execute it, he had intelligence that Monsieur Ducasse was in the neighbourhood of Hispaniola, with a squadron of French ships, having an intent to settle the alliance in favour of the French, and to destroy the English and Dutch trade for Negroes.

Upon this he detached rear-admiral Whetstone in pursuit of him, and on the 11th of July 1702, he sailed from Jamaica, in order to have joined the rear-admiral: but having intelligence that Ducasse was expected at Leogane, he plied for that port, before which he arrived on the 27th. Near the town he perceived several ships at anchor, and one under sail, who sent out her boat to discover his strength, which coming too near was taken; from the crew of which he learned, that there were six merchant-ships in the port, and that the ship they belonged to was a man of war of fifty guns, which the admiral pressed so hard, that the captain, seeing no probability of escaping, ran the ship ashore, and blew her up. On the 28th the admiral came before the town, where he found a ship of about eighteen guns hauled under their fortifications, which however did not hinder his burning her. The rest of the ships had sailed before day, in order to get into a better harbour, *viz.* Cul de Sac, but some of our ships, between them and that port took three of them, and sunk a fourth. The admiral, after alarming Petit Guavas, sailed for Donna Maria bay, where he continued till the 10th of August, when having received advice, that Monsieur Ducasse was sailed for Carthagena, and from thence was to sail to Porto-Bello, he resolved to follow him, and accordingly sailed that day for the Spanish coast of Santa Martha.

On the 19th in the evening, he discovered near that place, ten sail of tall ships to the westward: standing towards them, he found the best part of them to be French men of war: upon this he made the usual signal for a line of battle, going away with an easy sail, that his sternmost ships might come up and join them, the French steering along-shore under their top-sails. Their squadron consisted of four ships, from sixty to seventy guns, with one great Dutch-built ship of about thirty or forty; and there was another full of soldiers, the rest small ones, and a sloop. Our frigates a-stern were a long time in coming up, and the night advancing, the admiral steered along-side of the French; but though he endeavoured to near them, yet he intended

tended not to make any attack, until the *Defiance* was got a-breast of the headmoſt.

Before he could reach that ſtation, the *Falmouth* attempted the Dutch ſhip, the *Windſor* the ſhip a-breast of her, as did alſo the *Defiance*, and ſoon after, the rear-admiral himſelf was engaged, having firſt received the fire of the ſhip which was oppoſite to him; but the *Defiance* and *Windſor* ſtood no more than two or three broadſides, before they luſt out of gun-ſhot, inſomuch that the two ſternmoſt ſhips of the enemy lay upon the admiral, and galled him very much; nor did the ſhips in the rear come up to his aſſiſtance with that diligence which might have been expected. From four o'clock until night the action continued, and though they then left off firing, yet the admiral kept them company; and being of opinion, that it might be better for the ſervice if he had a new line of battle, and led himſelf on all tacks, he did ſo.

On the 20th at day-break, he found himſelf very near the enemy, with only the *Ruby* to aſſiſt him, the reſt of the ſhips lying three, four, or five miles a-ſtern. They had but little wind, and though the admiral was within gun-ſhot of the enemy, yet the latter was ſo civil as not to fire. About two in the afternoon the ſea-breeze began to blow, and then the enemy got into a line, making what ſail they could: and the reſt of the ſhips not coming up, the admiral and the *Ruby* plied them with chace-guns, and kept them company all the next night.

On the 21ſt, the admiral was on the quarter of the ſecond ſhip of the enemy's line, within point-blank-ſhot; but the *Ruby* being a-head of the ſame ſhip, ſhe fired at her, as the other ſhip did likewiſe that was a-head of the admiral. The *Breda* engaged the ſhip that firſt attacked the *Ruby*, and plied her ſo warmly, that ſhe was forced to tow off. The admiral would have followed her, but the *Ruby* was in ſuch a condition that he could not leave her. During this engagement the rear-ſhip of the enemy's was a-breast of the *Defiance* and *Windſor*, but neither of thoſe ſhips fired a ſingle ſhot. On the 22d at day-break, the *Greenwich* was five leagues a-ſtern, though the ſignal for battle was never ſtruck night or day; about three in the afternoon the wind came ſoutherly, which gave the enemy the weather-gage,

On the 23d the enemy was ſix leagues a-head, and the great Dutch ſhip ſeparated from them. At ten, the enemy raked with the wind at E. N. E. the vice-admiral fetched point-blank within a ſhot or two of them, and each gave the other his broadſide. About noon they recovered from the enemy a ſmall Engliſh ſhip, called the *Anne-galley*, which they had taken off the rock of Liſbon. The *Ruby* being diſabled, the admiral ordered her for Port-Royal. The reſt of the ſquadron now came up, and the enemy being but two miles off, the brave
admiral

admiral continued to steer after them ; but his ships, except the Falmouth, were soon a-stern again ; at twelve the enemy began to separate.

On the 24th, at two in the morning, they came up within call of the sternmost, there being then very little wind. The admiral fired a broadside with double round below, and round and partridge aloft. At three o'clock the admiral's right leg was shattered to pieces by a chain-shot, and he was carried down ; but he presently ordered his cradle on the quarter-deck, and continued the action till day. Then appeared the ruins of the enemy's ship of about seventy guns, her main-yard down and shot to pieces, her fore-top-sail-yard shot away, her mizen-mast shot by the board, all her rigging gone, and her sides bored to pieces. The admiral soon after discovered the enemy standing towards him with a strong gale of wind. The Windsor, Pendennis, and Greenwich, a-head of the enemy, came to the leeward of the disabled ship, fired their broadsides, passed her, and stood to the southward ; then came the Defiance, fired part of her broadside, when the disabled ship returning about twenty guns, the Defiance put her helm a-weather, and ran away right before the wind, lowered both her top-sail, and ran to the leeward of the Falmouth, without any regard to the signal of battle.

The enemy seeing the other two ships stand to the southward, expected they would have tacked and stood towards them, and therefore they brought their heads to the northward. But when they saw those ships did not tack, they immediately bore down upon the admiral, and ran between their disabled ship and him, and poured in all their shot, by which they brought down his main-top-sail-yard, and shattered his rigging very much, none of the other ships being near him, or taking the least notice of his signals, though captain Fog ordered two guns to be fired at the ships a-head, in order to put them in mind of their duty. The French, seeing things in this confusion, brought to, and lay by their own disabled ship, remanned and took her into tow. The Breda's rigging being much shattered, she was forced to lie by till ten o'clock, and being by that time refitted, the admiral ordered his captain to pursue the enemy, then about three miles to the leeward, his line of battle signal out all the while, and captain Fog, by the admiral's orders, sent to the other captains, to order them to keep the line, and behave like men. Upon this captain Kirby came on board the admiral, and told him, " That he had better desist ; that the French were very strong ; " and that from what was past, he might guess he could make " nothing of it."

The brave admiral Benbow, more surpris'd at this language, than he would have been at the sight of another French squadron, sent for the rest of the captains on board, in order to ask their opinion.

opinion. They obeyed him indeed, but were most of them in captain Kirby's way of thinking; which satisfied the admiral that they were not inclined to fight, and that, as Kirby phrased it, *there was nothing to be done*, though there was the fairest opportunity that had yet offered. Our strength was, at this time, one ship of twenty guns, one of sixty-four, one of sixty, and three of fifty; their masts, yards, and all things else in as good condition as could be expected, and not above eight men killed, except in the vice-admiral's own ship, nor was there any want of ammunition; whereas the enemy had now no more than four ships, from sixty to seventy guns, and one of them disabled and in tow. The vice-admiral thought proper upon this, to return to Jamaica, where he arrived with his squadron, very weak with a fever induced by his wounds, and was soon after joined by rear-admiral Whetstone, with the ships under his command.

The reflections he made on this unlucky business, threw the brave admiral into a deep melancholy, which soon brought him to his end; for he died on the fourth of November, 1702, as much regretted as he deserved. The command of the squadron then devolved on captain Whetstone, who in this expedition acted as rear-admiral, and of whose proceedings in the West-Indies we shall give an account in its proper place. In the mean time, it is requisite that we should follow the condemned captains home, in order to put an end to this disagreeable narration. They were sent from Jamaica, on board her majesty's ship the Bristol, and arrived at Plymouth on the 16th of April, 1703, where there lay a dead warrant for their immediate execution, in order to prevent any applications in their favour; and they were accordingly shot on board the ship that brought them home, and shewed at their death a courage and constancy of mind, which made it evident, that their behaviour in the late engagement did not flow from any infirmity in nature, but from the corruption of their minds; and I hope their example will always have a proper effect on such as are entrusted with the like commands.

I should now, according to the order I have hitherto pursued in this work, take notice of what was transacted at home, in relation to the navy, but as the queen's proclamation for a thanksgiving, in which honourable mention is made of the success at Vigo, and the thanks bestowed by the house of commons on Sir George Rooke for his conduct in that affair, will appear with greater propriety, when I come to the memoirs of his life; to avoid repetitions I shall not insist further upon them here. I must however observe, that as, in the case of Kirby and Wade, her majesty shewed a strict regard to justice, so, with respect to admiral Hopson, she gave as lively a testimony of her just sense of merit, for she not only conferred on him the honour of knight-

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hood, but was graciously pleased to settle upon him a pension of 500*l.* a-year for life, with the reversion of 300*l.* a-year to his lady, in case she survived him, on account of the prodigious service he did in breaking the boom at Vigo.

But this extraordinary mark of royal favour did not screen him from a strict examination in the house of lords, in conjunction with Sir George Rooke, as to the miscarriage of the design upon Cadiz; but upon the strictest review that could be made of that whole affair, there appeared so little colour for censuring either of the admirals' actions, that how much soever their enemies might desire it, they were at last glad to let this matter fall. Indeed the fleet, though it had not performed all that was expected, had done as much as was possible for the service of the nation, and had thereby afforded an opportunity to our worthy minister at Lisbon, Mr. Methuen, to draw over from his alliance, with the two crowns, the king of Portugal, to the interest of the allies, and to conclude a treaty of commerce there; which, to say no more, has been of much greater benefit to the nation, than many, I might add most, of the treaties that have been concluded since.

There had hitherto appeared very little of party-opposition to the management of the war, and therefore the supplies for the service of the year 1703, were very cheerfully granted, and very easily raised, which was the reason that the fleet was much earlier at sea, had all things provided in a better manner, at less expence to the nation, and yet sooner than they had ever been before, which was one great reason why the French never had any of those advantages they boasted of so much in the former war. In the month of March the queen made a kind of naval promotion. The marquis of Carmarthen was advanced from being vice-admiral of the white, to be vice-admiral of the red; John Graydon, Esq; was made vice-admiral of the white; John Leake, Esq; vice-admiral of the blue; George Byng, Esq; rear-admiral of the red; Thomas Dilkes, Esq; rear-admiral of the white, and Bazil Beaumont, Esq; rear-admiral of the blue.

The first scheme that was formed for performing any thing remarkable at sea, was upon a foreign plan. It was intended, that the arch-duke, Charles, who was to take upon him the title of king of Spain, should also marry an infanta of Portugal, and, in consequence of that marriage, was to undertake something of importance immediately, with the assistance however of the English and Dutch; and so hearty were the latter, that they sent a squadron of men of war, with near three thousand land-troops on board upon our coast, and after tossing and tumbling there for some weeks, the project in the council of the imperial court was changed, the design dropt, and the Dutch went home again.

Sir George Rooke had proposed a scheme for distressing the enemy, by sailing very early into the bay of Biscay, where he thought, if they had any men of war without Port Louis and Rochfort, they might be surpris'd and taken, or at least their commerce might be interrupted; and for the performance of this scheme, he took it upon himself. About the middle of April he arriv'd at St. Helen's, with 18 ships of the line, with which he was very desirous of sailing on the intended expedition, without waiting for the Dutch; but this proposition was not at first accepted; so that he remained there till the beginning of May, when he was so ill that he kept his bed.

The truth, however, was, that the admiral found himself so ill, that he apply'd for leave to go to Bath, which was granted him; and George Churchill, Esq; admiral of the blue, was sent to take upon him the command. But he not arriving in time, and Sir George finding himself better, put to sea, and continued at sea for something more than a month; and then finding what he suspected at the isle of Wight to be true, that the enemy had notice of his design, and that most of their squadrons had sail'd; and therefore perceiving that he could do the nation no service by remaining longer on the French coast, returned home about the middle of June, that he might be ready to undertake any more necessary service.

When Sir George Rooke return'd, he was still so weak and infirm, that he ask'd, and had leave to go to Bath, his superiors seeing no reason to censure his behaviour; and therefore, as soon as he was able to undertake it, we shall find him again in command, and employ'd in a service of much greater importance.

The grand fleet was commanded this year by Sir Cloudesley Shovel. It consist'd at first of twenty-seven ships of the line, and the admiral had under him rear-admiral Byng, and Sir Stafford Fairborne; and being afterwards reinforced with eight ships more, these were commanded by vice-admiral Leake. His instructions were very large; but all of them might be reduced to these three heads, *viz.* annoying the enemy, assisting our allies, and protecting our trade. He wait'd till the middle of June for the Dutch, and then was join'd only by twelve ships of the line, carrying three flags; and it is certain, that if the force he had with him, had been better adjust'd than it was to the things he had orders to perform, yet the time allow'd him, which was only till the end of September, was much too short, so that it was really impossible for him to execute the services that seem'd to be expected. He represent'd this, and is commended for it by bishop Burnet, who had notwithstanding censur'd another admiral for the same thing before; however, Sir Cloudesley Shovel was order'd to obey, and he did so, but was not able to get clear of the land till near the middle of July,

July, having also a fleet of upwards of two hundred and thirty merchant-men under his convoy.

On the 24th he arrived off the rock of Lisbon, where he held a council of war, in which the rendezvous was appointed to be held in Altea-bay. He pursued his instructions as far as he was able, and having secured the Turkey fleet, he intended to have staid some time upon the coast of Italy. But the Dutch admiral informed him, that both his orders and his victuals required his thinking of a speedy return; and it was with much difficulty that Sir Cloudesley Shovel prevailed upon him to go to Leghorn. In the mean time, the instructions he had to succour the Cevennois, who were then in arms against the French king, were found impracticable with a fleet; and therefore the admiral contented himself with doing all that could be done, which was to send the Tartar and the Pembroke upon that coast, where they also found it impossible to do any thing. The admiral then detached captain Swanton to Tunis and Tripoli, and sent rear-admiral Byng to Algier, to renew the peace with those states, and on the twenty-second of September arrived off Altea, from whence he soon after sailed for England.

On the 27th, in the Straights-mouth, he met with an Algerine man of war becalmed, upon which he immediately took her under his protection, till all the Dutch ships were passed. In this he certainly performed the part of an English admiral, preserved the reputation of our flag, did great service to our trade, and put it out of the power of the French to practise upon those piratical states to our disadvantage, as they had done formerly. Having intelligence that a fleet of merchant ships waited for a convoy at Lisbon, he sent Sir Andrew Leake thither with a small squadron, who escorted them safe into the Downs.

On the 16th of November, the fleet being off the isle of Wight, the Dutch crowded away for their own ports, and left the admiral to steer for the Downs, which he did; but before he made land, captain Norris in the Orford, a ship of the third rate, together with the Warspight of seventy guns, and the Litchfield of fifty, being a-head of the fleet, gave chase to a French ship of war, and beginning to engage about eight at night, the dispute continued till two in the morning, when having lost her fore-top-mast, and all her sails, and her standing and running-rigging being much shattered, she struck. This ship came from Newfoundland, was commanded by Monsieur de la Rue, was named the Hazardous, and had fifty guns mounted, with three hundred and seventy men; but had more ports, and was larger than any of our sixty gun ships, so that she was registered in the list of our royal navy.

But while the grand fleet was at sea, rear-admiral Dilkes performed a very acceptable service to his country on the French coast. For the lord high admiral's council having intelligence, that

that a considerable fleet of French merchant-ships, with their convoy, were in Cancall-bay, orders were sent to the rear admiral, who was then at Spithead with a small squadron, to sail immediately in pursuit of them, which he did on the 22d of July. On the 24th he ordered the captain of the *Nonsuch* to stretch a-head of the squadron, and stand as near Alderney as he could, and send his boat ashore to gain intelligence. On the 25th he stood towards the *Casquets* for the same purpose, and at six in the evening anchored off the south-west part of Jersey; from whence he sent captain Chamberlain, commander of the *Spy brigantine*, to the governor, that he might obtain from him the best intelligence he could give.

The governor sent to him captain Lamprier, and captain Pipon, who well understood that coast, by whom being informed of a fleet about forty sail, plying to the windward on the fifteenth to get to Granville, the rear-admiral, upon consultation at a council of war with the pilots, resolved to sail immediately, though the tide fell cross in the night, that getting clear of the westernmost rocks of the *Minques*, he might attack the enemy by break of day; which succeeded perfectly well; for the next morning, the 26th, by day-light, perceiving the enemy at an anchor about a league to the westward of Granville, they, upon his approach, got under sail, and stood in for the shore.

The rear-admiral followed them as far as the pilot would venture, and found them to consist of forty-three merchant-ships, and three men of war. Being come within four feet water more than the ship drew, he manned all his boats, and rest of the ships did the same. By noon he took fifteen sail, burnt six, and sunk three; the rest stood so far into a bay, between *Avranche* and the mountain of *St. Michael*, that in the judgment of the pilots, our ships could not attack them; whereupon, on the 27th in the morning, it was resolved at a council of war, to go into the bay with the *Hector*, *Mermaid*, a fire-ship, the *Spy brigantine*, a ship of six guns, taken the day before from the enemy, a ketch fitted out as a fire-ship, and all the boats of the squadron, which was performed between ten and eleven in the morning, the rear-admiral being present, accompanied by captain Fairfax, captain Legg, and captain Mighells; as also by the captains Lamprier and Pipon.

There were three ships equipped for war, one of eighteen guns, which the enemy burnt, the second of fourteen guns, which Mr. Paul, first lieutenant of the *Kent*, set on fire, who in this service was shot through the lower jaw, and four men killed, and a third of eight guns, which was brought off. Seventeen more of the merchant-ships were burnt and destroyed, by this second attack, so that of the whole fleet only four escaped, by getting under the command of Granville-fort. The enemy, during this attack, sent several large shallops from Granville,

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Granville, but with no success, the rear-admiral having manned a brigantine with eighty men, and another vessel of six guns, with forty, who covered all the boats. This last vessel unfortunately run aground, which obliged the rear-admiral to burn her. There were, during the time of this action, about five thousand of the enemy seen on shore, but they did not advance near enough to do their own people any service, or ours any hurt. The queen, to testify her kind acceptance of so cheerful and so effectual a service, ordered gold medals to be struck on this occasion, and delivered to the rear-admiral and all his officers, who certainly had very well deserved them.

We are now to speak of the greatest disaster that had happened within the memory of man, at least, by the fury of the winds, I mean the storm which began on the 26th of November, 1703, about eleven at night, the wind being W. S. W. and continued with dreadful flashes of lightning, till about seven the next morning. The water flowed to a great height in Westminster-hall, and London-bridge was in a manner stopt up with wrecks. The mischief done in London was computed at not less than a million, and the city of Bristol suffered upwards of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds. But the greatest loss fell upon our navy, of which there perished no less than thirteen ships, upwards of fifteen hundred seamen were drowned; amongst whom was Basil Beaumont, Esq; rear-admiral of the blue, who had been employed all that year in observing the Dunkirk squadron, and had by his great care and conduct preserved our merchant ships from falling into the hands of the French privateers; which service appeared the more considerable by the great losses the Dutch this year sustained. He was in all other respects a man well qualified for the service of his country, and what made his loss more regretted, he died in the flower of his age, and in the heat of the war.

Charles, arch-duke of Austria, being declared king of Spain by his father, and owned as such by the allies, Sir George Rooke was sent in October to Holland, in order to convoy his catholic majesty to Lisbon. There the Dutch not being ready, the admiral was forced to continue for some time, and then the great storm occasioned a new delay; at last he embarked, and with a joint squadron of English and Dutch ships, and a considerable number of transports, with land forces on board, he arrived at Spithead on the 26th of December; he was there complimented by the dukes of Somerset and Marlborough, on the road to Windsor met by his royal highness the prince of Denmark, and on his arrival was received with all imaginable marks of respect by the queen, for whom she shewed greater deference than was even expected by the English court. Here we will end the naval transactions of Europe for this year, and proceed to

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take a view of what passed in America, after the death of admiral Benbow in Jamaica.

The command devolving upon captain Whetstone, whom Mr. Benbow had appointed rear-admiral of his squadron, he immediately put it into the best condition possible for going to sea, and then cruized on the coast of Hispaniola. On his return to Jamaica an opportunity offered of shewing his great concern for the interests of the colony. A fire breaking out at Port-Royal on the 9th of February, 1703, burnt it down to the ground, leaving nothing standing but the two fortifications.

Soon after this he sailed again on a cruize, in hopes of meeting a considerable fleet of merchant-ships, which were expected from France. He spent five weeks in search of them to no purpose; and after looking into Port-Lewis, not finding any thing there, he stood away for Petit Guavas and Leogane. When he arrived near this port, he divided his squadron, because when admiral Benbow attacked the enemy here, their ships escaped on one side, as he entered on the other. He therefore sailed westward with part of his ships, and sent the rest to the south. When these came in sight, three privateers, which were in every respect ready for service, stood away northwards; but the rear-admiral forcing two of them on shore, burnt them, and the other he took. Captain Vincent, who commanded to the southward, rowed in the night into the Cul de Sac, where he found four ships, one of which he burnt, another he sunk, the third, he towed out, and boarded the fourth, she was blown up by the accidental firing of a grenado-shell. From this place the rear-admiral failed to Port de Paix, but found no shipping there; for the before-mentioned privateers were all that the enemy had in those parts, with which, and five hundred men, they thought to have made an attempt on the north-side of Jamaica; and in these ships were taken one hundred and twenty prisoners.

While rear-admiral Whetstone was thus employed, they were far from forgetting the safety of the plantations at home. Sir George Rooke, in September, 1702, detached from the Mediterranean captain Hovenden Walker in the Burford, five more third rates, ten transports, and four regiments on board, for the Leeward islands; he arrived in Barbadoes in the beginning of January; and upon the coming thither soon after of six of our East-India ships richly laden, he, by the advice of a council of war, sent them home under the convoy of the Expedition, a third rate, captain Knapp, commander, who brought them safely to England. From Barbadoes, commodore Walker sailed to Antigua, where he joined colonel Codrington, who was about undertaking an expedition to Guadaloupe, in which captain Walker was to assist him. They sailed from Antigua the latter

latter end of February; on the 12th of March, general Codrington landed with great part of his forces, but was so warmly received by the French, that they would have been able to have done little or nothing, if commodore Walker had not sent in the Chichester, which drove the enemy from their batteries, which our men quickly entered. The next day the rest of the soldiers, and four hundred seamen were landed, who attacked the north part of the town with great fury, forced the enemy to abandon it, and to retreat into the castle and fort, which they defended to the 3d of April, and then blowing them both up, retired to the mountains. After this our troops ravaged all the country, burnt the town to the ground, razed the fortifications, carried the best of the artillery on board, burst the rest, and with a very great booty embarked, without the loss of a man.

The French writers give a different account of this affair, and because the English thought fit to retreat, they will needs have the proof of a victory on their side. Now as to this retreat, there were many reasons for it, and some indeed that rendered it indispensably necessary. General Codrington fell sick, and was forced to return to Nevis; then colonel Whetham, upon whom the command devolved, fell also dangerously ill, and was carried to Antigua. The command of the land forces fell next to colonel Willis, who, upon certain information, that the French had landed nine hundred men on the back of the island, called a council of war, in which it was resolved to embark the forces; and this was accordingly done, as I have before mentioned, on the 7th of May. It must be acknowledged, that this service suffered not a little from some disputes that happened between the land and sea officers: which is, generally speaking, the ruin of our West-India expeditions.

As soon as the news of vice-admiral Benbow's misfortune and death arrived in England, it was resolved to send another flag-officer thither with a considerable squadron. This command, it is said, was offered to Sir Stafford Fairborne, who refused it; and then it was proposed to Mr. Graydon, who, though a certain prelate styles him a brutal man, made this answer, "That it was his duty to go where the queen thought proper to command him, and that he knew no difference of climates, when he was to obey her orders." The strength he was to take with him, consisted only of a third, a fourth, and a fifth rate; which last proved unfit for the voyage, and therefore the Montague of sixty, and the Nonsuch of fifty guns, were ordered to see him a hundred and fifty leagues into the sea. They sailed about the middle of March, and on the eighteenth of that month they saw four French ships to leeward, viz. two of sixty, one of fifty, and another of forty guns. This last being both the smallest and sternmost, the Montague, commanded by captain William Cleveland, bore down to, and soon after engaged

gaged her. Hereupon the vice-admiral made the signal for a line of battle, and consequently for the Montague's coming off; but her fore-top sail being shot in pieces the second broadside she received from the enemy, she could not tack so soon as otherwise might have been expected, infomuch, that the other French ships wore, and bearing down to the ship that had been engaged, each of them fired her broadside at the Montague; but she being to windward, and the sea running high, as the French generally fire in hopes of wounding masts, yards, and rigging, all their shot flew over her, so that she received not any considerable damage. The French ships were foul, for they were part of the squadron under the command of Monsieur Ducasse, with which vice-admiral Benbow engaged in the West-Indies, and were very rich.

This affair drew very heavy reproaches on the admiral, who, notwithstanding, seems to have acted according to the best of his abilities. He proceeded with all imaginable diligence in his voyage, and arrived at the island of Madeira on the tenth of April, 1703; and from thence he sailed to Barbadoes, where he arrived the twelfth of May. The day before came a brigantine from Guadaloupe, with advice that commodore Walker was there, and that both seamen and soldiers were in danger of being starved for want of provisions. The vice-admiral thereupon applied himself to the agent-victualler, and having furnished himself with all the beef, pork, bread, and pease that could be got, he sailed on the seventeenth. On the twentieth he ran in with the fort and town of Guadaloupe, and seeing it in ruins, he sailed instantly for Antigua, and from thence to Nevis, where he met with the army and squadron in the greatest distress; and having relieved them, he proceeded thence with all the ships of war to Jamaica, where they arrived the fifth of June. The first thing he did there, was to direct a survey of the ships under his command; which proved to be very defective, not only in their hulls, but in their masts, stores and rigging; and at the same time very ill manned. This, together with some differences that arose between the admiral and some of the principal persons in Jamaica, determined him to sail home as soon as possible: and accordingly, having left the Norwich, the Experiment, and the Sea-Horse, with the Harman and Eagle-galley fire-ships, together with two sloops, to attend the island; and the Colchester and Sunderland to convoy home the latter trade, he sailed for Blewfields, and proceeding from thence, he fell in with Newfoundland on the second of August.

In the evening of that day there arose such a fog as had scarce ever been seen; for it lasted thirty days complete, and the weather was so very dark, that it was difficult to discover one ship from another: this occasioned the dispersion of the fleet, which could not be brought together again till the third of September, when

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when the vice-admiral thought it proper to consult his officers, as to the principal design of his voyage, which was the attacking the French at Placentia, and thereby forcing them to quit Newfoundland. At this council of war, there were present, besides the vice-admiral, rear-admiral Whetstone, and thirteen sea captains; of the land officers, the commander in chief, colonel Rivers, six captains, and an engineer. They took into consideration the queen's instructions to Brigadier Columbine, then deceased, and those to Mr. Graydon, and finding all their ships in a very weak condition, that they were thinly manned, and most of them sick, already at short allowance, and the soldiers, through their being forced to drink water in so cold a climate, having their limbs benumbed, so that they were scarce fit for service; five regiments reduced to one thousand thirty five men; of five hundred they were to receive from New-England, there came but seventy, now reduced to twenty-five, and those in a manner disabled; and, from the best accounts, the enemy at Placentia judged to be not only superior in number, and consequently able to make a good resistance, but the avenues to the place extremely difficult, the grounds marshy, and no planks, or other materials, for mounting the guns on the batteries; these difficulties and obstructions being maturely considered, together with the good circumstances the enemy were in, and the assistance they might have from their privateers, and other shipping then at Placentia, the council of war were unanimously of opinion, that to make an attempt on that place with the ships and forces, in such a condition and at such a season of the year, was altogether impracticable; and instead of any probability of success, might tend to the dishonour of her majesty's arms.

This was the end of vice-admiral Graydon's unfortunate expedition; in which, though it is certain, on the one hand, that he did not do the nation any remarkable service, yet it is no less certain, on the other, that in respect to protecting the trade, and the rest of the things in his power, he did all the service he was able. But it was his misfortune, first to feel the effects of other men's mistakes, and next to be made answerable for them. On his return, the house of lords entered into an inquiry into his conduct; and, besides their former warm vote, which was more than enough to have undone him, came to a resolution of addressing her majesty, to remove him from all employments, for impressing servants in the West-Indies; desiring her at the same time, to direct the attorney-general to prosecute him for that offence. This had the desired effect: vice-admiral Graydon (as to service) was laid aside, and his memory has been loaded with the foulest imputations; though there is great reason to believe, that he was rather unlucky than unjust, and that he suffered for miscarriages which it was not in his power to avoid. In order to have a clearer idea of this, we must consider that

that he justified himself as to his not fighting the French, under his orders, which were very precise upon that head; and, if he had not obeyed them, he must have been answerable for all the consequences before a court-martial; while, on the other hand, the lords, as the supreme judicature, decided in this case on the reason of the thing; and because, as they thought, the necessity of fighting ought, in his judgment, to have superseded his orders, yet, when he pleaded necessity in excuse of impressing servants, this would not serve his turn; but he was punished in that case as severely for making use of his own judgment, as for the supposed neglect of it in the other.

I think it necessary to observe here, that at this time there were very warm disputes in the house of lords, as to the conduct of the admiralty in the late reign, which had been censured by the house of commons, and in a great measure justified here; so that at this season all the strength of party was exerted on both sides, and the merit of a man was less considered, than the faction to which he attached himself. But it is time to leave so troublesome and unentertaining a subject, in order to return to the conduct of the war, and the great things performed in the year 1704, for the service of which the commons granted upwards of four millions; and of this, the sum of was for the service of the navy: which shews, how desirous the nation was of supporting the war to the utmost, and of giving whatever was necessary for the service of the common cause, in hopes that it would be honestly and effectually laid out, for those great and salutary purposes for which it was so cheerfully given.

The king of Spain was very desirous of prosecuting his voyage to Lisbon, and therefore came to Portsmouth, and would have embarked on the third of February, if the wind had been at all favourable. Sir George Rooke, who was to command the fleet that escorted him, and the land forces intended for this service, did every thing that could be expected to facilitate the expedition: for when he found the transports were ready, and that it was impossible to have the intended number of great ships so early at sea, he proposed sailing with a small squadron to Lisbon, and waiting there for a reinforcement.

In the first part of his design, Sir George was as fortunate as he could wish; for sailing on the twelfth of February, he, after a fine passage, arrived with the squadron, and all the transports, in the river of Lisbon, on the 25th; and after two days had been spent in adjusting the ceremonial, his catholic majesty was conducted to shore by the king of Portugal, and most of the royal family. Among other debates in relation to this ceremony, there was one which deserves particular notice, and that was in relation to our flag. The king of Portugal desired, that, upon his coming on board the admiral's ship in his barge of state, and striking his standard, the English flag might be struck
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at the same time ; and that when his catholic majesty, with himself, should go off from the ship, his standard might be hoisted, and the admiral's flag continue struck until they were on shore. This proposition was made from the king of Portugal, by the king of Spain ; to which the admiral replied, that his majesty, so long as he should be on board, might command the flag to be struck when he pleased ; but that whenever he left the ship, he was himself admiral, and obliged to execute his commission by immediately hoisting his flag. This, and some other reasons, satisfied the king of Spain, as well as his Portuguese majesty ; so that the flag of England was no longer struck, than the standard of Portugal.

Two days after this, the admiral, in compliance with the resolution of a council of war, sent a squadron of seventeen sail, to cruise off Cape Spartell ; which squadron was afterwards increased to twenty-two sail. On the ninth of March the admiral himself put to sea, and continued cruising for a month. Rear-admiral Dilkes, who commanded the squadron before-mentioned, on the 12th of March in the morning, discovered four sail of ships standing to the N. E. He had with him three third rates, and two fourth, *viz.* the Kent, Bedford, Suffolk, Antelope, and Panther. By eleven he came up with them, and the Panther, which was the headmost of ours, engaged them ; the Suffolk getting the wind of them, did the same, as also the Antelope, and the Dutch privateer ; infomuch, that the ship of sixty guns struck, after exchanging several broadsides. The rear-admiral could not get his own ship in reach of them until noon, and then engaging the commodore, which was a ship of sixty guns, she struck to him in a little time, having lost half her complement of men, as the third did soon after, which was a ship of twenty-four guns ; and in this action the Panther had her fore-top-mast shot by the board, the Suffolk her main-mast, and the Antelope's masts and yards were wounded. The two ships before-mentioned of sixty guns, were galleon men of war, one of them called the Porta-Coeli, and the other the St. Theresa, and came from St. Sebastians, with bombs, guns, iron bars, &c. being bound for Cadiz, where they were to be fitted out for the West-Indies, the commodore Don Diego Bicuna having a commission to command all the fleet designed thither ; and in these ships were taken near seven hundred prisoners.

The rear-admiral, by reason of bad weather, did not arrive at Lisbon till the 25th of March, and then in going in he lost the St. Theresa, but most of the men were saved. Sir George Rooke being also returned, and meeting with orders to sail up the Streights, prepared to execute them, though at the same time, the admiral was extremely pressed by his catholic majesty to undertake somewhat in his favour. The difficulties with which Sir George was at this time encompassed, were many and great,

great. In the first place, the reinforcement he depended on was not arrived; in the next, the queen's orders were positive for the relief of Nice and Villa Franca; and he knew how great a risk he ran, in case either of those places were taken for want of timely succour. The design formed in favour of king Charles III. to invade Catalonia, and make an attempt on Barcelona, was almost ripe for execution, and that monarch insisted very strenuously that the fleet should escort this embarkation. In this thorny conjuncture the admiral resolved to do as much as in him lay to satisfy all parties; and we shall hereafter see with how great judgment he executed this resolution: in the mean time it is necessary that we should explain the conduct of the administration in regard to the expedition of Sir Cloudesley Shovel.

After Sir George Rooke sailed, the court received intelligence, that the French were very busy in fitting out a great squadron at Brest. This alarmed us very much, because it was not easy to foresee how this force would be employed. At all events it was thought proper to equip, with the utmost expedition, a good fleet, which was put under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, and of the white, who had under him Sir Stafford Fairborne, vice-admiral of the red, and George Byng, Esq; then rear-admiral of the same squadron. The admiral was instructed, if he found the Brest squadron still in port, to send away the trade, store-ships, and victuallers, under a proper convoy, to Lisbon, and to remain before that port himself to endeavour to keep in the enemy; or, if that was found impracticable, to burn and destroy them if they came out. But in case he found the Brest squadron already sailed, then he was to call a council of war, in order to give what strength might be necessary to be sent to Sir George Rooke; and if it amounted to twenty-two ships, then he was to sail with them himself, that our fleet might, at all events, be stronger than that of the enemy. Sir Cloudesley executed his instructions punctually, and finding that a great strength was necessary in the Mediterranean to oppose the French, he sailed thither about the latter end of the month.

We have now seen how and why the succours intended for Sir George Rooke's fleet, were so long delayed, and what care was taken for their coming, after all, in good time; we will next therefore return to that admiral, and give a short account of the manner in which he extricated himself out of the difficulties in which we left him. In the first place he signified to the prince of Hesse, who had the chief direction of his catholic majesty's affairs, that if the troops which were to make the attempt on Barcelona, could be speedily embarked, he was content to escort them, and to give all imaginable countenance to his majesty's affairs in Catalonia. In compliance with this offer, he
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failed accordingly with the transports under his convoy, and on the eighteenth of May he arrived before the city of Barcelona. A priest and some others surrendered themselves, and informed the prince of Hesse, that if some few forces were landed, and a shew made of a bombardment, they would declare for king Charles III. and receive him into the place. Upon this there landed, on the nineteenth of May, about twelve hundred marines, four hundred Dutch foot, a company of Catalans, and as many volunteers as made up in the whole two thousand men. They remained ashore all night ; and the prince finding nothing done, notwithstanding the Dutch had bombarded the place with some effect, his highness himself proposed the reembarking the men, from apprehension of their being attacked by a superior force. The truth is, that he had great reason to abandon this design as he did, since, in the first place, the governor had discovered it, and had secured the chiefs of the Austrian party ; and, in the next, the force he had with him was not at all proportioned to such an undertaking.

The admiral landed his troops before Barcelona, on the nineteenth of May ; it was the twenty-seventh before they had any intelligence of the Breſt squadron ; and then, instead of shunning, they chased them ; and on the sixteenth of June, the fleet was joined by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with the ships under his command ; upon which it was immediately resolved, to proceed up the Mediterranean, in search of the French fleet.

On the twenty-first of May the admiral steered for the isles of Hieres, but in the passage met with a storm, which separated his fleet. On the twenty-seventh they joined again, and had sight of a large French squadron, which they rightly judged to be sailing for Toulon ; and therefore it was resolved, in a council of war, to chase them thither, and if it was not possible to prevent their getting into that port, then to sail for Lisbon, in order to wait for a re-inforcement ; which was accordingly done. On the fourteenth of June our fleet passed through the Straight's-mouth, and were joined two days after by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with his squadron, off Lagos : a council of war was then called, in order to consider what service should be proceeded on. Several schemes were proposed, particularly a second attack on Cadiz, which was soon found to be impracticable for want of a sufficient number of land-forces. At this council of war the admiral also was pleased to declare, that he was limited by his instructions from attempting any thing, without the consent of the kings of Spain and Portugal ; which was another discouragement to the service, because those princes could very seldom agree on any measure ; so that, except sending some ships to the Terceras, in order to protect the homeward-bound Brazil fleet, there was little done, that I can find, which

which ought to be considered as the unavoidable consequence of this order.

Sir George Rooke being very sensible of the reflections that would fall upon him, if, having so considerable a fleet under his command, he spent the summer in doing nothing of importance, called a council of war on the seventeenth of July, in the road of Tetuan, where having declared he thought it requisite they should resolve upon some service or other; after a long debate it was carried to make a sudden and vigorous attempt upon Gibraltar.

The fleet, in pursuance of this resolution, arrived in the bay of Gibraltar on the twenty-first of July, and the marines, English and Dutch, to the number of eighteen hundred, were landed under the command of the prince of Hesse, on the Isthmus, to cut off all communication between the town and the continent. His highness having taken post there, summoned the governor; who answered, that he would defend the place to the last. On the twenty-second the admiral at break of day, gave the signal for cannonading the town; which was performed with such vigour, that fifteen thousand shot were spent in five hours; when the admiral perceiving that the enemy were driven from their fortifications at the south molehead, and that if we were once possessed of these, the town must be taken of course, he ordered captain Whitaker to arm all the boats, and to attempt to make himself master of them.

This order was no sooner issued, than captain Hicks and captain Jumper, who were nearest the mole, pushed on shore with their pinnaces, and actually seized the fortifications before the rest could come up. The Spaniards seeing this, sprung a mine, by which two lieutenants and forty men were killed, and about sixty more wounded: however, they kept possession of the great platform, till they were sustained by captain Whitaker, and the seamen under his command, who very soon made himself master of a redoubt, between the mole and the town; on which the admiral sent a letter to the governor, who on the twenty-fourth capitulated, and the prince of Hesse took possession of the place. I must, upon this occasion, observe, that as this design was contrived by the admirals, so it was executed entirely by the seamen, and therefore the whole honour of it is due to them. I must likewise put the reader in mind, that nothing could have enabled the seamen to take the place, but the cannonading of it in such a manner, as obliged the Spaniards to quit their posts; for the general officers, who viewed the fortifications after the place was in our hands, declared that they might have been defended by fifty men against as many thousands. The French indeed say, in order to diminish, as much as possible, the glory of this action, that the Spaniards had neither garrison nor guns there; but this is far from being true, since there were
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While they lay here, the Dutch admiral sent a flag-officer and six ships to Lisbon, under orders to return home, and a promise that he would quickly follow them. On the ninth of August they sailed again from Gibraltar, and had sight of the French fleet, which they resolved to engage. The latter declined coming to action, and endeavoured to get away ; but Sir George pursued them with all the sail he could make. On the thirteenth of the same month, which was Sunday, he came within three leagues of them, when they brought to with their heads to the southward, the wind being easterly, and forming a line, lay in a proper posture to receive him. They were fifty two ships, and twenty-four galleys, very strong in the centre, but weaker in the van and rear ; to supply which, most of their galleys were placed in those squadrons. In the centre was count Thoulouse, high-admiral of France, with the white squadron ; in the van the white and blue flag, and in the rear the blue, each admiral having his vice and rear-admiral. Our fleet consisted of fifty-three ships ; but the admiral ordered the Swallow and Panther, two fourth rates, with a fifth and a sixth, and two fire-ships, to lie to windward of him, that if the enemy's van should push through our line with their gallies and fire-ships, they might give them some diversion.

A little after ten in the morning, our fleet bore down in order of battle, and when they came within half-gun-shot of the enemy, the French set all their sails at once, as if they intended to stretch a-head and weather us ; so that our admiral, after firing a chase-gun at the French admiral to stay for him, of which he took no notice, threw abroad the signal, and began the battle, which fell very heavy on the Royal Catherine, the St. George, and the Shrewsbury. About two in the afternoon the enemy's van gave way to ours, and the battle ended with the day, when the enemy went away, by the help of their gallies, to the leeward. In the night the wind shifted to the northward, and in the morning to the westward, which gave the enemy the wind of us. We lay by all day within three leagues of each other, repairing our defects, and at night they filed and stood to the northwards. Our fleet endeavoured the two next days to renew the fight, but the French avoided it, and at last bore away.

This plainly discovers that we had the victory, notwithstanding the great advantages of the French : which I think those who understand maritime affairs, will allow to be as great as ever any fleet had. For first, their ships were bigger ; they had seventeen three-deck ships, and we had but seven. Secondly, the

they had a great advantage in their weight of metal ; for they had six hundred guns more than we. Thirdly, they were clean ships, just come out of port ; whereas ours had been long at sea, and had done hard service. Fourthly, they had the assistance of their gallies ; and how great an advantage this was, will appear from hence, that about the middle of the action, the French admiral ordered a seventy-gun ship to board the Monk, a sixty-gun ship of ours, commanded by captain Mighells ; which she did, and was beat off three times, and after every repulse she had her wounded men taken off, and her complement restored by the gallies. Fifthly, the French fleet was thoroughly provided with ammunition ; which was so much wanted in ours, that several ships were towed out of the line, because they had not either powder or ball sufficient for a single broadside. But the skill of the admiral, and the bravery of the officers and seamen under his command, supplied all defects, and enabled them to give the French so clear a proof of their superiority over them in all respects at sea, that they not only declined renewing the fight at present, but avoided us ever after, and durst not venture a battle on that element during the remainder of the war. It may be therefore justly said, that the battle of Malaga decided the empire of the sea, and left to us and the Dutch an undisputed claim to the title of MARITIME POWERS.

It is true, that the French, according to their old custom, claimed the victory. Lewis XIV. wrote a letter, affirming this to the arch-bishop of Paris, directing *Te Deum* to be sung on that occasion, and afterwards published an account, when fallacy made it appear to be no more than an artifice of state, in order to lessen the ill consequences that were apprehended from the defeat ; and therefore, it is no less injurious to the glory of this nation, than to the honour of Sir George Rooke's memory, to make use of the distorted tales in their relation, to prejudice the indubitable facts contained in ours.

After the English had in vain endeavoured to renew the action, they repaired to Gibraltar, where they continued eight days in order to refit ; and having supplied that place to the utmost of their power with ammunition and provision, it was thought convenient to return to England, care being first taken to provide such a squadron for the Mediterranean service as might secure our trade, and render any designs of the enemy abortive. On the twenty-fourth of August the admiral sailed from Gibraltar ; on the twenty-sixth he gave orders to Sir John Leake, to take upon him the command of the squadron that was to remain in the Mediterranean during the winter, and then sailed home with the rest, where he arrived safely on the twenty-fourth of September, and was received with all exterior marks of esteem by the

the ministry, at the same time that the populace shewed for him an unfeigned affection.

Before we conclude the naval transactions of this year, it is necessary that we should again pass into the Mediterranean, in order to take a view of the services performed there by Sir John Leake. The Spaniards, who were the best judges, found our possession of Gibraltar so great a thorn in their sides, that as they very lately prevailed on the French to hazard an engagement at sea, to facilitate their retaking of it, so they afterwards demanded and obtained a squadron of French ships, under the command of Monsi. de Pointis, to assist them in carrying on the siege. The prince of Hesse having sent early advice of this to Lisbon, Sir John Leake, in the beginning of the month of October, proceeded with his squadron to the relief of the place, and actually landed several gunners, carpenters, and engineers, with a body of four hundred marines; but receiving intelligence, that the French were appearing with a force much superior to his, he found it necessary to return again to Lisbon.

He did this with a view only to refit, and to be in a better condition to supply and assist the garrison in a second expedition, for which he had very prudently directed preparations to be made in his absence. This enabled him to put to sea again on the twenty-fifth of October, and on the twenty-ninth he entered the bay of Gibraltar at a very critical juncture; for that very night the enemy intended to storm the town on all sides, and had procured two hundred boats from Cadiz, in order to have landed three thousand men near the new mole. But Sir John Leake entered so suddenly, that he surprised in the bay two frigates, one of 42, and the other of 24 guns, a brigantine of 14, a fire-ship of 16, a store-ship full of bombs and granadoes, two English prizes; and a Tartane and another frigate of 30 guns, which had just got out of the bay, was taken by an English ship that followed her.

The enemy, notwithstanding these discouragements, continued the siege, in expectation of a strong naval succour from France, and therefore Sir John Leake resolved to land as many men as he could spare, to reinforce the garrison; which he performed on the second, third, and fourth of November, and continued still on the coast in order to alarm and distress the enemy. On the nineteenth and twentieth he ordered his smallest frigates to go as near the shore as possible, and then manned all his boats, as if he intended a descent; but this was done so slowly, and the troops feigned such a reluctance to land, as gave the Spanish general time to draw down a great body of cavalry, which enabled the admiral to put his design in execution, and to salute them in such a manner with his great and small arms, as made them scamper back to their camp with great precipitation. The Centurion arrived on the twenty-second of November, and brought in with her

her a French prize from Martinico, very richly laden; and at the same time gave the admiral intelligence, that he had sailed as far as was convenient into the bay of Cadiz, and had discovered a very strong squadron there, which he apprehended would soon be in a condition to sail. Upon this and some other intimations, Sir John Leake resolved to put to sea, and to stand with his fleet to the eastward of Gibraltar, that he might be the better able to take such measures as should be found necessary, as well for the preservation of the place, as for securing the succours that were expected from Lisbon.

On the seventh of December arrived the Antelope, with nine transports under her convoy; and two days afterwards the Newcastle with seven more, having on board near two thousand land troops. They escaped the French fleet very luckily; for when they were off cape Spartel, they had sight of Monsieur Pointis's squadron, consisting of twenty-four sail of men of war, under English and Dutch colours. As they expected to meet the confederate fleet under Sir John Leake and rear-admiral Vanderdussen thereabouts, they did their utmost to join them; but by good fortune were becalmed. They put their boats to sea on both sides to tow the ships; but the English observing that the men of war stretched themselves, and endeavoured to make a half-moon to surround them, they made a private signal, which Sir John Leake would have understood. This spoiled the measures of the French, but they escaped by means of their oars; and the night coming on, they got away by favour of a small breeze from the south-west. By the arrival of these succours, the garrison was increased to upwards of three thousand men; and having already obtained many advantages over the enemy, it was no longer thought requisite to keep the fleet, which by long service was now but in an indifferent condition, either in the bay, or on the coast; especially when it was considered that Mont. Pointis was so near with a force equal, if not superior to that of Sir John Leake. The prince of Hesse having acknowledged this to be reasonable, the admiral called a council of war on the twenty-first of December, and having laid before them the true state of the case, it was unanimously resolved to sail with all convenient speed to Lisbon in order to refit, and to provide further supplies for the garrison, in case, as the Spaniards gave out, they should receive such reinforcements from king Louis and king Philip, as would enable them to renew the siege both by land and sea. This resolution was as speedily executed as wisely taken, and the fleet arrived at Lisbon in the latter end of 1704, where we shall leave them in order to return to what was doing at home, and the preparations made for carrying on the war by sea with greater vigour in the next year than they had been at any time since the beginning of this dispute.

It was a common complaint at this juncture, that we did not prosecute the war at sea with so much vigour as might be expected from a nation so powerful on that element: that the enemy's taking our ships was a reproach on the nation, which ought to fail under the notice of parliament. In answer to this, I mean in the house of commons, it was said, that though the facts could not be denied, yet on the other hand it must be allowed, that the board of admiralty could not do more than the supplies granted by parliament would enable them; and that therefore, if more was expected from, more ought to be done for them. This was chiefly said by the admirals and their friends, who were very numerous. The house having considered the whole affair with great attention, came at length, on the seventh of November, 1704, to the following resolutions, *viz.* That forty thousand seamen should be allowed for the year 1705, including eight thousand marines. On the ninth they resolved that one hundred thousand pounds should be allowed for the ordinary of the navy for the same year; and that forty thousand pounds should be given to the office of ordnance for the sea service, over and above the usual provision; and that ten thousand pounds should be given for making a wharf and store-house at Portsmouth. These were great and glorious provisions, such as shewed that the people were desirous not to spare their treasure, where the credit of the crown and their own interest were at stake.

In consequence of this, a sort of thorough change ensued in the admiralty. Sir Cloudesley Shovel was appointed rear-admiral of England, and admiral and commander in chief of the fleet; Sir John Leake was appointed vice-admiral of the white squadron, as Sir George Byng was of the blue; Sir Thomas Dilkes, rear-admiral of the red; William Whetstone, Esq; rear-admiral of the white, and Sir John Jennings, rear-admiral of the blue. I have thrown these promotions into the most regular order I could, for the reader's ease and my own, that I might the sooner return to action, and to the exploits of our sea force, under these new commanders; and though I have not observed the strict rules of chronology, yet, as the promotions were the effect of the inquiries, I hope the reader will be satisfied with my manner of stating it. These formalities thus settled, let us now proceed to the transactions of the fleet, under the command of Sir John Leake in the Mediterranean, who shewed no less prudence and fortitude in preserving Gibraltar, than Sir George Rooke had done courage and conduct in acquiring it.

The French and Spaniards, as their own writers confess, were obstinate in their resolution of retaking Gibraltar, cost what it would. Hitherto, the marquis Villadarias had commanded before the town, and had done all that a man could do, in a very bad season, with very indifferent troops. King Philip, however,

removed him, and sent marshal de Tefse, a Frenchman, with the title of captain-general, to command in his place; and, at the same time, baron de Pointis was ordered to sail with his squadron from Cadiz to block up the place by sea. This being performed, the Spaniards made no doubt of their being quickly masters of the city; and indeed the prince of Hesse found the French general so much better acquainted with the art of war, and so much better supplied with all things necessary, than the Spaniards had been, that he thought it requisite to send an express directly to Lisbon, to desire Sir John Leake to come with all imaginable speed to his assistance. Sir Thomas Dilkes was in the mean time arrived from England, with five third rates, and a body of troops; and these being embarked, Sir John sailed from Lisbon on the sixth of March, to prevent the loss of this important fortress.

Upon the ninth of the same month, he had sight of cape Spartell, but not having light enough to reach the bay of Gibraltar, he thought proper to lie by, to prevent his being discovered from the Spanish shore, intending to surprize the enemy early in the morning; but, by bad weather, was prevented from making sail so soon as he intended. About half an hour past five, he was within two miles of cape Cabretta, when he discovered only five sail making out of the bay, and a gun fired at them from Europa point; whereupon, concluding the garrison was safe, he gave chase to the ships, which proved to be the Magnanimous of 74 guns, the Lilly of 86, the Ardent of 66, the Arrogant of 60, and the Marquis of 56.

At first, they made for the Barbary shore; but seeing our fleet gained upon them, they stood for the Spanish coast: at nine o'clock Sir Thomas Dilkes, on board her majesty's ship Revenge, together with the Newcastle, Antelope, Expedition, and a Dutch man of war, got within half gunshot of the Arrogant, and after a very little resistance she struck, the Newcastle's boat getting first on board her. Before one o'clock, the Ardent and the Marquis, with two Dutch men of war, and the Magnanimous, with the Lilly, ran ashore a little to the westward of Marbella. The former, on board which was then baron de Pointis, ran ashore with so much force, that all her masts came by the board as soon as she struck upon the ground, and only her hull, from the traffril to the midships, remained above water, which the enemy set fire to in the night, as they did to the Lilly next morning. After the engagement was over, our squadron got farther from the shore, and on the twelfth looked into Malaga road, where her majesty's ships, the Swallow and Leopard, chased a French merchant-man ashore, of the burthen of about three hundred tons, which the enemy burnt. The rest of the enemy's ships, having been blown from their anchors some days before Sir John's arrival, took shelter in Malaga bay; and soon after hearing

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Upon this, marshal de Tefse, finding it now absolutely in vain to continue the siege, formed a blockade, and withdrew the rest of his troops. M. Pointis was well received at the court of France notwithstanding his misfortune, neither did the marshal de Tefse meet with any check on account of his behaviour; and indeed it would have been hard if he had, since he had done all that man could do, there having been thrown into Gibraltar, by the fifteenth of March, new stile, more than eight thousand bombs, and upwards of seventy thousand cannon-shot fired, though to very little purpose.

While these great things were doing in the Mediterranean, Sir George Byng was sent with a small Squadron of cruisers into the Soundings. He sailed in the latter end of January, with a large and rich fleet of outward-bound merchant-ships. As soon as he had seen these safe into the sea, he disposed of his Squadron in such a manner, as he thought most proper for securing our own trade, and for meeting with the French privateers. Amongst other new regulations which had been the consequence of their merchants complaint, one was the sending a flag-officer to have the constant direction of the cruisers; which in this case appeared a very wise provision, since Sir George Byng, by this disposition of his ships, was so fortunate as to take from the enemy a man of war of forty-four guns, twelve privateers, and seven merchant-ships, most of which were richly laden from the West-Indies. The number of men taken on board all these prizes was upwards of two thousand, and of guns three hundred thirty-four. This remarkable success made a great noise at that time; and gave such a blow to the French privateers, that they scarce ventured into the channel all the year after, but chose rather to sail northward, in hopes of meeting with some of our ships homeward-bound from the Baltick.

We are now to give an account of the exploits that were performed by the grand fleet, which was commanded by the famous earl of Peterborough, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel, as joint admirals; and the first orders they received, were, to proceed for the Mediterranean, with the force then ready, which amounted to twenty-nine sail of line of battle ships, besides frigates, fire-ships, bombs, and other small craft. On the eleventh of June they arrived in the river of Lisbon, where they found Sir John Leake, with his Squadron, in great want of provisions; upon which the admiral ordered them to be supplied out of the stores brought from England, and that for four months whole allowance. On the fifteenth of June a council of war was held, in which it was determined to put to sea with forty-eight ships of the line, English and Dutch, and dispose them in such a station between cape Spartell and the bay of Cadiz, as might

best prevent the junction of the French squadrons from Toulon and Brest.

On the twenty-second of June, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with the fleet, sailed for Lisbon; from thence he sailed to Altea-bay, and there took in his catholic majesty, who pressed the earl of Peterborough to make an immediate attempt on the city of Barcelona, and the province of Catalonia; where he was assured the people were well affected to him. This being agreed to, the fleet sailed accordingly to Barcelona, and arrived on the twelfth of August. After the troops were debarked, there were many disputes, whether the siege should, or should not, be undertaken; but at last the affirmative carried it; and then a proposal was made, that the fleet should land two thousand five hundred men, exclusive of the marines, and that the Dutch should land six hundred of their men; which was agreed to; on condition, however, that on the first certain intelligence of the French fleet's being at sea, both seamen and marines should embark again immediately.

On the third of September, the prince of Hesse having formed a scheme for attacking Fort Mountjuic, it was put in execution; and though it cost his highness his life, yet, through the extraordinary bravery of the earl of Peterborough, who renewed the attack, it was taken. This giving a happy prospect of the reduction of the place, the gunners and carpenters demanded by my lord Peterborough, were ordered by Sir Cloudesley Shovel to be in constant readiness to land. After this success, the siege was pushed with great vigour; the trenches were opened the ninth, and batteries raised for fifty guns and twenty mortars. His catholic majesty having at length consented to it, our bomb-vessels threw four hundred and twelve shells into the town; and eight English and Dutch ships, under the command of Sir Stafford Fairborne, being appointed to cannonade it from the sea, while the cannon from the batteries and fort continued to do the like on shore, the viceroy desired to capitulate the twenty-third, and the capitulation being signed the twenty-eighth, the gate and bastion of St. Angelo was delivered up the same day, and the whole city in a few days after. The surrender of this capital of Catalonia so strengthened king Charles's party, that the whole principality, Roses only excepted, submitted soon after.

While our army was before Barcelona, captain Loads was sent to reduce Denia, and captain Cavendish to take Terragona, both which they effected. When artillery was wanted, it was landed from the fleet, and when ammunition was wanted for this artillery, all the twenty-four and eighteen pound shot were landed for the supply of the batteries, except as much as would supply thirty rounds; and when the city was taken, and a garrison established there by king Charles the third, the fleet landed eighteen hundred

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On the first of October it was resolved in a council of war, that Sir Cloudesley Shovel should proceed for England with the best part of the fleet ; that Sir John Leake, with a strong squadron, should be left in the Mediterranean ; that six ships should be left to attend the earl of Peterborough, two more remain at Gibraltar, and a third and fourth rate be employed at the request of his Portuguese majesty in cruising for the homeward-bound Brazil fleet.

In pursuance of these resolutions, Sir Cloudesley, with nineteen ships of the line, and part of the Dutch fleet, passed the Streights on the sixteenth of October, and arrived happily at Spithead on the twenty-sixth of November following, after as glorious a sea-campaign, as either ourselves or our allies could expect.

The count de St. Paul, after the death of the famous John du Bart, was looked upon as the best seaman in France, and therefore was promoted to the command of the Dunkirk squadron, in the room of Mons. de Pointis. We had a squadron under the command of Sir Thomas Dilkes, to watch that port, and another in the Soundings ; yet Mr. de St. Paul found means to get out with his squadron, consisting of five men of war and five privateers, and were joined at sea by several other privateers ; on the 20th of October, O. S. they fell in with our Baltic fleet, and having directed Mr. du Bart, with one of the men of war and the privateers, to secure as many of the English ships as possible, Mr. de St. Paul, with the other three men of war, attacked the convoy, which made a very gallant defence, but was forced to yield, and the count d'Illiers, who commanded after the death of Mr. de St. Paul, (who was shot in the midst of the action with a musquet-ball), carried our three men of war, and twelve merchant-ships, into Dunkirk.

At home we had this year a signal instance of naval discipline, which therefore deserves a place in this work. One captain Crofs, who commanded the *Elisabeth*, gave her up to the French in the channel, after a very slight defence. He was tried by a court-martial on board the *Triumph*, on the twenty-fifth of August ; Sir George Byng being president, and having twelve captains to assist him. It appeared there, that he shewed the utmost signs of fear, which intimidated the men ; and that if he had behaved as he ought to have done, the enemy might have been repulsed, and the ship saved. He offered several things in his defence, such as that his surgeon was sick, and many of the men were drunk, and would not do their duty ; but, upon a full hearing, he was declared guilty of neglect of duty, and the sentence pronounced upon him was, that he should be cashiered, rendered incapable to serve her majesty in any capacity,

city, forfeit all the arrears due to him, and remain a prisoner for life.

In this year our successes had been so great both by sea and land, and there appeared so fair a prospect of humbling the house of Bourbon in Flanders, and of driving them out of Spain, that when her majesty thought fit to recommend the Spanish war in a particular manner to parliament, the house of commons immediately voted two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, for the prosecution of those successes ; and for the whole service of Spain, during the succeeding year, they gave no less than seven hundred twenty-six thousand seven hundred and forty pounds ; afterwards they voted for the supply of the sea-service, for the year 1706, forty thousand men, including the marines ; they then voted one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, for the ordinary of the navy ; ten thousand pounds to the office of ordnance, for the works at Portsmouth, and eighteen thousand two hundred ninety-eight pounds seventeen shillings one farthing, for ordnance stores and carriages, for the eight new ships built to supply the loss of such as perished in the great storm.

This, with the settling the terms of the union, were the matters which principally took up the attention of this session of parliament. While the house was still sitting, Sir Edward Whitaker had orders to assemble a squadron to convoy the duke of Marlborough to Holland, which he did in the beginning of the month of April, and having seen the yachts safe into the Maese, returneth by the middle of the month.

Before we mention the proceedings of the grand fleet, it will be necessary to give an account of the exploits performed by Sir John Leake, whom we lately left steering his course for the river of Lisbon. In that passage he had the misfortune to meet with worse weather, and more contrary winds, than were usual in those seas, or in that season ; which reduced the English squadron to some straits for provisions ; and the Dutch, who are much heavier sailors, to far greater. However, when they were off cape St. Vincent, they met the Pembroke, Roebuck, and Falcon, which escorted a small fleet of victuallers, that could not have arrived more opportunely.

On his coming to Lisbon, Sir John Leake had some proposals made him by the Portuguese ministry, which were thought altogether impracticable in the then situation of things, and therefore Sir John waved complying with them. In the beginning of February, came letters from the admiralty, with advice of the mighty preparations that were making in the French ports, and the resolution that had been taken by the Spaniards to send away their galleons directly from Cadiz, under a French convoy, for the West-Indies ; which Sir John was directed to consider, and, if possible to prevent ; of which mighty hopes were conceived in
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England, when these news were made public; Sir John being held as able, and reputed withal as fortunate an admiral as any in the service.

Upon this intelligence, he called a council of war on the sixteenth of February, in which it was resolved, to proceed directly with the ships then ready, which were nine third rates, one fourth, two frigates, two fire-ships, and one bomb-vessel, English; six ships of the line, one frigate, two fire-ships, and a bomb-vessel, Dutch; and with these, in case the galleons were in the harbour of Cadiz, to enter it directly, if wind and weather would permit, and either take or destroy them. On the nineteenth another council of war was held, before which was laid a memorial of the Portuguese ministry, directed to Mr. Methuen, in relation to the homeward-bound Brazil fleet; and strict instructions from the lord high-admiral for succouring his catholic majesty without delay. Upon mature deliberation, they remained fixed to their former resolves, with these additions only, that as soon as they had executed their intended design on the galleons, they would make such a detachment as the Portuguese desired; and that whenever they should be joined with the ships and transports from England at Gibraltar, whither they intended to repair, they would instantly steer their course for the coast of Catalonia.

When these resolutions were formed, Sir John Leake acquainted Mr. Methuen, our ambassador at the court of Portugal, that it would be necessary to lay an embargo on all ships and vessels, that the enemy might have no intelligence of our design; and, upon Mr. Methuen's application, such an order was granted. But as there is nothing weaker, or at least nothing more subject to disappointment, than human policy, so this point that was thought so necessary to our security, proved, by an accident, altogether unaccountable, the ruin of our designs. Sir John Leake sailed with the fleet under his command, on the twenty-fourth of February; but, when he arrived before fort St. Julian, the duke de Cadaval, who commanded there, discharged first several single guns, and then fired the cannon of a whole bastion upon him. This surprised the admiral very much, who sending to know the reason of it, the duke pretended that it was done in pursuance of the order of embargo, as if the court of Portugal could possibly intend to detain the fleet of the allies in their harbour. This dispute hindered Sir John's sailing, somewhat more than twenty-four hours, and in the mean time the Portuguese, who doubted whether the embargo did not extend to the fleet of the allies, suffered five merchant-ships, two of which were Danes, and were supposed to have given notice of the design, to go out of the port the next day after the embargo was laid.

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On the 27th Sir John Leake reached cape St. Vincent, where he met with an easterly wind, which decayed so about noon, that it became perfectly calm. Next morning, however, he lay fair for the galleons, if they had come out before the wind would suffer him to reach Cadiz. But that night he received advice, that the galleons had sailed with a very hard gale at east, on the tenth of March, N. S. the 27th of February according to ours ; so that it is plain that if he had sailed on the 24th he must have met them. He was likewise informed, that they consisted of thirty-six sail, that is to say twenty-four galleons, and ten or twelve French privateers, from forty to fifty-six guns, which were ordered to see them safe into the sea. Sir John steered after them, though with little hopes of coming up, unless the east wind had left them when they were at the height of cape St. Vincent. Next morning he saw two sail a-head, to which the fleet gave chase. About six, the Dutch vice admiral Wassenaer took one of them, and soon after the other was taken by the Northumberland ; they proved to be Spanish ships bound for the Canaries ; and as they sailed from Cadiz the day after the galleons, it was thought needless to continue the chase any longer.

We are now to turn our eyes towards the conduct of king Charles III. He had been left in the city of Barcelona with a very small garrison, while the earl of Peterborough went to conquer the kingdom of Valentia, which he very happily accomplished, though with a very inconsiderable force. The French and Spaniards in the mean time were projecting the destruction of king Charles's affairs at a single blow ; and it must be acknowledged, that their scheme was so well laid, that nothing but a few untoward accidents could possibly have disappointed it. This design of theirs was to shut him up in Barcelona, which city they intended to attack both by land and sea, in the beginning of the month of March, when they looked upon it as a thing impossible for our fleet to have succoured him, as indeed it would have proved. The command of the land army was committed to marshal Tessé, but whether he really wanted activity in his own nature, or was so crossed in all his undertakings by the grandees of Spain, that he could do nothing ; I say, which ever was the case, so it was, that when the count de Thoulouse was ready to sail with the French fleet from Toulon, the Spanish army was in no condition to form the siege ; so that the whole month of March was spun out in preparations, and the place was not invested till the beginning of April.

This design was very early discovered here at home, and advice was sent of it to Sir John Leake before he sailed from Lisbon ; but it does not appear, that either the earl of Peterborough, or king Charles, apprehended this mischief, at least in due time, otherwise the king would have been provided with a better gar-

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rison, and the place have been certainly put into a condition of making a greater resistance. After missing his design on the galleons, the fleet under the command of Sir John Leake, repaired to Gibraltar, where he received a letter from his catholic majesty entreating his immediate assistance, in terms which discovered the deep distress he was in, and the concern and terror he was under.

The king's fears were far from being ill founded. M. Tesse came before the place with a numerous army, and the count de Thoulouse landed ammunition and provision sufficient for the service of an army of thirty thousand men for two months ; so that it is very evident, the French did all that could be expected from them by sea ; and if their endeavours had been as well seconded on shore, the place had undoubtedly been lost. But it so fell out, that the Sieur de Lepara, their principal engineer, was far enough from being a perfect master of his trade. He made a mistake at the beginning, which lost him eight or ten days time, and before he could correct this, they lost him by a shot from the place. This proved an irreparable misfortune ; for though he was but an indifferent engineer, yet after his death it appeared they had not his equal, so that when they came to make an assault on the place, they were repulsed with considerable loss. And having now shewn the errors, mistakes, and misfortunes of the French and Spaniards before Barcelona, we will return to our fleet, and the measures taken for relieving king Charles by raising the siege.

On the third of April, commodore Price, with six English and as many more Dutch men of war, joined Sir John Leake, who, in a council of war held on the sixth, resolved, in obedience to king Charles's letter, to sail immediately to Barcelona. In pursuance to this resolution, he arrived on the eighteenth in Altea-bay, and the next day had intelligence, that Sir George Byng, with a squadron from England, was coming up ; three days after they were joined by commodore Walker, with his squadron, as they had been the day before by Sir George Byng ; and then it was determined to sail north of Majorca, and that each ship should make the best of her way without staying for the rest. Upon the 26th the earl of Peterborough came off from Terragona, with a squadron of barks, having fourteen hundred land forces on board ; and when he came to the fleet, hoisted the Union-flag on board the Prince George, as admiral and commander in chief. His excellency found that the councils of war had rejected his proposals, and indeed their rejecting them saved the place ; since before his arrival, Sir George Byng, Sir John Jennings, and admiral Wassenaer, had anchored in the road of Barcelona, and by the contrivance of Sir George Byng, a considerable body of troops had been thrown into the town.

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On the 27th in the afternoon, the whole fleet arrived in the harbour of Barcelona, without meeting with the least opposition; for the count de Thoulouse having received an exact account of the naval force of the allies, thought fit to sail away with the French fleet to Toulon; which obliged the land-army to raise the siege with great precipitation. This relief appeared the more surprising, and must have been consequently the more grateful to king Charles, and all his faithful subjects, since it prevented their destruction but by a few hours, the enemy having made all the necessary dispositions for storming the place that very night, when, considering the extreme weakness of the garrison, their success could scarce have been doubted.

Two days after the arrival of the fleet, M. de Tesse thought fit to raise the siege in a very extraordinary manner, for which our own, and the French historians, profess themselves equally at a loss to account. His army consisted still of fourteen thousand men, the succours thrown into the place did not exceed six thousand; so that it was very strange he should leave behind him a train of one hundred and six pieces of brass cannon, forty-seven mortars, two thousand bombs, ten thousand grenades, forty thousand cannon-shot, two hundred barrels of musquet-shot, five thousand barrels of powder, eight thousand swords, eighteen thousand sacks of corn, besides flour, rye, and oats, in proportion, not only undestroyed, but untouched, as if they intended it as a present to the besieged, by way of compensation for the trouble they had given them.

Yet to me the cause of this is pretty evident; the marshal saw himself under the necessity of regaining the kingdom of Castile, by a strange sort of a march, first into Roussillon, then round by the Pyrenees, and so through Navarre, which constrained him to leave his sick and wounded in the camp, with a letter recommending them to the earl of Peterborough's clemency: and, I make no manner of question, that he chose to let things remain as he did, that these helpless people might obtain the more favour; which, though needless, when he had to do with an English general, was nevertheless humane in him. The admiral took to himself and his officers the honour of this great exploit, which was one of the most important, and withal one of the most honourable, that happened throughout the war. His most catholic majesty, on the other hand, was no less ready in paying a just tribute of praise and respect to his merit; so that, if ever there was a fact so well established as to be out of all dispute, it is this, that Barcelona was relieved by Sir John Leake.

The next great service that was attempted, was the reducing Alicant; and in sailing thither, putting into Altea-bay, the admiral received notice that Carthagea would submit: upon which Sir John Jennings was sent to that city, who returned the

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24th of June, after leaving a garrison in the place. But with respect to Alicant, the governor refused to surrender, and therefore it was resolved to besiege it by land, while it was attacked by the fleet at sea. To facilitate this, seamen were landed from the fleet, and Sir George Byng, with five ships, anchored in a line so near the town, that he quickly dismounted all the enemy's artillery, though the guns pointing towards the sea were one hundred and sixty.

On the 28th in the morning, it was resolved to attack the place on all sides; and with this view Sir J. Jennings landed the marines he brought from Carthage. About nine in the morning the ships had made a breach in the round tower, at the west end of the town, and another in the middle of the curtain, between the mole and the easternmost bastion, when the land-forces marching up towards the walls of the city, fifteen grenadiers, with an officer and serjeant, advancing, without order so to do, to the breach of the round tower, all the boats under the command of Sir J. Jennings, went directly to sustain them, but before the men landed, the grenadiers were beaten back. However, the boats proceeded, and all the men getting ashore, captain Evans of the Royal Oak mounted the breach first, got into the town with two or three of the boats crews; captain Passenger of the Royal Ann followed, and next to him captain Watkins of the St. George, with some seamen. Sir J. Jennings, with the rest of the seamen and forces, who were in possession of the suburbs, moved on to support them; who coming into the town secured the posts, and made proper dispositions until the rest got in, when Mahoni retiring into the castle, left them in possession, with the loss of but very few men; colone Petit, however, was killed in the suburbs, standing arm and arm with Sir J. Jennings, by a small shot out of a window, as they were viewing the ground for raising a battery against the wall of the town; besides whom there were not above thirty killed either of the sea or land forces, and not more than eighty wounded, notwithstanding the Spaniards had a continued communication from one house to another, and fired on our men from the windows and holes made for that purpose.

Next day brigadier Gorge, who commanded the troops before the place, summoned count Mahoni to surrender, which he absolutely refused; but the ships continuing to cannonade very briskly, and a great number of bombs being thrown into their works, the garrison, which consisted mostly of Neapolitans, compelled the governor to give up the place, notwithstanding all his declarations to the contrary. Brigadier Gorge took possession of it, and was appointed governor.

After the reduction of Alicant, Sir John Leake, in the beginning of September sailed to Altea-bay, from whence he sent Sir J. Jennings with his squadron, intended for the West-India service,

service, to refit at Lisbon. He next made the necessary disposition for a winter squadron, which was to be commanded by Sir George Byng, and then proceeded to put in execution his last orders, which were to reduce the islands of Ivica and Majorca. These islands not only belonged to the crown of Spain, but their situation rendered them very necessary at this time to the allies, as affording them an opportunity of supplying the places they had lately reduced with provisions, and securing a proper retreat for their smaller vessels, whenever it should be found necessary to keep a squadron in those seas during the winter. It does not appear, that the Spanish court had taken any precautions for their defence, as being entirely occupied with the thoughts of preserving Minorca, which was looked upon as the island of greatest importance, and therefore most of their regular troops were there.

On the 6th of September, Sir John sailed from Altea-bay, and on the ninth anchored before Ivica. This island, which is about fourscore miles in circuit, abounds with corn, wine, fruit, salt, &c. and the inhabitants being a trading people, were rather inclined to submit to the allies, than to remain under their old government; and therefore, on the first summons, they sent deputies to make their submission, which was readily accepted, and king Charles III. immediately proclaimed. On the 13th the fleet sailed for Majorca, and arrived on the 14th before Palma. This island, which is one of the finest in the world, abounding with all the necessaries of life, well planted and well peopled, and so large as to be once accounted a kingdom, was at this time governed by the Conde de Alcudia, who was a native of the place. He was warmly in the interest of king Philip, and when the admiral summoned him, sent him a Spanish answer, "That he would defend the island as long as there was a man in it." But upon throwing three or four bombs into the place, which did no great mischief, the inhabitants rose and forced the viceroy to surrender. He shewed his wisdom, however, where he could not shew his courage, by making a very prudent capitulation.

Sir John Leake left a garrison in Porto-Pin, and two men of war to carry off the Conde, and such other of the inhabitants as were disaffected to king Charles III. and on the twenty-third of the same month he prosecuted his voyage for England. Before his departure he received a letter from his Catholic majesty, who very gratefully acknowledged his services he had done him, and expressed the highest satisfaction as to his conduct on all occasions. On the 2d of October Sir John passed the Streights, and on the 4th, when he was off the south cape, detached Sir George Byng, with the winter squadron, for Lisbon. On the 17th he arrived safe at St. Helen's, having been separated in a storm from the rest of the fleet, which came soon after into
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Portsmouth. And thus ended as successful a sea-campaign as is recorded in our own, or perhaps in any other history.

Sir Stafford Fairborne, then vice-admiral of the red, was appointed, with a small squadron, to look into the mouth of the river Charent, with orders also to destroy such ships as the enemy might have at Rochfort. He failed for this purpose in the latter end of the month of April, and after continuing at sea about three weeks, he returned to Plymouth with a few prizes. Soon after he received orders to sail for the Downs, from whence he was quickly ordered over to Flanders, to assist in taking Ostend. Arriving before that place, he stood in so near the town, that they fired upon him, which he returned; but was soon after ordered to Newport, from whence, after the blockade of that place was formed, he came back to Ostend. A scheme had been contrived by some of the land-officers for destroying the little vessels belonging to that port; but when it came to be executed, it was found wholly impracticable. The entrance of the harbour being long, narrow, and crooked, whatever vessel or ship attempted to go in, must inevitably be much exposed to the platform of guns; so that there seemed but little hopes of attempting any thing against the ships by sea, which lay all in a cluster close to the quay, on the back side of the town; but there were letters in the camp which insinuated, that as soon as the trenches were opened, the batteries raised, and some bombs thrown into the place, the Spaniards in garrison, assisted by the seamen and burghers, would oblige the French garrison to yield.

On the 19th of June, the trenches were opened before the place; Sir S. Fairborne, with his squadron, cannonaded it by sea, and at the same time two bomb-vessels were sent as near as might be, and when they came to play did great execution. Sir Stafford likewise caused all the small frigates to run in as near the town as possible, and to discharge their broad-sides; which they did with so little damage to themselves, and so great hurt to the place, that the people began to mutiny, and the governor found himself under a necessity of capitulating, which he did on the twenty-fifth.

Thus the city of Ostend, which had formerly held out so many months, was taken in a week; though, besides the Spanish garrison, count de la Mothe, was there with a considerable body of French troops, which he undertook should not serve again in six months; and, as one of their own writers pleasantly says, it had been very happy for France, if he had for himself undertaken never to serve again. Sir Stafford Fairborne returned to Spithead, to assist in conveying a body of troops that were intended for a descent.

Before we speak of the proceedings of the grand fleet under Sir Cloudesley Shovel, it will be requisite to say something of the

the intended descent which we have just mentioned : this was a design framed upon the representation of some French Huguenots ; particularly the famous marquis Guiscard, who was afterwards engaged in a design to assassinate the queen. The land-forces designed for this service consisted of very near ten thousand men. They were to be commanded in chief by the earl Rivers ; under him by the lieutenant-generals Earle and de Guiscard : the earl of Essex, and lord Mordaunt, eldest son to the earl of Peterborough, were to serve in this expedition as major-generals. On the 10th of August the fleet under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, sailed from St. Helen's ; but not being joined time enough by the Dutch, this project proved abortive ; and it was resolved, that the fleet should proceed to Lisbon with these forces on board, and that they should be employed in the service of his catholic majesty.

It does not appear, that after their disappointment in this scheme of making a descent on France, the ministry came to any resolution as to the employment of the grand fleet, or of the land-forces on board it ; it looks as if all things had been trusted to the wisdom of the admiral, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, and of the general. The fleet was extremely late before it sailed for the Mediterranean, *viz.* the first of October, and being in the Soundings on the tenth of the same month, the *Barfleur*, a second rate, sprung a leak, which obliged the admiral to send her home, and to take the earl Rivers, and his principal officers, into his own ship the *Association*. Proceeding in their voyage, they met with exceeding bad weather, insomuch, that when the admiral arrived in the river of Lisbon, he had with him but four men of war, and fifty transports ; but he had the good luck to find the rest of the fleet arrived before him, so that he began immediately to prepare for action, and sent two ships of Sir George Byng's Squadron to Alicant, with money and necessaries for the army, then under the command of the earl of Galway, which was in very great want of them.

While he was thus employed, he heard, with regret, of the disorders in the Spanish court and in our army. It is hard to say, who was, or who was not, in the right ; but this is certain, that in consequence of these disputes, Charles III. lost his interest among the Spaniards ; and though he was once master of Madrid, he was forced to quit it again, and his affairs began to fall into such confusion, that the admiral at Lisbon could scarce tell what he had to do, or how to act for his catholic majesty's service, and therefore thought it requisite to send colonel Worsley to Valencia, to receive from the king himself, and the general, a certain account of their affairs, and a true state of the services they expected from him. While this gentleman was gone, and before the admiral had it in his power to take any settled resolution, the king of Portugal died, which threw the affairs of that kingdom

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kingdom into confusion ; and that could not happen without affecting us. We before observed, that the Portuguese ministry acted in a manner no ways suitable to the strict alliance which then subsisted between our court and theirs. But now things grew worse and worse ; and whatever sentiments the new king might be of, his ministers ventured to take some such steps, as were not to be borne with patience by an admiral of Sir Cloudesley Shovel's temper.

Upon the return of colonel Worsley, the admiral was apprized, by letters from the king and the earl of Galway, that, unless he could bring earl Rivers, and the forces under his command, and land them so that they might come to their assistance, things were likely to fall into great confusion, whereby all the advantages would be lost, which had been afterwards procured at so vast an expence, both of blood and treasure, by the maritime powers. These advices gave the admiral so much the more concern, as he knew that the ships were so much damaged, that it was impossible to fit them speedily for sea ; and that, on the other hand, the land forces were so much reduced by sickness, death, and other accidents, that, instead of ten, there were scarce six thousand effective men. He resolved, however, to do the best he could to comply with the king and the general's desire ; the rather because he saw that nothing but spirit and diligence could possibly recover those advantages, which had been lost through divisions and neglect of duty. He gave orders, therefore, for repairing, with the utmost diligence, the damage that had been done to his ships ; directed the transports to be victualled, and made the other necessary dispositions for proceeding with both the fleet and army for the Spanish coast, and in the mean time dispatched five men of war with a considerable sum of money and clothes for the troops, and was on the very point of embarking the forces, when he was restrained by an order from England, of which we shall say more when we come to treat of the transactions of the ensuing year, to which it properly belongs.

In the mean time, captain William Cony, who commanded the Romney, a ship of fifty guns, having been dispatched, as we before observed, by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, to cruise in those seas, and being then with the Milford and Fowey, two fifth rates, they received intelligence on the twelfth of December, that a French ship of sixty guns, with thirty pieces of fine brass cannon on board, that had been taken out of the ship commanded by M. Pointis, and which he had run ashore when he fled from Sir John Leake, lay at anchor under the cannon of Malaga, he resolved to go and attempt her ; though one of the fifth rates was accidentally disabled, and the other separated from him ; and sailing directly under the cannon of the place, cut her from her

her anchors, notwithstanding all the fire they could make, and carried her safe into the harbour of Gibraltar.

The complaints which had been made in the very session of parliament, of miscarriages in the West-Indies, engaged the ministry to make choice of Sir William Whetstone to go thither with a squadron of seven men of war, in order to settle affairs after the ravages which they had an account had been committed in those parts. He sailed accordingly with the trade in the spring of the year 1703, and arrived, on the 17th of May, at Jamaica. There he soon received intelligence, that a stout squadron of the enemy's ships was on the coast of Hispaniola, and that several rich ships were speedily expected from the coast of New-Spain. Upon this, he ordered the squadron to be put in a posture of sailing as soon as possible, and having left a sufficient convoy for the protection of the homeward-bound fleet, he proceeded on the sixth of June, for the Spanish coast.

On the 18th of the same month, being then within sight of Carthagena, he chased a ship, which in the night ran in among the Sambay keys, where there are very uncertain soundings and shoal-water, insomuch, that the Bristol, a ship of fifty guns, came on ground, but was got off again with little damage; however, he came up with the French ship, and after two hours dispute, she submitted. She had forty-six guns mounted, and carried out with her three hundred and seventy men; but buried all but one hundred and fifty men, unless it were a very few they had put into prizes. She had brought six hundred and forty negroes from Guinea, of which two hundred and fifty died, and most of the rest were put on shore at Martinico, the island of St. Thomas and Santa Martha, for they had heard that a squadron of English ships was in the West-Indies. The rear-admiral plying then to the eastward, discovered off the river Grande two sail, close in with the land, one of which being forced on shore, was burnt by her own men, being a privateer fitted out at Martinico, to disturb our trade.

The coast being thus alarmed, and no prospect of any immediate service, he returned back to Jamaica; but appointed three of the best sailors to cruize twenty days off Anigada, in the windward passage, for the French in their return home, it being the usual season for them to go from Petit Guavas, Port de Paix, and other places; but those ships joined him again without meeting with any success.

On his return to Jamaica, he had intelligence of a rich ship bound from Carthagena to Port Lewis, and in order to take her, he detached the Montague and the Hector, who though they missed their intended prize, brought in a ship of twenty-four guns, laden with sugar, indigo, and hides. Towards the latter end of the same month, the rear-admiral put to sea, to cruize off Hispaniola, where he met with such a storm,

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storm, as forced him back to Jamaica in a very distressed condition. While the ships, particularly his own, were refitting, the Montague, a sixty-gun ship, was sent to cruize on the coast of Hispaniola, where he met with two French ships, one of forty-eight, the other of thirty-six guns, and the captain bravely engaged them both till he lost them in the night. The next morning he had sight of them again, and would willingly have renewed the engagement, but his officers and seamen were not in the humour to fight, and so the Frenchmen escaped. The captain on his return to Jamaica complained to the admiral, and brought the whole affair under the examination of a court-martial, where it fully appeared, that he had done his duty to the utmost of his power, and he was thereupon honourably acquitted; but as for his officers, they were broke, as they well deserved, and many of his seamen punished.

The admiral, to repair this mistake as far as he was able, sent two fourth rates, the Bristol and the Folkestone, in quest of those ships; they fell in with them and the vessels under their convoy; they behaved very briskly in seizing the defenceless merchantmen; but though they had it in their power to have fought at least, if not to have taken the men of war, they let them slip with half the fleet under their care; for which scandalous neglect, the senior officer, whose name, I believe, was Anderson, came to be tried, was broke, and rendered incapable to serve at sea.

A little after these unluckly incidents, while the admiral was detained for want of stores at Jamaica, the Suffolk, by some unfortunate accident, which I think was never accounted for, blew up in the gun-room, where most of the men were killed, and seventy more in their hammocks were so burnt, that the greatest part of them died. When things were once more put in tolerable order, he sailed for the coast of Hispaniola, and had thoughts of stretching over again to the main, with a view to have sent the orders of his catholic majesty, Charles III. to the governor of Carthagená; but finding this impracticable, and himself much too weak to undertake any thing against the French in those seas, he returned back to Jamaica.

The enemy after Sir George Rooke had taught them, that sea-fights were not for their advantage, had recourse to their old trade of carrying on a pyratral war; and as they had little trade to protect, and many good ships, they were able to furnish out stout squadrons for this purpose. Add to all that has been said, the great concerns they had in the West-Indies, where now not only the French, but the Spanish settlements were immediately under their care, and where, as France had the free use of the ports, so she had the direction also of the naval forces of both nations, without which she could never have carried on the war.

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The driving the English out of the Leeward-islands, was the point the French had most in view, and having an exact account of our condition there, the governor of St. Domingo, M. Iberville, had orders to assist in an attempt that was to be made on St. Christopher's. The most probable relation that I have met with amongst many, sets the affair in this light. The count de Chavagnac, with a small squadron of French men of war, attacked the island of St. Christopher's in the month of March, where they burnt and plundered several plantations; but when they came to attack the castle, they were repulsed with loss. They would, however, in all probability, have carried their point at last, if the governor of Barbadoes, on receiving information of what had happened, had not sent down thither a sloop, with intelligence to the governor, that a squadron from England was coming to his relief. This reached the ears of the French, as it was intended it should, they embarked in much haste, after having done a great deal of mischief; but, however, nothing comparable to what the French writers say.

But, unluckily for us, before count de Chavagnac failed, count Iberville joined him with his squadron; so that they had now five stout men of war, some frigates, and twenty sloops, with which they resolved to attack Nevis. They landed in Green-bay, in the evening of the 22d of the same month, and they pushed their operations so briskly, that by the 24th, the inhabitants made a capitulation, by which they promised to deliver up all negroes, and to procure a number of prisoners, equal to that of themselves, to be set at liberty in Europe, in consideration of their not being taken off the island. The inhabitants undertook to deliver to the French, in less than six months, one thousand four hundred negroes, or one hundred and forty thousand pieces of eight; upon which the French retired, carrying off with them most of the effects, and a great number of negroes. A little after this commodore Ker arrived with a considerable force in the Leeward-islands, and having stationed several ships according to his instructions, he bore away with the rest for Jamaica, which was then thought to be in danger, from the junction of Iberville's squadron with that of Ducasse.

In the mean time rear-admiral Whetstone failed with a few ships from Jamaica, in hopes of attacking Ducasse, before he was joined by the succours he expected. But this design being defeated by bad weather, he returned to Jamaica about the middle of July, and towards the latter end, was joined by commodore Ker, with the squadron under his command. There being now so considerable a force, the admiral was very desirous that something should be attempted capable of effacing the memory of past mistakes, and worthy the naval force of the British nation. After mature deliberation, it was resolved to proceed

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proceed to Carthage, where they know the galleons were, to try what effects king Charles's letters would produce, and whether the governor might not be wrought upon by our successes in Europe, to own him for his rightful sovereign in America. With this view, Sir Wm. Whetstone and captain Ker sailed from Jamaica on the eighth of August, and on the eighteenth arrived before Carthage, and sent in a packet to the governor. At first he trifled a little, and gave evasive answers, but when more closely pressed, he declared roundly, that he knew no sovereign but Philip V. and that no other he would obey. There were at that time in the port fourteen large galleons, lying close in with the city, and unrigged. The admiral was for attempting to burn them, but the pilots unanimously declared, that any such design would be found impracticable, unless we were first in possession of Bocca Chica castle, and the other forts; and even in that case, it was very doubtful whether ships of so great a size as theirs could get in.

Then it was taken into consideration, what further service might be done, and the result of this was, a resolution to return to Jamaica; from whence, as soon as the trade was ready, the rear-admiral was to convoy them home, and commodore Ker to remain behind, in order to take upon him the command of the force left in the West-Indies. This scheme was immediately put in execution, and, upon their return, Sir William made all possible dispatch, in order to get home in time; and accordingly leaving the island the latter end of October, he arrived at Plymouth on the twenty-third of December, 1706, with the Suffolk, Bristol, Reserve, and Vulcan fire-ship, and a fleet of merchant-men under his convoy, having been landed abroad, and performed little, though no man in the service had shewn a greater spirit of activity, before his being sent on this West-India expedition.

Commodore Ker returned to Jamaica, in order to refit his vessels: but while he was thus employed, he was attacked by a greater evil, a mortality which prevailed among the seamen, and to such a degree, as in a manner utterly disabled him from any further service. The merchants, however, who suffered for want of ships to protect them, losing abundance of sloops, laden with silver, upon the Spanish coasts, began to complain loudly of the commodore's conduct; and even went so far, as to send home an agent, who had instructions to lay the matter before the house of commons, where, after a full and fair examination, this officer's behaviour received a censure, in consequence of which he was laid aside. In the mean time the command in the West-Indies devolved on Sir John Jennings, who had been detached for that purpose, with a considerable squadron from the Streights.

We are now to give the reader an account of the measures taken for the supplying the service of the succeeding year ; and this the success attending the war, both by sea and land, enables us to do in a very short space. The queen opened the sessions on the third of December, 1706, with a most gracious speech, wherein she took notice of what had been already done, and of the reasons which obliged her to desire, that as great dispatch as possible might be given to the supplies ; and how much weight her majesty's recommendation had, will appear from hence, that though they amounted to no less than five millions eight hundred ninety-three thousand three hundred eighty-one pounds fifteen shillings and three-pence three-farthings, yet they were voted in less than a week.

This care of the public thus shewn, the house went into the consideration of the several expeditions executed within the compass of the preceding year ; and after a long debate, on the twenty-seventh of January, in relation to the method of carrying on the war in Spain, it was carried on the question, by a great majority, that the several sums of money for the extraordinary services for the year 1706, which had been agreed to by the house, had been advanced and expended for the preservation of our firm ally the duke of Savoy, for promoting the interest of Charles III. in Spain, against the common enemy, and for the safety and honour of the nation. Not long after, the house proceeded to take into consideration the report from the committee, to whom the petition of several proprietors of plantations in the islands of Nevis and St. Christopher's in America, and other merchants trading to the same, on behalf of themselves and the other inhabitants and traders to the said islands, was referred, and the same being read, it was resolved, " That
 " an humble address be presented to her majesty, that she will
 " be pleased to appoint such persons, as her majesty shall think
 " fit, to inquire into the true state of the losses of the people of
 " the island of Nevis and St. Christopher's, in order to lay
 " the same before this house the next session of parliament, to
 " apply what may be convenient for the better securing those
 " islands, and supplying them with necessaries in order to a re-
 " settlement." The said address being presented accordingly, her majesty was pleased to answer, " That she was very well
 " pleased to find the house of commons had so compassionate a
 " sense of the losses of her subjects in Nevis and St. Christo-
 " pher's ; as also with the concern they shewed upon this occa-
 " sion for the plantations, which were so justly entitled to their
 " care, by the large returns they made to the public ; and her
 " majesty would give the necessary orders for what the house
 " had desired in that matter." Accordingly her majesty was afterwards pleased to appoint two gentlemen, of known ability and integrity, to go to the said islands, to procure an exact
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state of the losses of her subjects there, in order to their being put on such a footing, as might be best for the particular benefit of the inhabitants, and the general good of these kingdoms.

The house having had notice of the great declension of our interest in, and of our lucrative trade to Newfoundland; the marquis of Caermarthen having likewise acquainted them, that certain pirates had made a great and dangerous settlement at Madagascar, where they threatened to erect a kind of thievish republic, little inferior to those on the coast of Barbary; and having offered to go himself with a small squadron, to put an end to this mischief while there was a probability of doing it, the house appointed a committee to take these matters into their consideration; who, resolved to address her majesty, "that she would be graciously pleased to take into her royal consideration, how the said pirates may be suppressed, and their further robberies, and depredations, may be effectually prevented." Which resolution was on the 8th of April agreed to by the house. The same day it was resolved, "That an humble address be presented to her majesty, that she will be graciously pleased to use her royal endeavours to recover and preserve the ancient possessions, trade, and fishery, in Newfoundland."

Her majesty received these addresses very graciously, and promised that proper care should be taken with respect to the matters contained in them: and thus ended the proceedings of this session of parliament, with which I shall conclude the events of this winter.

We have now run through the naval transactions of about eighteen years, in which short space there happened so many things worthy of remark, and our maritime power increased to such a degree, that it is with no small difficulty that I have been able to bring them into this compass. The two wars in which we were engaged, in conjunction with the Dutch, as they demonstrated on the one hand our mighty power at sea, so on the other they put us to a prodigious expence. The house of commons, in the year 1702, in a representation to the queen, say expressly, that from November 1688, to March the eighth, 1701, there had been raised for the service of the war, forty-five millions; an immense sum indeed! As to the expences of queen Anne's war, we shall take notice of them when we come to the conclusion of it: at present let us observe, that one national end, with respect to England, was, in this last war particularly, in a great measure answered, I mean the destruction of the French power at sea; for after the battle of Malaga, we hear no more of their fleets; and though by this the number of their privateers was very much increased, yet the losses of our merchants were far

less in the latter than in the former reign, which I think was chiefly owing to a series of inquiries constantly carried on either in one house of parliament or the other.

The success of our arms at sea, and the necessity of protecting our trade, joined to the popularity of every step taken towards the encreasing our maritime power, occasioned such measures to be pursued in order thereto, as annually added to its force. The great storm in 1703, the misfortunes that so many squadrons met with in the West-Indies, our ill luck in regard to the Dunkirk privateers, and, in short, every other untoward accident which fell out within this period of time, though it bore hard upon private persons, and was injurious to our trade in general, yet was in the main beneficial to our marine, inasmuch as it gave a handle for augmenting it, as every thing tending thereto was well received. Hence arose that mighty difference which, at the close of the year 1706, appeared in the royal navy; which not only in the number, but in the quality of the ships of which it was composed, was greatly superior to what it had been from the time of the revolution, or even before it.

The Spanish naval power had been long decaying, so by this war it was totally destroyed: they had indeed a few galleys in the battle of Malaga, and about half a dozen men of war in the West-Indies; but, upon the whole, they had such occasion for ships of force, and had so few of them, that the assistance given them by the French, contributed not a little to the declension of their marine, as appears by the destruction of their men of war at Vigo, which was a loss they were never able to repair.

It is certainly matter of great satisfaction to every man who wishes well to his country, that after running through a series of such events, setting out at first with the sight of so great a naval power as the French king had assembled, while we struggled under many difficulties; and when we got out of that troublesome war, found ourselves loaded with a debt too heavy to be shaken off in a short interval of peace; it must, I say, be a great satisfaction to be able, at the close of this chapter, to assert, that we had overcome all these difficulties; and, instead of seeing the navy of France riding on our coasts, sent every year a powerful fleet to insult theirs, superior to them, not only in the ocean, but in the Mediterranean, forcing them, as it were, entirely out of the sea; and this, not by the thunder of our cannon, but by the distant prospect of our flag; as, at the raising of the siege of Barcelona, when the son of the French king, the famous count Thoulouse, high-admiral of France, fled from Sir John Leake, and took shelter in the harbour of Toulon.

By this, we not only secured our trade in the Levant, and strengthened our interest with all the Italian princes, but struck the states of Barbary with terror, and even awed the Grand Signior himself so far, as to prevent his listening to any propositions from France. Such were the fruits of the increase of our naval power, and of the manner in which it was employed; and though some, through misconception of the advantages flowing from this disposition in those princes and states; and some again, from a perverse humour, perhaps, of objecting against whatever carried us into a great expence, inveighed against sending such mighty fleets into those seas; yet nothing can be plainer, than that while we continued this war, such fleets were necessary; that they at once protected our allies, and attached them to our interest; and, which is of greater importance than all the rest, that they established our reputation for maritime force so effectually, that we feel even at this day the happy effects of that fame which we then acquired. Of what consequence, therefore, could the expences of these fleets, however large, be to a nation like this? especially if we consider, that the greatest part of it only shifted hands, since it is the peculiar property of naval expences, that though they rise ever so high, they can hardly ever impoverish, because they are raised on one part of the society, and laid out with the other, and, by a natural circulation, must certainly very soon return into the first hands.

It is a further satisfaction, that we can safely say our trade flourished through the course of the war, and our merchants were so loyal to the queen, and so well affected to her government, that upon every occasion they were ready to credit the administration with the best part of that immense wealth that had been raised under their protection. These were glorious times indeed, if riches, victory, and honour, can render a nation glorious; and for all these mighty advantages, we stood indebted to the maternal affection of the queen; the wisdom and probity of her ministers; the heroic courage and generous public-spirit of the officers she employed by land and sea; and, above all, to the sincere union of parties amongst us, the contempt of private advantages, and a steady concern for the safety, reputation, and future prosperity of this nation.

MEMOIRS

OF

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c.

INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE

NAVAL HISTORY.

The Naval History of GREAT-BRITAIN, from the Union of the two kingdoms, to the end of the reign of her majesty Queen Anne.

AS I propose to make the UNION of the two kingdoms the great event from whence, in this chapter, I shall deduce our naval history to the present times ; and as this event in itself has had a great influence on the naval power and commerce of this nation, I think I cannot act with greater propriety, than to open the chapter with an account of that important transaction. This I take to be more necessary, because almost all the historians, and writers of memoirs, have given too much way to their passions and prejudices, in what they say about it ; and this to so great a degree, that they not only contradict and abuse each other, but also darken things in such a manner, that even the most intelligent reader can hardly discern the truth.

It had been very apparent to almost every English ministry, from the time the two kingdoms had been united under one monarch,

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monarch, that something was wanting to complete that strength and harmony, which every reasonable man looked for from this conjunction; neither was it long, before some able statesman perceived what it was that must produce this effect; and a national union accordingly was proposed in the reign of king James I.

It was defeated then, as great and good designs are generally defeated, through want of public spirit. The king was partial to his countrymen, and the English were partial to their country. The former thought it his duty to make all his old dependants rich, in a manner not over justifiable; and the last despised the poverty of that nation to such a degree, that they forgot how far their own power and riches might suffer from such treatment.

Under king Charles I. his old hereditary subjects departed from their duty to him, and, a potent faction in England inclining the same way, the great weight of these northern neighbours was soon made but too evident, by the murder of the king, and the destruction of the constitutions of both kingdoms. After the Restoration, the politics of Charles II. took such a turn, as necessarily occasioned all thoughts of a closer union between the two crowns to be laid aside, it having been a maxim, during his reign, to make use of one nation to awe the other. The unfortunate king James II. sat too short a time on the throne, and felt too many cares, from the time he ascended it, to form any projects of this nature, though otherwise much might have been expected from him; for he was certainly a better judge himself, of the interest of both kingdoms, than any prince of his line. Some thoughts there were of an union in the beginning of king William's time; but the design was dropped from the belief, or rather the apprehension, of its being impracticable.

In regard to the advantages resulting from this measure to both kingdoms, they were, in the judgment of the ministry, very great; on the side of England especially, and of Scotland apparently. With regard to the former, the benefits derived from it were real and substantial, but some of them were such as it was not thought proper to avow. For example, the government in England could never be safe, whilst Scotland remained an independent kingdom, at liberty to make laws, set up trading companies, or raise forces whenever she thought fit; nor was the succession safe, while the parliament of Scotland had an indubitable right to depart from that measure, and a strong party was actually formed in that country for departing from it.

The other motives that were commonly insisted upon, were these, *viz.* The uniting the interests of both kingdoms, which had often thwarted each other, and thereby giving the united kingdoms,

kingdoms, or, which was the same thing, England, much greater force, and consequently much greater weight abroad; the conveniency of bringing both nations under one form of government, the seat of which must always remain fixed in England, and consequently all advantages accruing to Scotland for the future, must be drawn to, and centre there; the extirpating the French and Jacobite interest, where it was evidently strongest, introducing the Hanover succession, securing the Protestant interest, giving one turn of mind to all the people in the island, putting them under the same rulers, the same taxes, and the same prohibitions, so as to have but one political head, with a due subordination of members; these were considerations so high in themselves, and of such certainty in their consequences, that the bulk of the English nobility and gentry were no sooner acquainted with them, than they were convinced of their utility, and that it was not very easy to set the purchase at too high a rate; especially, when they considered the mischiefs to which they had been exposed in former times from the want of such an union.

The advantages proposed to Scotland, were the freeing that kingdom from all the grievances of which they had so long, and so justly complained; such as, that their interest always gave way to that of England; that their concerns abroad were sacrificed, instead of being protected; that, with equal prejudice to them, they were considered sometimes as subjects, but mostly as foreigners; that they were discouraged in carrying on their trade and manufactures; and, in fine, continually upbraided with their poverty, while it was made an invariable maxim of English policy, to keep them poor. By this union, it was proposed to make them one nation with the English, and to admit them to a full participation of their liberties, privileges, and commerce; as also, to a share in the government and legislature, and a perpetual conjunction of interests at home and abroad; so that henceforward the government of the united kingdoms would be equally in the hands of persons of both countries, which would prevent partiality on the one side, and take away many hardships that had hitherto been felt on the other.

In short, it was insinuated, that, for the sake of peace and general security, the English were content to grant their neighbours, not only as good conditions as they could well expect, but even better than they could reasonably desire; and that, to obtain the friendship and assistance of Scotland, the people of England were desirous to bury in oblivion all their former prejudices, and to contribute, as far as lay in their power, to support and enrich the inhabitants of the northern part of the island, and to treat them so favourably in point of taxes, as that they should have many and strong reasons to be very well pleased

fed with the exchange of nominal prerogatives, for real and weighty advantages.

Such as opposed the union in Scotland were either the friends of the Stuart family, or such as were, from neglect or disappointment, discontented under that administration. The former was in earnest concerned for the dignity and independency of the crown of Scotland, the honour of the nobility, and the welfare of the people, considered by them as a nation having interests separate from, and in some cases opposite to, those of the English. These men, upon their principles, heartily disliked the union, and had reason to dislike it. But as for the malcontents, they set up pretences of an odd, and extraordinary nature, and while they pretended zeal for the government, alledged, that Scotland would be prejudiced by the union; which, according to their principles, it was impossible to prove.

There was a third party in Scotland, which must be allowed by men of all principles, to have acted with great candour and uprightness. These were styled the Squadron, and had been very instrumental in the Revolution, and were cordial friends to the government; but, from motives of state which I shall not take upon me to explain, had been turned out of their places, and ill enough treated during this reign. These men, however, remained firm to their principles, which led them to approve and promote the union; and they did it with great zeal. Their arguments were strong and conclusive, and made the greater impression, because they were disinterested. There was, as is usual in cases of the like nature, a good deal of corruption practised; but all this would never have carried the point, if it had not been abetted by the industry and zeal of these worthy men. The earl of Stair, who was not of their number, knew this, and therefore advised taking them, and the country party, into the commission for settling that important treaty; but his advice was followed by the ministers only in the latter part, which, though it amazed the world at that time, had however the effect he expected from it, and was one great cause that the affair succeeded so well as it did.

All things being thus settled, the queen, by her commission, dated at Kensington, the 27th of February, 1706, in virtue of powers granted to her by an act of parliament, passed in Scotland, appointed thirty commissioners on the part of Scotland, and on the 10th of April following, her majesty appointed as many English commissioners. This commission was opened at the Cockpit, on the 16th of April, 1706, William Cowper, Esq; then lord keeper, delivering the sense of the English commissioners, and the earl of Seafield, lord high-chancellor of Scotland, acted in like manner on the part of the Scots commissioners.

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ers. On the first of May, the queen paid them a visit, and inquired into the progress they had made.

About a month after, she did the same; and these instances of royal care had such an effect, that on the 22d of July, the commissioners signed and sealed the articles, which were presented to the queen the next day. By these articles, which were in number twenty-five, the two kingdoms of England and Scotland were united, under the title of GREAT-BRITAIN; the protestant succession settled; one parliament established; the common enjoyment of privileges and commerce stipulated; ships built in Scotland, admitted under the act of navigation; an equal distribution of customs and excises fixed; the duties upon salt regulated; the land-tax adjusted in the following proportion, *viz.* that when England paid 1,997,763*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* halfp. Scotland should pay 48,000*l.* and so in proportion; and, as an equivalent for Scotland's being charged with the debts of England, there was granted to the former by the latter, the sum of 398,085*l.* 10*s.* to be applied to the discharge of the public debts of the kingdom of Scotland, the capital stock of the African and India company, with interest at 5 *per cent.* and for the improvement of manufactures and trade in that part of the island. It was also provided, that the monies and weights of Scotland should be the same with those of England; the Scotch courts of justice were preserved, together with all hereditary offices; and the rights and privileges of the royal boroughs; the representative of Scotland was fixed at sixteen peers, and forty-five commoners, which, though small in proportion to the English peers and commoners, yet was high in comparison of the share borne by Scotland in the taxes; the rights and privileges of the rest of the peers were fully secured; so that, except sitting in the house, they were to enjoy all the privileges of the peerage; and all the laws of either kingdom, inconsistent with the union, were declared null and void.

In the next session of parliament in Scotland, the union was carried, though not without great debates, and some protests. In England it went easier. In the house of commons, there was little or no opposition; there would have been a very warm one in the house of lords, but it was prevented by the wisdom of Sir Simon Harcourt, after viscount Harcourt, and lord chancellor, who drew the act so, that it would admit of no debate, but upon the general question, whether it should, or should not pass. It was carried in the house of commons by a majority of 273, against 160, and was carried up to the house of lords on the first of March, by the late earl of Wilmington, then Spencer Compton, Esq; passed in that house by a majority of 55, to 29, and on the sixth of March the queen came, and gave her royal assent.

It

It is certain, that the passing the union was a mortal blow to the French ; and it is no less certain, that the French did not exert themselves, as they might have done, to prevent it. The true reason, why the French were so cool in this affair, was this ; they thought that, though the union would destroy their interest in Scotland entirely, if it could be established, yet, that the suffering that law to pass, was the likeliest way for them to defeat it : for they depended upon a back game ; and, looking upon it as a thing certain, that this would throw Scotland into the utmost confusion, they projected an invasion, not with any sincere intention of fixing the son of king James upon the throne of Scotland, but of making use of him to excite a civil war in that kingdom, which, they apprehended, would at least force England to consent to the dissolution of the union, in order to make the people of Scotland easy.

If this had not been their scheme, why did they afterwards attempt the invasion ? If want of money had been the only reason for their not exerting their influence, how came they by the mighty sums of ready money, which that fruitless and foolish invasion cost them ? I have now done with this affair of the union, and shall only add my opinion of it freely, which is, that both nations have been great gainers by it, and that neither have the least cause to complain of it. If, on the one hand, the inhabitants of North-Britain have not profited as much by it as they expected, it is their own fault ; for, without industry and application to TRADE, it is impossible any nation should be great gainers by it ; and, on the other, if the English repine at seeing so many of that nation in civil, military, and naval employments, they are blind to their own interests ; for it is plain, that by acting in this manner, these men waste all their days in the service of England ; whereas, if they applied themselves to commerce and manufactures, they might live happily in their own, and enjoy there the greatest freedom and independency.

The war had now continued long enough to make both sides very weary of it, and yet the French were not sufficiently humbled, to think of peace on the terms prescribed to them. On the contrary, they found means this campaign, to bring more troops into the field, than since the war began ; which obliged the allies to make as formidable augmentations to oppose them. In short, as the maritime powers bore the largest share in the expence, and reaped the least immediate benefit from the continuance of the war, it was resolved to make the utmost efforts this year to put an end to it. With this view, the duke of Marlborough, and the English ministry, concerted several schemes for distressing the enemy on all sides, particularly in Spain, in Italy, and even in their own country ; and this, especially, by the help of the great maritime power we then had in the Mediterranean. It would

would lead us into frequent and unnecessary repetitions, if we should enter here into a copious detail of these projects, and therefore, to avoid such inconveniencies, we will speak of each in its turn, and, as near as may be, in the order of time in which they were undertaken.

In respect to the war with Spain, an opinion began about this time to prevail in England, that it was neglected, chiefly because the ministry found it impracticable to push this, and the war in Flanders at the same time. The duke of Marlborough knowing how injurious this report was to his reputation, pressed the prosecution of the war in Spain this year, with the utmost spirit; the rather, because a great reinforcement of English and Dutch troops had been lately sent thither: and it was very well known, that Sir Cloudesley Shovel would neglect nothing that might contribute to the advancement of the service. The army, under the command of the earl of Galway, was very early in the field, and promised great things; but whether his abilities were unequal to such a command, as some have suggested; or, as others alledge, king Charles ruined his own affairs, by marching back with a great body of troops into Catalonia; so it was, that about the middle of the month of April, that nobleman found himself under the dreadful necessity of either starving, or fighting a superior army.

Accordingly, on the 14th of April, his lordship, with about sixteen thousand men, ventured to give battle to the duke of Berwick, who had twenty-four thousand, and of these near eight thousand horse and dragoons, that were very fine troops. The English and Dutch were at first victorious, and broke through the enemy twice; but the Portuguese, it is said, behaved very ill, or rather did not behave at all, which gave the enemy an opportunity of flanking the English and Dutch, of whom about ten thousand were killed or taken prisoners. The earl of Galway retired with the broken remains of his army, which, however, nothing could have saved, but the timely appearance of our fleet. Sir Cloudesley Shovel, knowing the distress our army was in, through the want of almost every thing necessary, sent Sir George Byng, with a strong squadron, to the coast of Spain for their relief. Sir George sailed on the thirtieth of March, and coming off Cape St. Vincent, on the fifteenth of April, received there the news of our defeat.

He soon after received a message from Lord Galway, acquainting him with the distress he was in, and desiring, that whatever he brought for the use of the army, might be carried to Tortosa, in Catalonia, to which place his lordship designed to retreat, and that, if possible, he would save the sick and wounded men at Denia, Gandia, and Valencia, where it was intended the bridges of boats, baggage, and all things that could be got together,

gether, should be put on board. Accordingly, he took care of the sick and wounded men, and sent them to Tortosa, where Lord Galway proposed to make a stand with the poor remains of the army. This service employed Sir George Byng almost the whole month of April, and then he was in daily expectation of being joined by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, from Lisbon, either on that part of the coast of Spain, or at Barcelona, whither he was designed. Thus all the great things that were hoped for, from the augmentation of our forces in Spain, were absolutely disappointed; and this, chiefly, through the unaccountable mismanagement of that prince, for whose service all the expensive and hazardous expeditions were undertaken. Let us now turn our eyes to Italy, where we shall find a scene much of the same nature.

The first design that was formed upon Toulon, by the duke of Savoy, is very positively said to have been concerted with the famous earl of Peterborough; but his royal highness, finding that nobleman had no longer any great credit at court, he changed the scheme entirely, and concerted by his ministers at London a new one, with the duke of Marlborough. This, was the best design laid during the war, if we except the march into Germany, which had this advantage over it, that it was not only laid, but executed by the duke of Marlborough. The taking Toulon, if it could have been effected, would have destroyed for ever the maritime power of France; rendered her utterly incapable of carrying on any commerce with Spanish America, and have distressed her to such a degree at home, as must have produced an immediate peace, even upon worse terms than had been hitherto prescribed to her. All things were soon settled between us and the duke of Savoy; he could not undertake such an expedition without large supplies of money, and these we both promised and paid him: yet, even this would not have engaged him in so dangerous an attempt, if we had not given him the strongest assurances, that our fleet should constantly attend him; which we likewise very punctually fulfilled.

The first ill omen that appeared, was, the resolution taken by the emperor, at this juncture, when his forces in Italy should have been employed in promoting our design, to make with them the conquest of the kingdom of Naples. In vain our ministers represented to his imperial majesty the mighty things we had done for him and his family; the great importance of the present undertaking to the common cause, and the certainty of his acquiring Naples without resistance after this expedition was over. In vain were the like applications from the Dutch; and in vain the earl of Manchester's journey, and the queen's letter to dissuade him from that ill-timed attempt, though written in the strongest terms, and all with her own hand. He alledged, that such assurances had been given to his friends in Naples, that

that something should be immediately done for their service, that it was impossible for him to desist, and therefore, notwithstanding all these applications, count Daun had orders to march with 12,000 men, part of the troops that should have been employed in the expedition against Toulon, to invade that kingdom; which he accordingly performed.

The duke of Savoy, notwithstanding this disappointment, continued, at least in all appearance, firm in his resolution, and it was resolved to prosecute this great design, with the assistance of the English fleet. Accordingly, Sir Cloudesley Shovel having joined Sir George Byng, near Alicant, sailed for the coast of Italy, and, on the 5th of June, came to an anchor before Final, with a fleet of forty-three men of war, and fifty-seven transports. Prince Eugene went thither to confer with the admiral; and soon after the fleet sailed for Nice, where, on the 29th of the same month, the admiral had the honour to entertain the duke of Savoy, prince Eugene, most of the general officers, together with the English and Dutch ministers, on board his own ship, the Association.

After dinner, they held a council of war, and therein it was resolved to force a passage over the Var, in which hazardous enterprize the English admiral promised to assist. On the last of June, this daring attempt was undertaken, to the great astonishment of the French, who believed their works upon that river to be impregnable; and so indeed they had proved, to any forces in the world, except English seamen. The late gallant Sir John, then only captain, Norris, with some British, and one Dutch man of war, sailed to the mouth of the river, and embarking six hundred seamen, and marines, in open boats, entered it, and advanced within musket-shot of the enemies works, making such a terrible fire upon them, that their cavalry, and many of their foot, astonished at an attack they never suspected, began to quit their entrenchments, and could not be prevailed upon by their officers to return.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who followed Sir John Norris to the place of action, no sooner saw this confusion, than he ordered Sir John to land with the seamen and marines, in order to flank the enemy. This was performed with so much spirit, and Sir John and his seamen scampered over the works, the French thought inaccessible, so suddenly, that the enemy, struck with a panic, threw down their arms, and fled with the utmost precipitation. The duke of Savoy immediately pursued this advantage, and in a single half hour passed that river, which, in the judgment of the best officers in his army, had, without this assistance, proved the *ne plus ultra* of his expedition.

On the 2d of July, his royal highness, and prince Eugene, with the British envoy, and Sir John Norris, dined again on board the admiral; and after dinner, they entered into a conference,

tence, wherein, upon mature deliberation, his royal highness was pleased to declare, that since the queen of Great-Britain had earnestly recommended to him the marching directly to Toulon, without losing time in the siege of any place, of less importance, he was resolved to comply with her majesty's proposal, and hoped for a good conclusion of the affair, through the continuance of her majesty's friendship and assistance, which had encouraged him to undertake it. The army of the allies consisted of about 35,000 men, all enured to hardships, commanded by officers of the greatest experience, and of the highest reputation, supported by a numerous fleet, commanded by an admiral of known courage and conduct, who, upon all occasions, shewed the utmost zeal for the service.

It is impossible to describe the confusion into which this march of the duke of Savoy threw the French. Toulon was not in any state of defence; they had no troops in that part of the country; they scarce knew whence to bring them. They had then in the port a better fleet than they have been masters of since; besides twenty-five frigates, fire-ships, and other vessels of the same size, all of which, they were sensible, were in the utmost danger of being destroyed. In this distress, Lewis XIV. shewed less presence of mind than on any other occasion in his whole reign; for he condescended to recal the best officer in France, whom he had disgraced, I mean the marshal Catinat; in order to consult him; and, after taking his advice, was prevailed upon, by female intrigues, to trust the execution of an affair of such importance to the marshal de Tesse, who had so notoriously blemished the honour of the French arms, by raising the siege of Gibraltar.

To say the truth, the zeal of his subjects contributed more to the preservation of the place, than either the monarch's care, or the skill of his generals; for the nobility and gentry of the adjacent provinces, did not content themselves with arming and marching thither their tenants and servants, but even coined their plate, and pawned their jewels, to raise money to pay the workmen employed in the fortifications, which were carried on with such amazing alacrity, that in three weeks time, the town, as well as the port, was in a pretty good state of defence; and they had, besides, in the neighbourhood three intrenched camps, which, however, was all owing to the dilatoriness of the allies.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with the fleet under his command, sailed for the Hieres, after having made all the necessary dispositions, for securing a safe and constant intercourse between the army, and the dominions of the duke of Savoy, upon which the success of the whole was then thought to depend. It was the 15th of July before the siege of Toulon was formed, and on the 17th admiral Shovel landed, and assisted at a council of war, in

in which many demands were made on the fleet for the service of the army; and the admiral cheerfully promised all that was in his power, which he accordingly performed. One hundred cannon were landed from the fleet for the batteries, with two hundred rounds of powder and shot, and a considerable number of seamen to serve as gunners; and cordage, nails and spikes, with all other things wanting for the camp, were supplied from the ships; so that affairs had a very good face till the 4th of August, when early in the morning the enemy, making a vigorous sally, forced most, if not all the confederate troops out of their works, and took possession to the right, where they continued all day, and upon their going off destroyed them, drawing away eight or ten guns into the town; in which action there were killed and wounded on the side of the duke of Savoy above eight hundred men; among them were the prince of Saxe Gotha, and some officers of distinction.

This attempt being made with such superiority of numbers, it put the troops under great apprehensions, and the generals were of opinion, it would not be proper to carry on the siege, since, while the duke of Savoy's army decreased, the enemy continually gathered strength, insomuch that, on the sixth of August, his royal highness desired the admiral would immediately embark the sick and wounded, and withdraw the cannon, in order to his raising the siege, which from this time was turned only to a cannonading and bombardment. His royal highness also informed him, that he proposed to decamp the tenth in the morning, and desired that the fleet might accompany the army as far as the Var; which being done, it was proposed to carry the duke, prince Eugene, and the troops which could be spared for service in that country, on board the fleet to Spain, but since there was not any thing determined in this affair, the admiral soon after shaped his course down the Streights, as we shall see hereafter.

The very day the army began to march, the fleet drew as near the place as possible, and five bomb vessels, supported by the lightest frigates, and all the boats of the men of war, under the command of rear-admiral Dilkes, advanced into the creek of fort St. Lewis, and notwithstanding a prodigious fire from the place, bombarded the town and harbour, from noon till five the next morning, and this with all the success that could be expected. By this means the land-army had time to quit their camp at La Villette, which they did in five columns in great safety, the enemy having something else to do than to pursue them; and as to any attempts afterwards, his royal highness put them pretty much out of their power, by marching, in two days, as far as in his approach to the place he had marched in six. This disastrous end had the famous siege of Toulon,

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To speak impartially, one may safely set the faults of both generals against each other. If the duke of Savoy had arrived a week sooner, he had carried his point: and if, on the other hand, marshal Tesse had understood his business, as well as marshal Catinat, his royal highness had returned without an army. After all, this business, though it miscarried in the main, proved of great service to the allies, and had many happy consequences, which perhaps ought to balance the expence of it; for besides the great damage the French sustained in their shipping; the burning and destroying of eight of their capital ships; the blowing up several magazines; the burning of above one hundred and sixty houses in Toulon, and the devastations committed in Provence by both the armies, to the value of thirty millions of French livres; this enterprise brought these further advantages to the common cause, that it caused a great diversion of the enemies forces, whereby their army in Germany was weakened, the duke of Orleans's progress, after the battle of Almanza, retarded in Spain; the succouring of Naples prevented; and the conquests of the allies in Italy secured.

I must observe further, that as no prince in the world knew better than the duke of Savoy how to repair faults, and recover past miscarriages; so he gave on this occasion a noble proof of his high spirit, and great presence of mind, by investing the important fortress of Suza, which surrendered at discretion, on the 24th of September, and thereby gave him an open passage into Dauphine, at the same time that it enabled him to shut the French effectually out of his dominions.

Our admiral, not a little chagrined at the miscarriage of an expedition upon which he had set his heart, after having assigned Sir Thomas Dilkes a squadron of thirteen sail, for the Mediterranean service, sailed with the rest of the fleet from Gibraltar. On the 23d of October, he had ninety fathom water in the Soundings, in the afternoon he brought the fleet to and lay by. At six in the evening he made sail again, and stood away under his courses, whence it is presumed, he believed he saw the light of Scilly; soon after which he made signals of danger, as several other ships did. Sir George Byng, who was then within less than half a mile to the windward of him, saw the breaches of the sea, and soon after the rocks, called the Bishop and his Clerks, upon which the admiral struck; and in two minutes there was nothing more of him, or his ship seen.

Besides the Association, the Eagle, captain Robert Hancock, of seventy guns, and the Romney, captain William Cony, of fifty guns, perished: the Firebrand fire-ship was lost likewise; but captain Piercy, who commanded her, and most of the company were saved: the Phoenix fire-ship, commanded by captain

Sanfom, ran ashore, but was happily got off again. The Royal Anne, in which Sir George Byng bore his flag, was saved by the presence of mind of the officers and men, who in a minute's time set her top-sails, when she was within a ship's length of the rocks. Lord Dursley, in the St. George, ran as great hazard, and was saved by mere accident; he struck on the same rocks with Sir Cloudesley, and that wave which beat out the admiral's lights, set his ship afloat. The day after this unhappy accident, some country fellows took up Sir Cloudesley Shovel's body, stripped him, and buried him in the sand; but the boats crew of the Salisbury, and the Antelope, having discovered it, dug him up again, put his corps on board the Salisbury, by whom it was brought home to Plymouth, on the 28th of October, conveyed thence to London, and buried with great solemnity in Westminster-abbey, where a magnificent tomb was soon after erected to his memory.

Rear-admiral Dilkes, with the Squadron appointed for the Mediterranean service, sailed for Gibraltar on the 5th of October, in order to have escorted a convoy of troops, and provisions from Italy to Catalonia. But when he was some leagues westward of Barcelona, he received several expresses, desiring that he would enter that port, his catholic majesty having some matters of great consequence to communicate to him. The admiral accordingly repaired thither, and found that the principal point in view with his catholic majesty was, the reduction of the island of Sardinia, and the defence of the Catalonian coasts. The proposition made by his majesty, not being consistent with the orders Sir Thomas Dilkes had already received, he found himself under a necessity of waving, in the best manner he could, complying with what his catholic majesty desired; and since the care of the embarkation in Italy, was particularly recommended to him, by his instructions, he sailed from Barcelona on the second of November; but meeting with hard gales of wind, his Squadron was separated, and could not join again before the 14th, when being off cape Corsica, he received a letter from the king of Spain, which contained an account of the loss of Lerida, and of the great danger of Tortosa and Terragona.

He arrived at Leghorn the 19th of November, but met in the road with so terrible a storm, that almost every ship in his Squadron suffered by it. At his arrival he demanded a salute of seventeen guns, which was refused him: upon this, he wrote to her majesty's minister at the court of the grand duke, who complained of the disrespect. The secretary of state sent him soon after an answer, importing, that the castle of Leghorn never saluted any flag under the degree of a vice-admiral first; and therefore Sir Thomas Dilkes, being a rear-admiral only, had no right to expect it; and as to the number of guns, Sir Cloudesley Shovel was content with eleven, and returned the

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same number. On the first of December, this dispute being adjusted, he was invited on shore, and died a few days afterwards of a fever, caused, as most people imagined, by an Italian dinner.

Upon his decease, the command devolved on captain Jasper Hicks, who was the senior officer, and who sailed from Leghorn to the coast of Genoa, where embarking the troops at Vado, a little town to the westward of Savona, he escorted them safely to Spain, and then proceed with his squadron to Lisbon, where he received orders to put it in the best condition he could, against the arrival of Sir John Leake, who was coming, with the title of admiral and commander in chief, from England. It may not be amiss to observe, that this year the enemy had a considerable force in the Mediterranean, which relieved their party in the island of Minorca, and did other services in those parts but it was in a manner by stealth, and in the absence of our fleet, which, as the reader has seen, was then before Toulon. I shall conclude this subject with observing, that how ill soever our affairs went in Spain, it was owing entirely to the disputes amongst our land-officers, and the mischiefs and miscarriages induced thereby: for, at sea, all things went well; our fleets and squadrons did all that could be expected from them, and it seemed to be our misfortune, that it was not in their power to do all that was to be done.

At the time that our fleets were every where superior to those of the enemy, our trade suffered in almost all parts of the world, by their small squadrons of men of war, as well as privateers. This, though it fell heavily upon us, was a plain proof of the weakness of the French power; since it never can be conceived, that so haughty a prince as Lewis XIV. would have stooped to this piratical way of carrying on the war, if he could have maintained it in a manner more honourable.

Sir Thomas Hardy, who had commanded a squadron in the Soundings a year before, and who had this year been employed on the coast of Ireland, to protect the East-India fleet, was, in the beginning of the month of July, ordered to escort the Lisbon trade. Sir Thomas, pursuant to this order, sailed with the squadron under his command, and the outward-bound merchant-men. But being several times forced back by contrary winds, it was the 27th of August, 1707, before they got ninety-three leagues off the Lizard. About half an hour after two that afternoon, captain Kirktown, in the *Defiance*, who was in the rear of the fleet, made the signal of seeing six sail, which being also seen about three, right a-stern from the mast-head of the *Kent*, Sir Thomas Hardy brought to for the rear, that were a great way off, and spread very much, to come up with the body of the fleet, consisting in all of above two hundred sail.

Between three and four o'clock, Sir Thomas Hardy perceiving, that the six sail came up with him a pace, and thereby judging they might be seekers, made the signal for the ships that were to continue with him, to chase to windward, and also chased with them, both to prevent these six sail from taking some of the heavy failers, and to try to come up with them, in case they were enemies. About five, the six sail were seen from the Kent's deck, making all the sail they could before the wind after the fleet. Soon after they shortened sail, and brought to, to speak with one another; whereupon, Sir Thomas Hardy believing them to be the French squadron, mentioned in his orders, made the signal for the Lisbon fleet to part, whilst he, with his own squadron, continued to chase to windward the enemy, who had formed themselves in a line of battle. About six, the six sail bore away, and he, with his squadron, tacked after them, and continued the chase till near seven o'clock; but then considering that it was almost night, that the six sail were then hauled to, and almost in the wind's eye, he saw no probability of coming up with them, it being little wind; and, therefore, he made the signal for the captains with him, to advise with them according to his orders. The result of this consultation was, that Sir Thomas Hardy should leave off the chase; and left the enemy, supposed to be Guai Trouin's squadron, of whose strength he was informed by a letter from the admiralty, dated the 8th of July, 1707, should pass by him in the night, and fall upon the trade, which could not be protected by the convoys directed to be left with them; all the captains unanimously agreed that it was for her majesty's service, to bear away, and keep company with the Lisbon fleet, till they got 120 leagues at least from the Land's-end, according to his royal highness's order.

Sir Thomas Hardy complied with their advice, and saw all the fleet safe as far as he was directed. But upon the complaint of some merchants, surmising that Sir Thomas Hardy had not chased the six sail of French men of war, a court-martial was ordered to examine his conduct therein. This court, having sifted every circumstance of this affair, and heard the principal officers of the squadron upon their oaths, declared their opinion to be, that Sir Thomas Hardy had complied with his royal highness the lord high-admiral's orders, both with regard to the chasing the enemy, and also the protecting the trade; and accordingly, the court did acquit the said Sir Thomas Hardy, from the charge brought against him.

Towards the latter end of April, a large fleet of ships bound for Portugal, and the West-Indies, and making in all a fleet of fifty-five sail, had a convoy appointed them, consisting of three men of war, the Royal Oak, of 76 guns, captain Baron Wylde commander and commodore; the Grafton, of 70 guns, and

and the Hampton-Court, of 70 guns. They sailed on the first of May from the Downs, and fell in, on the second, with the Dunkirk squadron, commanded by M. Forbin, consisting of ten men of war, a frigate, and four privateers. The commodore drew five of the stoutest merchant-ships into the line, and fought bravely two hours and a half; but then captain Acton, of the Grafton being killed, and his ship taken, and the Hampton-Court soon sharing the same fate, after having sunk the Salisbury, then in the hands of the French, by her side; the commodore thought proper to shift for himself as well as he could, which it was not very easy for him to do, as he was immediately attacked by three of the largest French men of war, and had eleven feet water in his hold. He disengaged himself, notwithstanding, and with great difficulty ran on shore near Dungeness, from whence he soon got off, and brought his ship into the Downs. But while the men of war were thus engaged, the lightest of the enemies frigates, and their privateers, took one and twenty of our merchant-ships, and carried them with the two men of war, into Dunkirk.

The most extraordinary thing that happened in this engagement, was the conduct of a midshipman, on board the Hampton-Court, who, while the enemy were employed in plundering the ship, conveyed captain Clements, who was mortally wounded in the belly, into the long-boat, into which himself, and seven of the sailors crept through the port-holes, and concealed themselves, as well as they could, under the thouls. The enemy, in the mean time, driving with the flood, when they thought themselves at a sufficient distance, they fell to their oars, and had the good fortune to get into Rye harbour on the third of May. This affair made a very great noise, the merchants affirming, that there was time enough for the admiralty to have acquainted commodore Wylde, that the Dunkirk squadron was at sea; which, in all probability, might have enabled him to have escaped this misfortune.

The French, according to their usual custom, magnified this success of theirs excessively; for they asserted, that besides the three men of war, there was a frigate of forty guns sent to strengthen the convoy, and that the fleet of merchant-men consisted of fourscore sail, of which they took twenty-two, and made 1200 prisoners. In Forbin's memoirs, we have some very extraordinary circumstances; such as, that he engaged the commodore himself, and killed him with a musket-shot through a port-hole, while he was giving his orders sword in hand between decks, and afterwards made himself master of his ship; in which, as we have seen, there is not one word of truth; and all that can be said in excuse of the French relation, is that M. Forbin mistook the Hampton-Court for the commodore.

All the French relations, however, do us the justice to own, that our captains behaved extremely well, and that their victory cost them very dear. The French king, as soon as he had advice of this engagement, promoted M. Forbin to the rank of chef d'escadre, and gave him likewise the title of count, which he soon after merited by an extraordinary exploit, of which we are next to give an account.

The Russia fleet being this year very numerous, and very richly laden, Sir Benjamin Ayloff being then governor, and some other principal merchants, applied themselves to the admiralty, in order to know what convoy they might expect, and particularly took notice of the apprehensions they were under, from the Dunkirk squadron; they were told, that they should have one fourth, and two fifth rates, with which they were very much dissatisfied. To make them in some measure easy, Sir William Whetstone had orders to convoy them beyond the islands of Shetland. Accordingly the fleet, consisting of about fifty merchant-men, sailed, and were actually convoyed, as far as his instructions directed, by admiral Whetstone, who left them about three weeks before they were taken, to proceed on their voyage, under their proper convoy.

Some time after captain Haddock, who commanded, made a signal of his seeing eleven sail of the enemies ships, which some of the fleet not regarding, but trusting to their good sailing, fifteen of them fell into the enemies hands, off the island of Kildine, on the coast of Lapland, on the 11th of July; and the rest of the fleet, consisting of about forty ships, with their convoy of three men of war, by the favour of a hard gale, and a thick fog, got into Archangel.

In the latter end of August, there was a great fleet ready for Lisbon, having on board provisions, military stores, and upwards of a thousand horses, for the king of Portugal's service. The merchants were extremely uneasy on the head of a convoy. They observed, that so many ships had been taken in performing the voyage to Portugal, that it not only affected the commerce, but the reputation of this kingdom, and obliged the Portuguese to send their orders for corn even against their will into Holland; for this reason, they earnestly insisted, that such a convoy might be given them, upon this occasion, as might effectually secure so great a fleet, (for there were no fewer than one hundred and thirty merchant-men,) and thereby recover our credit at Lisbon; and, in consequence of it, our corn trade, which had been in a great measure diverted into other hands for the two last years,

These representations were by no means pleasing to the admiralty, where admiral Churchill, the duke of Marlborough's brother, commonly expressed the sense of his royal highness's council, and thereby drew on himself the merchants displeasure in

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in the highest degree. He told them, upon this occasion, that they should be furnished with as speedy and as strong a convoy as could possibly be provided for them; yet it so fell out, that it was the 24th of September before this convoy was ready to sail. It consisted of the Cumberland, captain Richard Edwards, of eighty-guns; the Devonshire, of the same force; the Royal Oak, of seventy-six; the Chester and Ruby, each of fifty guns. But, to say the truth, the Chester and Ruby were, properly speaking, the convoy; for the other three ships were only to see the ships fifty leagues beyond Scilly. The fleet did not sail till the 9th of October, and on the 10th, they fell in with the joint fleet of count Forbin and M. du Guai Trouin, off the Lizard.

The French were at least twelve sail of line-of-battle ships, The convoy disposed themselves in a line, and thereby gave the merchant ships an opportunity of escaping. M. du Guai attacked the Cumberland, about twelve at noon, and with the assistance of two other ships, after an obstinate dispute, carried her; the Devonshire defended herself, for a long time, against seven, and till evening against five French ships; but then, by some accident, which will remain for ever unknown, took fire, and blew up; two only, out of nine hundred men, escaped; the Royal Oak made a vigorous resistance, and having set the French ship which attacked her, and was commanded by M. de Bearnois, on fire, got safe into Kinsale harbour; the count de Forbin took the Chester, and messieurs de Courferat and de Nesmond took the Ruby. As for the Lisbon fleet, they very prudently saved themselves during the engagement; but the French made a prodigious boasting of the men of war they had taken, though the dispute was so very unequal, and though in effect the convoy did all that could be expected from them, by securing the merchants at their own expence.

But, in the midst of so many discouragements, the nation was not altogether deprived of good fortune. even in respect to these little disputes; for at the very close of the year, captain Haddock, in her majesty's ship the Ludlow-Castle, got sight, off the long sand, of two frigates, which proved to be the Nightingale and Squirrel, formerly her majesty's ships, but taken by the French, and now fitted out from Dunkirk, as privateers, and each of them having as many men as the Ludlow-Castle. They both lay by, till he came with gun-shot of them; but then made sail from him before the wind. At eleven at night, he came up with the Nightingale, and took her, and as soon as the captain of the Squirrel perceived it, he crowded sail and stood away. The captain of the Nightingale was one Thomas Smith, who had formerly commanded a sloop in her majesty's service, and was broke at a court-martial for irregular practices: captain Haddock, who died lately an admiral, and who commanded

the Squadron in the Mediterranean, immediately before the last war, carried in his prize to Hull, from whence he thought fit to send up all the English who were on board the *Nightingale*, viz. captain Thomas Smith, who commanded the ship; Charles Aislaby, lieutenant; Mr. Harwood, who acted as a midshipman; an Irish priest, and an English sailor, who were immediately committed close prisoners for high-treason, and a prosecution, by the attorney-general, directed against them.

About the same time, arrived the welcome news of our success in Newfoundland, where captain John Underdown, commander of her majesty's ship the *Falkland*, having received advice on the 25th of July, that the enemy had many ships employed in the fishery, in several harbours to the northward, our commanders of ships, merchants, and inhabitants, petitioned him to endeavour the destroying of them, and by that means to encourage and protect the British trade in those places. In pursuance of which representations, on the 26th of July, captain Underdown set sail from St. John's, having taken major Lloyd, who desired to be employed in the expedition, with twenty of his company, on board the *Falkland*, and twenty more of the same company, on board the *Nonfuch*. On the 27th, they came before Bonavis, and finding there no appearance of an enemy, the commodore ordered captain Hughes upon that station, to sail with him.

On the 2d of August, they stood into the bay of Blanche, till they came off *Fleur-de-lis* harbour. Major Lloyd was immediately sent into the harbour in the commodore's pinnace, and the lieutenant of the *Falkland*, in the pinnace belonging to the *Nonfuch*, in order to make what discoveries they were able. They found there were several stages, and other necessaries for the fishery, to which they set fire, and afterwards they returned, without any loss sustained, on board the men of war. By six the next morning they doubled the cape, and saw a ship, which, upon the brisk exchange of a few shot, struck; the commodore sent his boats aboard, and found her to be from St. Malo's, carrying about three hundred and sixty tons, thirty guns, and one hundred and ten men, called the *Duke of Orleans*. In another arm of the bay, named *Equillette*, was another large ship; but the place being rocky, and the water shallow, it was impossible for either the *Falkland* or *Nonfuch* to come near her; whereupon, the Medway's prize was ordered to go as close in as she could, with safety; and, at the same time, captain Carleton, major Lloyd, and the lieutenant of the *Falkland*, in boats well manned and armed, were directed to land upon the island, under which she lay. This was executed with so good effect, that the enemy, after having fired several broadsides, being no longer able to keep the deck, against our small shot from the shore, struck. This ship was of the force of
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twenty guns, and fourscore men, belonging also to St. Malo. Having here received information, that about three leagues to the northward, in La Couche, there were two ships, one of thirty-two guns, and the other of twenty-six, both of St. Malo; the commodore gave captain Hughes directions to burn the last prize, and afterwards to join him at La Couche, himself in the Falkland, with the Nonsuch, making the best of their way thither.

The fifth, in the afternoon, they came into La Couche, where they found the two ships in readiness for sailing. The enemy fired several broadsides at them, which, as soon as our men of war returned, they set their ships on fire, and left them, going over to the next harbour, called Caroufe, in which, the commodore had received intelligence, there were four ships. He immediately weighed, and stood for that harbour, and about eight o'clock at night was joined by the Medway's prize; but there being very little wind at S. W. and much difficulty in getting out, it was about six the next morning before he got off the harbour's mouth. The commodore sent in his boat, but found the enemy had escaped, having by the advantage of a little wind, and the great number of men and boats, cut and towed out. The British ships stood to the northward, and saw several vessels, to which they gave chase; about five in the afternoon they came off the harbour of St. Julian, where they discovered a ship, and having lost sight of the vessels they had pursued, stood in for the harbour, and came to an anchor in twenty-six fathom water. The place where the ship was hauled in, being very narrow and shoally, the commodore ordered the Medway's prize to go as near as possibly she could. The enemy fired two guns, but it was not thought fit to attack her till the morning. Accordingly, the sixth of August, at four of the clock, captain Carleton, major Lloyd, and lieutenant Eagle, went in, with all their boats well manned and armed, and immediately landing, drove the enemy from their posts, who were likewise on shore. Our men took their boats, and went aboard their ship, where they found the enemy had laid several trains of powder, in order to blow her up; which being seasonably discovered, she was preserved, and by noon they towed her out to sea. But the British pilots being unacquainted with the coast, and the commodore thinking it not proper to go farther to the northward, it was resolved to sail back to Caroufe, and there remain till they were joined by the duke of Orleans prize, which was left at Grand Canarie, with a lieutenant and sixty men.

In the way to Caroufe, it was thought fit to look into Petit Maistre, where they destroyed great numbers of boats and stages, with vast quantities of fish and oil; about seven at night, they came to an anchor in Caroufe harbour, and moored.

ed. On the 12th and 13th it blew a hard gale at S. W. Having destroyed the fishery at Petit Maître, and the duke of Orleans prize being come to La Couche, on the 14th, by four in the morning, they weighed and stood out to sea, taking her with them, and steered for St. John's harbour, where the Falkland and Nonsuch, with the two prizes, arrived the 17th of the same month, having before given the Medway's prize orders to sail to Trinity.

We ought now, according to the method that has been generally observed, to speak of the proceedings in the West-Indies; but, as what was done there this year, is so strictly connected with what happened in the following, that it is scarce possible to divide them, without destroying the perspicuity of both relations; I shall defer saying any thing of the events that fell out in that part of the world, till I come to speak of them in their proper places; that is, after having accounted for the naval proceedings in the succeeding year.

The first parliament of GREAT-BRITAIN, met upon the 23d of October, when the eyes not only of this kingdom, but of all Europe, were fixed upon them. The earliest thing they did was, to make choice of John Smith, Esq; for their speaker; and the next, in the house of commons, was, to vote an address of thanks to the queen, for her most gracious speech made to them on the sixth of November, to which day they had adjourned. In the house of lords it went otherwise; instead of their usual address, their lordships proceeded to a direct consideration of the state of the kingdom, in which very warm debates arose, in regard to the navy especially.

This produced the appointing of a committee, in which this matter might be resumed, upon the 19th of December, at which her majesty was present. The sheriffs of London, presented a petition, signed by two hundred of the most eminent merchants of the city of London, setting forth the great losses they had lately sustained at sea, for want of convoys and cruizers; and praying that some remedy might be speedily applied, that the trade of the nation might not be entirely destroyed.

The house went as heartily into this matter as the sufferers could desire, and appointed the 26th to hear the merchants further, in a grand committee, where they were permitted to make a regular charge, and encouraged to exhibit their evidence. In the course of this inquiry, it fully appeared to their lordships, that many ships of war were not fitted out to sea, but lay in port neglected, and in great decay. That convoys had been often denied the merchants, and that, when they were promised, they were so long delayed, that the merchants lost their markets,

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markets, were put to great charges, and, where they had perishable goods, suffered great damage in them. The cruisers were not ordered to proper stations in the channel; and, when convoys were appointed, and ready to put to sea, they had not their sailing orders sent them till the enemies privateer squadrons were laid in their way, and with superior force prepared to fall on them; which had often happened.

Many advertisements, by which these misfortunes might have been prevented, had been offered to the admiralty; but had not only been neglected by them, but those who offered them, had been ill treated for doing it. To carry these things as far as possible, they caused an exact report to be drawn of their proceedings; sent it to the admiralty-office; received the best answer that could be given from thence; heard the merchants by way of reply to this, digested the whole into a second report, and, together with an address suitable to a matter of such mighty consequence, laid it before her majesty, on the first of March, 1707. Her majesty received this address very graciously, and promised to pay all the regard thereto, that the nature of the thing, and the respect due to the advice of the hereditary council of her kingdoms deserved.

The house of commons also went into a grand committee, on the affairs of the navy, of which Sir Richard Onslow was chairman; they heard with great attention all that the merchants had to say, and carefully examined all the evidence they could produce; and though there were some people who endeavoured to stop the mouths of the merchants, when they ran out into invidious characters of those officers by whom they thought themselves wronged, yet the majority of the house were inclined to hear their sentiments, and encouraged them to go on. Both lords and commons concurred in carrying to the throne, such complaints as appeared to be well founded; and with this view their lordships, on the 7th of February, addressed the queen to lay aside captain Ker; and on the 26th of the same month, the house of commons presented an address of the same nature, against the same person.

These warm proceedings had a proper effect; they convinced such as sat at the admiralty-board, that it was dangerous to treat British merchants with contempt; as, on the other hand, it taught the officers to know, that having friends at the board, or being tried, where no evidence could reach them, would not always secure them from punishment. On the complaint of the merchants, however, against Sir Thomas Hardy, tho' prosecuted with great heat, both houses concurred to vindicate him, which was sufficient to encourage the officers of the navy to do their duty; since, where they could prove they had done this, it was most clear they ran no hazard;

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but, if pursued by groundless clamour, were sure to come off with reputation.

As the season for action was now coming on, the lord high-admiral made the following promotions : Sir John Leake was declared admiral of the white, and admiral and commodore in chief of her majesty's fleet ; Sir George Byng, admiral of the blue ; Sir John Jennings, vice-admiral of the red ; Sir John Norris, vice-admiral of the white ; the lord Dursley, vice-admiral of the blue ; Sir Edward Whitaker, rear-admiral of the red ; and John Baker, Esq; rear-admiral of the white. Some alterations were likewise made in his royal highness's council.

An act passed for regulating convoys, and cruizers ; and a further term of fourteen years and a half was granted to the East-India company, in consideration of their advancing 1,200,000*l.* for the public service, there being granted in the whole, for the year 1701, no less than 5,933,657*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.* a supply unheard of in former times, and for a great part of which we stand indebted to this day. Of this, upwards of 2,300,000*l.* were intended for the service of the fleet, and great things were expected, especially since all parts of the island seemed heartily united in one interest ; and the carrying on the war, humbling France, and exalting the house of Austria, were every where considered as the great objects of our care ; being essentially necessary to the welfare of the nation.

But, before our projects were thoroughly adjusted, the French actually played off one of theirs ; which put us into great confusion, and had like to have had much worse consequences. This was the attempt upon Scotland, in favour of the chevalier de St. George ; which was the *Nomme de Guerre* they were pleased to give the person, whom the queen soon after distinguished by the name of the Pretender. The design is said to have been carried on with great secrecy ; but this must be understood only of the French court ; for it was sufficiently known, and talked of in Scotland, long before it was undertaken. I do not think, that so idle an expedition demands, in a work of this nature, a very critical explanation, and therefore, I shall content myself with saying, that it ought to be reckoned amongst the number of those affronts, of which the French have never been sparing to this nation, and was chiefly designed to shew how much, in spight of all the power of the allies, Lewis XIV. was able to alarm and distract us.

The troops, intended for this attempt, were about eleven or twelve battalions, under the command of the marquis de Gace, afterwards styled the marshal de Martignon. The fleet consisted of but eight men of war, which was commanded by the count de Forbin, who is said to have disliked the design, because, very probably, he knew the bottom of it ; for it is very certain,

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certain, the French never intended to land, and refused the chevalier to set him on shore, though he would have gone with his own servants. The true scheme of the French king was to create a diversion, and, if possible, raise a rebellion in Scotland, that, by means of trials and executions, the queen and her ministry might be sufficiently embarrassed at home, and have the less leisure to prosecute their views abroad; and, from these motives, he ordered his ministers in all foreign courts to talk in very magnificent terms, of the succours he gave to the king of England, as he thought fit to call him, that, on the rebound, they might make the louder noise in Britain, and induce us to believe our danger the greater, and more inevitable.

In this respect, the French politics had their effect; for, on general Cadogan's sending over an express, disclosing the whole design, the queen acquainted the house of commons therewith, on the fourth of March, and received a very loyal address from them, as well as from the lords; but the apprehensions expressed here, and in Holland, had such an effect upon the monied interest, that it occasioned a prodigious run upon the bank, and disturbed our foreign remittances so much, that all thinking people were at this time convinced of the great risk a nation runs, that engages in a foreign war, while heavily loaded with debts at home. Our public securities fell surprisngly, and things would have fallen into downright confusion, if the fright had not been quickly over.

This was owing to the care of the admiralty, who, with remarkable diligence, fitted out a fleet of twenty-four men of war, with which Sir George Byng and lord Dursley sailed for the French coast, on the 27th of February, without diminishing the convoy of the Lisbon fleet; which, when we had time to consider it, appeared prodigious, and sufficiently convinced the French, that a real invasion was not at all their business. On Sir George Byng's anchoring before Gravelin, the French officers laid aside their embarkation; but, upon express orders from court, were obliged to resume it, and on the sixth of March actually sailed out of Dunkirk; but being detained by contrary winds, came to an anchor till the eighth, and then continued their voyage for Scotland.

Sir George Byng pursued them with a fleet of forty ships of the line, besides frigates and fire-ships. He afterwards detached rear-admiral Baker, with a small squadron, to convoy the troops that were sent from Ostend, and prosecuted his expedition with the rest. On the 13th of March, the French were discovered in the Frith of Edinburgh, where they made signals, but to no purpose, and then steered a N. E. course, as if they intended to have gone to St. Andrews. Sir George Byng followed them, and took the Salisbury, an English prize, then

then in their service, with several persons of quality on board; finding it was altogether impossible to come up with the enemy, he returned with the fleet to Leith, where he continued till he received advice of count Forbin's getting back to Dunkirk, and then proceeded to the Downs, pursuant to the orders he received from the ministry, from whence he soon came to London, where he was most graciously received by the queen his sovereign, and by his royal highness prince George of Denmark.

Thus ended this affair of the invasion, which made so much noise at that time, and which has been handed down in so many different lights to posterity. An affair, indeed, which speaks the true policy of France, and shews how artfully she can serve her own ends, and with how great readiness she betrays, and gives up to destruction, such as are simple enough to trust her. But, through the wisdom of the British ministry, joined to the cunning of some of the nobility of Scotland, who were taken into custody upon this occasion, and who, it is generally thought, gave such lights as enabled the government to take these effectual methods; the latter part of the French scheme proved as abortive as the first; all the prisoners being soon after set at liberty, and every thing being done to satisfy and quiet the people of that country.

The great point the ministry had in view this year, was, to put the affairs of his catholic majesty into better order, and, to repair, as fast as it was possible, the many unlucky consequences of the fatal battle of Almanza. Sir John Leake, who commanded the grand fleet, was so early at sea, that on the 27th of March he arrived at Lisbon; having, in his way thither, seen the merchant ships bound to Virginia, and the Canaries, with their respective convoys, well into the sea, and taken care for the security of others designed to the ports of Portugal. Here he found the ships that had been left with captain Hickes, which were fourteen of the third rate, besides small frigates, and bomb vessels: and at a council of war it was resolved, that, as soon as the transports were ready to receive the horse on board, the fleet should proceed to Vado, and that such of the ships of war as could not be got ready by that time, should follow to Barcelona, where there would be orders left how they should farther proceed. But, as for the Dutch ships, they were all separated in bad weather, between England and Lisbon. It was also determined, at the desire of the king of Portugal, to appoint the Warpight, Rupert, and Triton, to cruize off the Tercera, or Azores islands, for the security of his majesty's fleet expected from Brazil; nor was there any care omitted to guard the Streight's mouth, lest otherwise our trade should suffer by the enemies cruizers or privateers. The procuring transport ships, and putting them in a condition for receiving the horse, took up

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a considerable time ; but, on the 23d of April, the admiral was ready to sail with as many as could carry fifteen hundred, with one second rate, twelve third rates, two fourths, a fire-ship, bomb vessels, &c. together with twelve ships of the line of battle of the states-general ; and, upon advice from colonel Elliot, governor of Gibraltar, and from other hands, that some French ships of war were seen cruizing off the Streights mouth ; one third, and one fourth rate, and another of the Dutch ships of war, were appointed to strengthen those before ordered to ply up and down in that station.

The admiral sailed from the river of Lisbon, on the 28th of April, and, in his passage up the Streights, he, on the 11th of May, being about twelve leagues from Alicant, had sight of several vessels, which he took for fishing boats. But he had a better account of them the next day, for having detached before some light frigates from Barcelona, to give notice of the approach of his fleet, one of them had the good luck to take a French frigate of twenty four guns, and thereby obtained an account of the convoy that was expected. Upon this, the captains of our frigates made the necessary dispositions for intercepting them. The next day, the French convoy appeared in sight, consisting of three men of war, one of forty-four, another of forty, and the third of thirty-two guns, with ninety settees and tartanes laden with wheat, barley, and oil, for the use of the duke of Orleans's army, and bound for Pensacola, near the mouth of the Ebro. The British frigates bore down immediately upon the enemy's men of war, and these abandoning their barks, and endeavouring to make their escape, came in view of the confederate fleet, which, seeing seven men of war, concluded they were enemies, and thereupon the admiral made a signal to give them chase. But as the great ships could not follow them near the coast, the French made their escape in the night. The vice-admiral of the white, who sailed on the left with his division, perceiving the barks near the coast, sent his long-boats, and small ships, and took several of them. The next morning they saw some of them dispersed, which were likewise secured by the long-boats ; and some barks of Catalonia, coming out of their harbours at the same time, to have a share in the booty, sixty-nine of them were taken, and the rest dispersed.

On the 15th of May, the admiral arrived at Barcelona, where he was joined by several of our ships, and complimented by the king of Spain, on his late success ; his catholic majesty took this opportunity of desiring a squadron might be left under his direction at Barcelona, while the fleet crossed to Italy, to bring over the reinforcements he expected, and the queen of Spain, who, it was thought, was by this time arrived at Genoa. He signified also his desire, that the provisions lately taken might be

be laid up in his magazines, which were but indifferently furnished.

As to the provisions, the admiral ordered they should be disposed of, as the king required; but with respect to his other demands, the admiral thought it necessary to call a council of war, to determine which should be executed, since it appeared absolutely impracticable to undertake them all. This council, after mature deliberation, determined to leave with the king two third rates, one fourth, and one fifth rate of ours, and two ships of the states general, and with the rest of the fleet, to proceed forthwith to the port of Vado, in order to the transporting the horse and foot from thence to Barcelona, as also her majesty the queen of Spain, if she should be ready when the fleet arrived.

The admiral sailed in pursuance of this resolution, and on the 29th of May safely anchored before Vado; but finding nothing in readiness, he sent Sir Thomas Hardy to wait on the queen of Spain at Milan, where he arrived the 18th of June, and was received with all possible marks of respect and esteem. Upon his pressing instances, her majesty consented to set out immediately for Genoa, where she arrived on the 1st of July, embarked on the 2d, and arrived happily at Mataro on the 14th.

After having conducted the queen, with all imaginable respect, to Barcelona, the admiral thought next of the reduction of Sardinia, which he performed almost as soon as he arrived. He appeared before Cagliari on the first of August, and having summoned it, the marquis of Jamaica, who commanded there for king Philip, declared his resolution of holding out to the last extremity. Upon this, the admiral ordered the place to be bombarded all that night, and the next morning major-general Wills landed about 1800 men, and made the necessary dispositions for attacking the city; but the Spanish governor, believing himself now at the last extremity, saved them any further trouble by coming to a speedy capitulation. The reduction of this island, was of equal advantage to the common cause, and to that of king Charles; for it gave great security to our navigation, and enabled his catholic majesty to supply himself from thence, as often as he had occasion, with corn and other provisions.

The admiral had scarce completed the conquest of the island, before his assistance was required for the reducing another; and therefore sailing from Cagliari the 18th of August, he arrived before Port Mahon on the 25th; but not finding lieutenant-general Stanhope, he sent two ships of the third rate to Majorca, to hasten the embarkation of those which were to be furnished from that island. These returned the 1st of September with some settees, laden with military stores for the army; nor was it more than two days, before the Milford, and three Dutch ships,

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ships of war, arrived with the lieutenant-general, being followed by five third rates, convoy to fifteen transports, that had on board them the land forces; whereupon a council of war was held of the sea officers, and it was resolved, that the ships that were to return to Great-Britain, should leave behind them, to assist in the attempt, all the marines, above the middle complement of each of them, and that the squadron of English and Dutch, designed to be continued abroad with Sir Edward Whitaker, should remain at Port Mahon, to assist with their marines and seamen in the reduction of that place, so long as the lieutenant-general should desire it; due regard being had to the season of the year, the time their provisions might last, and the transporting from Naples to Barcelona, four thousand of the enemy's troops for the service of his catholic majesty. It was also resolved, that the English ships should spare the forces as much bread as they could, and both they and the Dutch all their cannon-shot, except what might be necessary for their own defence; and that, when every thing should be landed, which was necessary for the siege, the admiral should proceed to England, with one second rate, and six thirds of ours, and eight Dutch ships of the line; but some time after this, he sent home two English and two Dutch ships of war, with the empty transports of both nations, in order to their being discharged. The siege was carried on with such vigour, that, by the end of October, the place surrendered, and the garrison, consisting of about a thousand men, marched out, and were afterwards transported on board our vessels, some to France, and others to Spain, according to the articles of the capitulation.

Before this conquest of Port Mahon, Fort Fornelle, which had beneath it a harbour little less considerable, though less known than Port Mahon, had submitted to the obedience of king Charles. This service was owing to captain Butler, and captain Fairborne, who battered that fort, with the two ships under their command, till they obliged him to surrender. The place was naturally strong, and was, besides, tolerably fortified; having four bastions, and twelve pieces of brass cannon: yet, it cost but four hours time, and the loss of six men killed, and twelve wounded. They found in the garrison, a hundred cannon, three thousand barrels of powder, and all things necessary for a good defence.

Some little time after, the general sent a detachment of about a hundred Spaniards, with three hundred or more of the marquis Pisaro's regiment, to Citadella, the chief town of the island on the west side thereof. Sir Edward Whitaker dispatched two ships of war thither; which place put them to no great trouble, for the garrison, immediately surrendering, were made prisoners of war, consisting of a hundred French, and as many Spaniards. Being thus possessed of this important island, we

had thereby the advantage of an excellent harbour, which, during the war, was exceedingly useful to us in the cleaning and refitting such of our ships as were employed in the Mediterranean; and not only magazines of stores were lodged there for that purpose, but such officers appointed to reside on the place, as were judged requisite, and a vast expence saved thereby to the nation,

But it is now time we should return to the fleet, which, as we observed, failed under the command of Sir John Leake for England, the 6th of September. His excellency, on his arrival at Gibraltar, being there informed, that four French men of war had taken some of our merchant ships, running, as they called it, without convoy, near cape Spartel, and carried them into Cadiz; he thought proper to leave a small squadron, consisting of two third rates, one fourth, and a fifth, to cruize in that station, in order to prevent such accidents for the future, and then pursued his voyage to England, where he arrived safely at St. Helens, on the 19th of October, having met in the Soundings with the squadrons cruizing there under the command of lord Dursley, afterwards earl Berkley, and for some time at the head of the admiralty.

Sir Edward Whitaker had now the sole command of the squadron left for the Mediterranean service, and was consequently exposed to all the difficulties which usually happen to officers under different orders. On one side, he was bound to regulate his conduct by the instructions left him by Sir John Leake; on the other, he was continually solicited by king Charles, to undertake this or that expedition for his service. The chief thing the imperial court had at this time in view, was, the reduction of the island of Sicily, an enterprize not to be undertaken, but in conjunction with our fleet; and, as it afterwards proved, not then neither; for when Sir Edward had disposed every thing in the best manner possible, for the supporting this design, the viceroy of Naples declared, there were such discontents in that kingdom, as would not allow him to send any troops from thence; but, if Sir Edward Whitaker would furnish him with a small squadron, he was ready to undertake the reduction of the places on the coast of Tuscany, which belonged to the crown of Spain.

In compliance with this request, the *Defiance*, and the *York*, with the *Terrible* bomb vessel, were sent into the road of Piombino; but the Germans, as usual, were so backward in their preparations, that it was necessary to continue a month longer in those seas; to very little purpose, at least with respect to either of the designs before-mentioned: but, in regard to a dispute that then subsisted between his holiness and the imperial court, and which had almost risen into a war, it had a better effect; for our chasing some of the pope's galleys, and threatening

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tening to bombard Civita Vecchia, contributed not a little to bring down the pontiff's haughty stomach, and inclined him to an accommodation upon terms acceptable to the imperial court.

The squadron appointed to cruize in the Soundings, was commanded this year by lord Dursley, who was very fortunate in protecting our trade, but not altogether so happy in chasing the French ships that appeared from time to time upon our coast, which was entirely owing to the foulness of his ships, and to the cleanness of theirs. In the middle of the summer, a resolution was taken, to make a descent on, or at least to alarm, the coast of France; and Sir George Byng as admiral, and lord Dursley as vice-admiral, of the blue, were appointed to command the fleet destined for that purpose, and lieutenant-general Erle had the command of the land forces. Many things were given out with relation to this expedition, the true design of which was disturbing the French naval armaments on their coasts, and obliging the French court to march great bodies of men to protect their maritime towns, which necessarily occasioned the diminishing of their army in Flanders. On the 27th of July, the fleet, with the transports, having the troops on board which were intended for the descent, sailed from Spithead, and came the next day to an anchor off Deal. The 29th they stood over to the coast of Picardy, as well to alarm as to amuse the enemy, and to be ready for further orders. The first of August the fleet sailed again, and anchored the next day in the bay of Boulogne, where they made a feint of landing their troops; the third, they stood in pretty nigh the shore, to observe the condition of the enemy. The fourth they weighed; but anchored again about noon in the bay of Estaples.

Here a detachment of troops were actually landed; but the project on shore, which this descent was to have countenanced, being by this time laid aside, an express brought new orders from England, upon which the troops were re-embarked. The seventh, they stood over again to the coast of England, and, being joined by several more transports in Dover road, arrived the 11th in the bay of La Hogue. The 12th, it was designed to have landed the troops; but, upon viewing the coast, they found so many of the enemy's forces brought together, to oppose a descent, and so many forts and batteries on shore, that it was judged impracticable. The 14th, the fleet sailed again to the westward; but, the wind coming about the next day, they altered their course, and lay before Cherbourg, but found no prospect of doing any thing there. The same day, the lord Dursley, in the Oxford, with six other men of war, and frigates, sailed to the westward, to cruize in the Soundings. The 17th, the rest of the fleet returned to the bay of La Hogue;

but the men growing sickly, and provisions falling short, Sir George Byng returned to Spithead on the 28th.

When the squadron under lord Dursley had been victualled, and refitted, at Plymouth, he sailed from thence on the 28th of September, with five ships of war, and was joined the next day by the Hampshire, which had taken a small French privateer. His lordship took another himself, of twenty-four guns, belonging to St. Malo. On the 7th of November his lordship returned to Plymouth, and soon after the Hampshire brought in a privateer of 16 guns, and a rich merchant-man bound to the West-Indies; the Salisbury likewise brought in two prizes, and, through the great vigilance of this noble commander, the whole coast was very thoroughly protected. In the middle of December, his lordship having cleaned his ship, put to sea again with his squadron, and, on the 29th, saw two ships which chased him; but when they came near, they bore away, and then his lordship returned the compliment, by chasing them with all the sail he could make, and at last came within gun-shot, when their commander lightened them by throwing many things overboard, and so they escaped; which gave great concern to his lordship, the one being a sixty, the other a fifty-gun ship: so that, after a short cruise, he returned with his squadron to Plymouth, without being able to make any other prize than a French fishing-vessel from the banks of Newfoundland.

This indefatigable diligence of his lordship, though it was not attended with any extraordinary success, gave great satisfaction to the merchants, as it hindered the French privateers from venturing near our coasts, as they had done for many years before, to the inexpressible damage of our trade, as well as to the prejudice of our reputation as a maritime power. It was, therefore, justly resolved, to give his lordship an extraordinary mark of her majesty's favour, by promoting him to the rank of vice-admiral of the white; and though this was somewhat retarded by the death of his royal highness the lord high-admiral, yet it took place in the spring of the succeeding year.

Before we part with this subject, in order to account, as we have promised to do, for what happened this year in the West-Indies, it is requisite to speak of the passage of the queen of Portugal on board our fleet to Lisbon. Her majesty was styled, before her marriage, the arch-duchess Mary-Anne of Austria, daughter to the emperor Leopold, and sister to the emperor Joseph. This marriage was thought to be highly advantageous to the common cause, and was therefore very grateful to our court, who readily offered to send her majesty to Lisbon on board a British squadron. In the beginning of September she set out for Holland, where rear-admiral Baker attended, with a

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small squadron, to bring her over ; which he accordingly did on the 25th of that month, and landed her at Portsmouth, where she staid some days at the house of Thomas Ridge, Esq; and the queen, being then at Windsor, sent instantly the duke of Grafton to compliment her majesty on her part, as his royal highness the prince of Denmark did the lord Delawar. On the 6th of October, about three in the afternoon, the queen of Portugal went on board the Royal Anne, where her majesty was received by Sir George Byng, and, on her going off, the governor saluted her with all the cannon of the place ; and the next morning, at 7 o'clock, the fleet weighed and put to sea, when all the cannon of the town were again discharged.

Sir George Byng proceeded with a fair wind, and, after a quick and easy passage, brought her majesty safely into the river of Lisbon, on the 16th of the same month. The king, with several magnificent barges, went on board the Royal Anne to welcome the queen ; and, returning from thence, their majesties landed at the bridge of the palace, under a magnificent triumphal arch, from whence they proceeded through a vast crowd of people to the royal chapel, where they received the nuptial benediction, and heard *Te Deum* sung. His majesty conducted the queen to her apartment, and they supped in public with the infantas. There were great rejoicings upon this occasion, and fire-works and illuminations for three nights together. The queen having generously expressed her great satisfaction as to the entertainment she had received during her stay in England, undoubtedly the king was very liberal in his magnificent presents to the admiral and others that conducted her. The arrival of the queen was attended with some other circumstances, which increased the joy of the people ; for, on the 12th, four ships from Brazil came into the river, and reported, that the rest of that so long expected fleet were near the coast. Several other ships came in afterwards, so that, out of about a hundred sail, there were but thirty or forty wanting, which were detained by contray winds. The cargo was rich, and there was a good quantity of gold in specie aboard.

Sir George, the very next day after his arrival, had intelligence, that some French ships of considerable force had been seen upon the coast, which were supposed to be waiting for the rest of the homeward-bound Brazil fleet. Upon this, he immediately sailed in quest of them, though without success, except that the news of being at sea forced them to retire, and thereby secured the safe arrival in port of the remaining thirty-four ships, which dropped in by degrees. About the middle of November, Sir George received orders to proceed to Port Mahon, to winter there, and to leave Sir John Jennings at Lisbon with a small squadron. But, before he left the river, he received the queen's instructions to wear the union flag in the Mediterranean. He sailed

failed on the 27th of December, with six ships of the line, two fire-ships, and three store-ships or tenders, leaving directions with Sir John Jennings, to appoint the first ships he should have clean, to guard the mouth of the Streights; and having sent two third rates, two fourths, and a fifth a-head of him to Alicant, to assure the governor of the castle there of his assistance, he arrived himself about the height of cape Palos the third of January, when standing in for Alicant, the wind came off from the land so fresh, at N. N. W. that he could not fetch the bay, so that he bore away to Port Mahon; but when he had got within four leagues of that place, which was on the fifth, the wind came to the north, and N. N. E. blowing extreme hard, with much snow; and the next day it was so very tempestuous, that it separated most of the squadron, forcing him almost as high as Sardinia; but on the 12th, he got into Port Mahon, where he found most of the squadron.

When we last mentioned the exploits of the English navy in America; we gave an account of the arrival there of Sir John Jennings, who commanded in those parts from October 1706, to January 1707, without having it in his power to perform any thing very remarkable. He was succeeded in his command by commodore Wager, who arrived at Jamaica in the summer of the year 707, and disposed all things in such a manner, that the designs of the enemy were rendered absolutely abortive; the several English settlements were thoroughly protected, and such convoys granted the merchants; as put the trade of that part of the world into a much better condition than it had been since the breaking out of the war; all which was very honourably acknowledged by the planters and merchants.

In the beginning of the year 1708, that part of the world was much alarmed with the news of M. du Cassé's arrival, with a French squadron of great force, and which, it was supposed, had some design upon the island of Jamaica. This apprehension, however, soon subsided, upon the commodore's receiving certain intelligence, that du Cassé was sailed for the Havannah, in order to conduct home the galleons. It is certain, that under his convoy they might have been absolutely safe, since he had double the strength of the English fleet in those seas; and, therefore, we may very well admire, that commodore Wager should even form a design upon these treasure-ships, and much more that he should succeed in it, in spite of all the care and vigilance of M. du Cassé, at once the most able and most active sea-officer then in the French service.

Such as knew the disposition of the late Sir Charles Wager will readily acquit me of flattery, when I venture to give this character of him: that he was an officer who valued his reputation as much, and his fortune as little, as any man that ever was in

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in the British service. Avarice, therefore, had no share in this project of his, which was grounded only in a desire of doing his duty, and restoring the reputation of the British arms, which had not been a little sunk in that part of the world, especially by the covetousness and cowardly proceedings of some of our commanders. The commodore understood perfectly the route of the galleons: he knew that they were to sail from Porto-Bello to Carthagena, and from thence to the Havannah, and, as he was very sensible that it was to no purpose to attempt them after they had joined du Casse, he was resolved to try if it was not possible to intercept them in their passage from Porto-Bello to Carthagena.

With this view he sent captain Pudner, in the *Severne*, to watch the enemies motions in Porto-Bello, from whom he received advice, on the 23d of May, that on the 19th the galleons were sailed. The commodore had then with him the *Expedition*, *Kingston*, *Portland*, and *Vulture* fire-ship, and cruized to the 27th, in expectation of the galleons, but not meeting with them, the commodore began to fear they had intelligence of his being on the coast, and were gone for the Havannah.

On the 28th of May, about noon, the galleons, in all seventeen sail, were discerned from his top-mast-head, and at the same time they discovered him; but, despising so small a force, resolved to proceed. He chased them till evening, when they, finding they could not weather the *Baru*, a small island which lay in their passage to Carthagena, resolved to dispute the matter there, and stretching therefore to the northward with an easy sail, they drew as well as they could into a line of battle. The admiral, who wore a white pennant at the main-top-mast-head, in the centre, the vice-admiral, with the same pennant at the fore-top-mast-head, in the rear, and the rear-admiral, who bore the pennant on the mizen-top mast-head, in the van, about half a mile from each other, there being other ships between them.

Of the 17th, two were sloops, and one a brigantine, which stood in for the land; two others of them were French ships, which running away, had no share in the action; the rest Spaniards. The commodore instantly made his disposition; he resolved to attack the admiral himself, gave instructions to captain Simon Bridges, who commanded the *Kingston*, to engage the vice-admiral, and sent his boat to the *Portland*, commanded by captain Edward Windsor, with orders to attack the rear-admiral, and as there was no immediate occasion for the fire-ship, she plied to the windward.

The sun was just setting when commodore Wager came up with the admiral, and then, beginning to engage, in about an hour and half's time, she blew up, not without great danger to the

the Expedition, from the splinters and planks which fell on board her, on fire, and the great heat of the blast. Hereupon the commodore put abroad his signal lights, for keeping company, and endeavoured to continue sight of some of the enemies ships; but finding, after this accident, they began to separate, and discovering but one, which was the rear-admiral, he made sail after her, and coming up about ten o'clock, when he could not judge which way her head lay, it being very dark, he happened to fire his broadside, at least many guns, into her stern, which did so much damage, that it seemed to disable her from making sail, and being then to leeward, he tacking on the Spaniard, got to windward of him, and the Kingston and Portland, following his lights soon after, came up with him, and assisted in taking the rear-admiral, who called for quarter about two in the morning. On board of this ship he sent his boats to bring to him the chief officers, and before the rising of the sun, he saw one large ship on his weather-bow, and three sail upon the weather-quarter, three or four leagues off ours, lying then with their heads to the north, the wind being at N. E. an easy gale. Then he put out the signal for the Kingston and Portland to chase to windward, not being able himself to make sail, being much disabled; and, as he had a great part of his men in the prize, so were there no less than three hundred Spanish prisoners on board his own ship.

On Sunday the 30th, the wind being from the N. E. to N. N. W. and but little of it, the Kingston and Portland had left off chase; but he made the signal for continuing it, which they did, and ran him out of sight, the fire-ship still continuing with him, and he having lain by sometime, not only to put the prize in a condition of sailing, but to refit his own rigging, made sail eastward on the 31st, when the Kingston and Portland joined him, and gave him an account, that the ship they chased was the vice-admiral; to which, as they said, they came so near as to fire three broadsides into her; but were so far advanced towards the Salmadinas, a shoal off Carthagea, that they were forced to tack and leave her. This gave the commodore great uneasiness, and determined him to call the captains of these ships to account; but, in the mean time, he sent them orders to take or destroy a galleon of forty guns, which he understood, by a Swedish ship that had been trading at Baru, had taken shelter in that island.

She was just coming out of port as the Kingston and Portland appeared; upon which her crew ran her ashore, set her on fire, and blew her up, so that nothing could be got out of her, as our captains affirmed, and this, as it appeared to the commodore afterwards, was true. On the 2d of June, the commodore finding his provisions and water short, the wind contrary, and nothing more to be done in those parts, resolved to set the Spanish prisoners

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soners a-shore, according to their request, on the island of Baru, and then proceed for Jamaica; which he performed accordingly, and the Spanish rear-admiral retained, as long as he lived, a grateful sense of the commodore's civility.

On the 8th of July, the Expedition, Kingston, and Vulture fire-ship, brought the prize safe into Port-Royal harbour, where the commodore soon after arrived. He found, at his return, the new act of parliament for the distribution of prizes; and though he had before permitted the sailors to plunder as they thought fit, when the prize was taken, yet now he appointed agents, in obedience to that act of parliament, and ordered captain Long to deliver up near thirty thousand pounds worth of silver and effects, that he had taken between decks, in order to satisfy the sailors of the uprightness of his intentions. He likewise took care to despatch proper intelligence to England, that ships might be fitted out to cruize for the galleons that had escaped; and, on the 23d of July, he held a court-martial on the two captains who had behaved so indifferently in the late engagement.

A few days after, the commodore received a commission, appointing him rear-admiral of the blue, which bore date before his taking of the galleon; and therefore, as Mr. Lediard very justly observes, ought not to be considered as a reward for that action; in which light, however, many other writers have placed it. Captain Edwards arriving at Jamaica, with the Monmouth, a third rate, the Jersey, a fourth, and the Roebuck, a fifth rate, brought the rear-admiral orders, to send home with him, the Expedition, Windsor, Assistance, Dolphin, Dunkirk's prize, and Vulture fire-ship, with which he complied; and by the latter end of September, they all sailed for England, the Dunkirk's prize excepted, which frigate, not being in a condition to be trusted home in the winter, the rear-admiral sent her out on a short cruize, with the Monmouth, under the command of his first lieutenant, when, in the Expedition, captain Purvis and they brought in two French merchant ships, one of one hundred, the other of one hundred and sixty tons, loaden with wine, brandy, and other goods, from Rochelle to Petit Guavas; but cruizing soon after, on the north side of Hispaniola, the Dunkirk's prize chased a French ship, until she ran on shore near Port François, and following her too near, the pilot not being well acquainted, she struck upon a ledge of rocks, where, being a very weak ship, she soon bulged; captain Purvis, with some of his men, got upon a small key, or uninhabited island, within shot of the French ship; and though she had fourteen guns, and sixty men, and fired smartly upon them, yet having his own boats, with a canoe he had taken, and having made a stage, from whence he was ready to attack them, the French demanded quarter, and surrendered the ship, upon agreement, that her commander and men

should



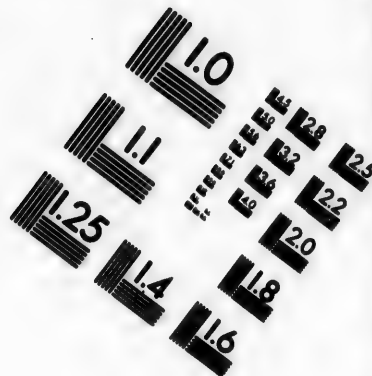
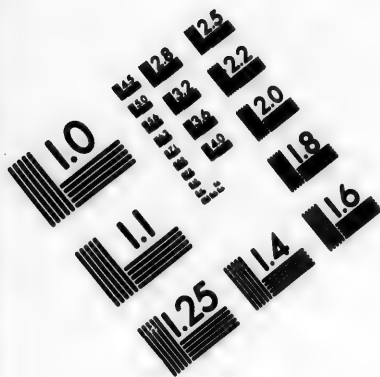
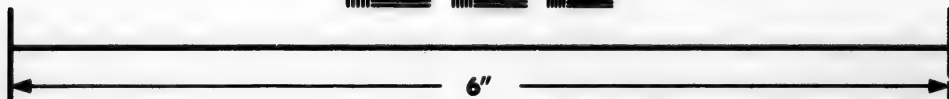
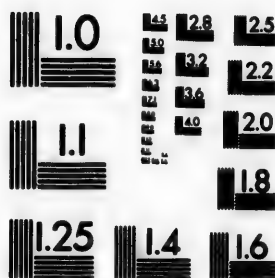


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should be put on shore; and with this ship captain Purvis arrived at Jamaica, with all his company, except twenty-one, who refused to assist in the attempt, believing it altogether impossible to succeed therein.

Upon intelligence sent the rear-admiral from the admiralty, that M. du Guai Trouin was sailed with a strong squadron, which it was believed might be intended to execute some design upon the island of Jamaica, a council of war was held on the 1st of December, 1708, and it being judged, that, if they made such an attempt, it would be against the harbour of Port Royal; it was determined, that all her majesty's ships there, except such as it might be necessary to send to windward, for intelligence, or on any other extraordinary occasion, should be drawn up in a line, at the entrance of the said harbour, so as that, with the assistance of the fort, they might in the best manner possible defend it, and most annoy the enemy. The 18th of January, another council of war was called, and since the letter of advice before-mentioned was dated almost six months before, it was considered, whether the squadron should be kept any longer together, since the enemies ships had not appeared; in which it was at length determined, they ought to be employed on necessary services. Thus we have brought the proceedings in the West-Indies down to the close of this year, and, according to the method hitherto pursued, we are now to return home, and to give an account of such remarkable events there, as have relation to the affairs of the navy.

On the 27th of October, a court-martial was held on board the Royal Anne, at Spithead, for the trials of captain Richard Edwards, of the Cumberland; captain John Balchen, of the Chester; and captain Baron Wild, of the Royal Oak; the two first for losing their ships, and the last for breaking the line, disobeying his commanding officer's orders, and neglect of duty. After a strict examination of witnesses, and free liberty given to the persons accused to make their defence, and to produce whatever testimonies were in their power, captain Edwards was most honourably acquitted, and declared to have done his duty, in every respect, both as captain and commodore; and captain John Balchen was also acquitted; but captain Baron Wild being found guilty of neglect of duty, and disobeying orders, was not only cashiered, but declared incapable of ever serving in the royal navy.

On the 28th of October died his royal highness George prince of Denmark, lord high-admiral of England, and her British majesty's consort, at Kensington, of an asthma. He was born in 1653; married to her majesty the 28th of July, 1683; and on the 13th of November, 1708, he was interred in the abbey-church of Westminster, at ten in the evening. At this hour, the ordnance on the platform, and on board all the ships in the harbour

harbour of Portsmouth, were fired, a minute after each other, which lasted for some hours; and the next morning the union flag was hoisted again, which had been taken down on the news of his royal highness's death. Her majesty was pleased to keep the admiralty in her own hands, for about three weeks; and, on the 2th of November, she appointed Thomas earl of Pembroke lord high-admiral of Great-Britain and Ireland, to the great satisfaction of the whole nation.

The new parliament meeting on the 18th of November, and having chosen Sir Richard Onslow, Bart. for their speaker, the lord high-chancellor, in a speech from the throne, recommended a provision for the navy, and especially for the building of new ships, and fortifying our ports. On the sixth of December, the house of commons addressed, for an account of the number of men, that might be wanting to man her majesty's navy, for the year 1709; which was promised, and upon this, accounts being laid before the house, they agreed to it immediately, and voted the same number of men, with the same allowance, and the same sum for the ordinary use of the navy, as had been given the year before; but soon after, the commons thought fit to appoint a committee to inquire into the number of ships employed as cruisers and convoys. At the same time, they ordered the commissioners of the navy to lay before them the causes of the increase of the debt of the navy. But, to this address, it seems, the ministry did not think fit her majesty should give any answer; so the affair dropped for that time. It is certain, and indeed it was very natural, this conduct of the court gave great offence; yet the commons were so hearty in the prosecution of the war, that, with their usual liberality, they gave for the service of the year 1709, no less a sum than 6,457,830*l*.

There were also in this session some other things done for promoting trade and plantations, such as a grant of 103,203 *l*. for the relief of the inhabitants of St. Nevis, and St. Christophers, and a vote in favour of the trade to Africa; but the most remarkable was, the joint address of both houses, that her majesty would be pleased not to conclude any peace with the French king, unless he consented to demolish the fortifications and harbour of Dunkirk; which point being accordingly insisted upon in the conferences at the Hague, with M. de Torci, for settling the preliminaries of a general peace; and that minister shewing greater reluctance to consent to this, than to any other of the articles, alledging, that his master bought, and paid for this town and port, besides laying out immense sums upon it since; which so provoked prince Eugene, that he could not help telling the French ministers, with great warmth, that he wondered they should spend so many words about it, and that they ought rather to admire the generosity of a princess, who, having it in her power to prescribe them harder terms, and force them

to

to deliver that, with what other places she pleased, and revive many pretensions of the crown of England, gave an unparalleled example of her moderation. This had such an effect, that the point was immediately given up.

Before we proceed to the operations of the year 1709, it may not be amiss to take notice of a great naval promotion made by her majesty, for this reason, because it was one of the noblest testimonies of her majesty's concern and regard towards such of her subjects as had served with extraordinary diligence and activity at sea; for the post of rear-admiral of Great Britain having been vacant since the death of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, her majesty, of her mere grace and favour, without the interposition of any of her ministers, bestowed it on Sir JOHN LEAKE, with this remarkable compliment, "That she was put in mind of it by "the voice of the people."

Early in the spring, lord Dursley, who commanded in the Soundings, was at sea with his squadron, and took several prizes from the French; and on the 22d of February, his lordship having only with him the Kent, Plymouth, Monk, and Litchfield, fell in with eleven sail twelve leagues from Scilly. This happened about three in the morning, and their lights being seen, his lordship made the signal for wearing, and was obeyed, though not without imminent danger of falling amongst the enemy; for this proved to be M. du Guai Trouin's squadron. However, through the darkness of the weather, his lordship missed them; and then stretching away for Plymouth, captain Stuart of the Dartmouth, whom his lordship had sent in a little before with a prize, informed him, that he had been chased by nine large ships off the Lizard, and that they were the same, in his judgment, which had fallen in with, and engaged captain Tollet in his passage from Ireland. This affair having made a great noise, and doing extraordinary honour to the bravery of our English officers, I shall give a particular account of it from the captain's own papers.

On the 25th of February, captain Tollet, in the Assurance, of 70 guns, with the Sunderland, of 60, Hampshire and Anglesea, of 50 guns each, sailed from Corke, and being joined by the Assistance, a 50 gun ship, as also with the trade from King-fale, continued his voyage for England. On the second of March, about five in the morning, being then eight leagues S. S. W. of the Lizard, he saw four sail standing after him. About seven, they came within random shot; whereupon he made a signal for drawing into a line of battle, and another for the merchantmen to bear away as they best could for their own security; some of them, with the Anglesea and the Sunderland, having before lost company. About eight, the enemy bore down in a line, and when they were come within musket shot, they hoisted French colours.

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The French commodore, who was in a ship of 70 guns or upwards, came ranging along the larboard side of the Assurance, and fell on board her, so that they engaged yard-arm and yard-arm, for the space of almost half an hour; during which, the Frenchman plied captain Pollet so warmly with small shot, as to cut off most of his marines and seamen that were quartered on deck. They then put off, and fell on board again on the lee side of the Assurance, first ranging on her bow, and then on her quarter, while she fired her upper deck, and part of her lower deck guns, with such vigour, that she obliged the enemy to sheer off, and stand away ahead towards the merchantmen. The three other ships, which were of 40 or 50 guns, then came ranging along-side the Assurance, firing several broadsides into her, and after that bore away as the former. The damage she received was very great; her sides were shot through and through in many places; her shrouds and back-stays cut to pieces, as likewise her main and false stay; which, if not timely seen, had occasioned the loss of her mast. Her fore-sail and foretop-sail were torn to pieces; her best bower cut away; one of the flukes of the spare anchor shot off, and her small bower, by the enemies boarding, drove through her bow. All possible dispatch was made in fitting her rigging, which, with the bending of a new foresail, and fore-top-sail, took up some time. After this the ships of war all bore down, to secure what merchant ships they could, expecting to have engaged the enemy again; but they declined it. The captain of the Assurance, who had been four months sick, and had been carried upon deck in a chair, was wounded; the first lieutenant was shot in the leg, which being dressed, he then returned to his charge upon deck; the second lieutenant was killed, as were several French officers, whom they brought from Ireland. In the whole, the Assurance had five and twenty killed, and three and fifty wounded, and some of these died of their wounds; for the enemy making their chief attempt on her, she had been severely treated; the Hampshire had only two killed and eleven wounded; the Assistance eight killed, and one and twenty wounded, among the latter was captain Tudor, her commander, who died afterwards of his wounds.

M. du Guai Trouin, who commanded the French Squadron, had abundance of men killed and wounded, and took only five merchantmen. In the memoirs, which go under his name, it is acknowledged, that our officers did their duty extremely well; that not only his own ship was very roughly handled by captain Toller, but also, that the Amazon, and the Glory, that were with him, met the like reception from the Hampshire and the Assistance. As to the five prizes, he says, that two of them were sent to St. Maloe's, one got into Calais, and the other two foundered on the English coast.

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Lord Dursley, on the 20th of March, ordered three ships to cruize off Brest, to gain intelligence, and in the mean time the Salisbury took a French West-India ship, richly laden. On the 29th, his lordship had orders to see the Lisbon fleet of merchantmen safe into the sea; but his lordship having received certain intelligence, that M. du Guai Trouin was then cruizing at the distance of about thirty-five leagues from Scilly, his lordship proposed to leave the trade and transports, under the protection of some Dutch men of war that were expected from Portsmouth, and resolved to go himself in search of the enemy; but these Dutch ships of war not arriving in time, his lordship thought it better to comply with his orders. He accordingly escorted the Lisbon fleet as far as he was directed, and had scarce parted from them, on the 9th of April, before he discovered the Achilles, commanded by M. du Guai Trouin, and the Glory, who, the day before, had taken the Bristol man of war, a fifty-gun ship; his lordship immediately gave them chase, recovered the Bristol, which, by a shot in her bread room, sunk afterwards; but all the men, except twenty, were saved. The Achilles, much shattered, escaped by her swift sailing, but the La Gloire, a French man of war of 44 guns, and 312 men was taken; his lordship having about seventy men killed and wounded in the action. On the 26th of April, two small ships were taken, and on the 7th of May, a privateer, carrying 14 guns and 100 men; but the provisions through all the ships then growing very short, his lordship found it necessary to return to Plymouth on the 13th, with his Squadron, which consisted at that time of one third and seven fourth rates, and there received the unwelcome news, that her majesty's ship the Sweepstakes, of 32 guns, had been taken by two French privateers, each of which was of greater force than that frigate.

To balance this piece of ill news, there arrived, about the same time, advice, that four French men of war had attacked some New England ships, laden with masts, under the convoy of captain Walter Ryddle, in the Falmouth, a ship of 50 guns, about twenty-four leagues from Scilly. This happened on the 18th. of May, and the French commodore, a sixty-gun ship, attempted to board the Falmouth, captain Riddle saved him the trouble, by filling his head-sails, and laying her on board under her boltsprit, directly athwart her hawser, and at the same time, raked her fore and aft with his cannon. The enemy continued in this posture about an hour and half, during which time he entered many men, but they were repulsed. However, the number of men on board her being much greater than those in the Falmouth, it occasioned various turns: but at length he thought fit to retire, having first cut all the lariards of the Falmouth's fore and mizen shrouds, believing it might prevent her following to rescue the convoys, which the enemy stood

stood after. Notwithstanding this, captain Ryddle made sail after him with such diligence, as enabled him, notwithstanding the bad condition he was in, to preserve them all, and to bring them safe into Plymouth. In this action the Falmouth had thirteen men killed, and fifty-six wounded. The captain himself was wounded in the right leg, and had several other hurts; and the second lieutenant, and Mr. Lawson, a volunteer, were shot through the body; the Falmouth had twenty thousand pounds, New-England money, on board her at the time of the engagement.

On the very same day, application being made to his excellency Thomas earl of Wharton, then lord lieutenant of Ireland, signifying that two French privateers had entered Bantry Bay, and surprized the *Ruth* of London, a West-India ship, supposed to be worth 25,000*l.* at least; his lordship ordered captain Cammock, in the *Speedwell*, then in the harbour of Kinfale, to proceed immediately in quest of the said privateers and their prize. He accordingly sailed directly for Beer-haven, at the very entrance of which he met one of the privateers and the prize, making the best of their way to France. The prize was immediately retaken, on board which the captain put his lieutenant with forty men, and then continued the chase all night; but finding the privateer had given him the slip, he the next morning entered Bantry Bay, and took the other privateer, with thirty men on board, most of them Irish, whom he sent to the prison of Corke, in order to their being tried for high treason. Three weeks afterwards, the same alert officer had the good luck to surprize a French privateer of twelve guns and ninety men, on the very point of taking three merchantmen, richly laden, all of whom he brought safe into the port of Londonderry.

It is now time to return to the proceedings of Sir George Byng, whom we left in the harbour of Port Mahon, where he was extremely distressed for want of naval stores, which were on board the *Arrogant*, a ship that had been missing from his arrival in that harbour, in quest of which he detached ships to Majorca, and to the port of Cagliari in Sardinia; and at the same time dispatched orders to Sir Edward Whitaker, who was still on the coast of Italy to join him with his squadron, in case the emperor's troops, that were designed for Catalonia, were not as yet ready. All the month of February, 1709, was spent in tedious expectations; but at last, about the middle of March, Sir Edward Whitaker arrived, with about 3500 men, in transports under his convoy, to the great joy of Sir George Byng and general Stanhope, who had long waited for these forces, in order to attempt something for the relief of Alicant, then besieged by an army of 12,000 men, and for the safety of which, king Charles had expressed unusual concern. As this city and castle had

had been taken, as we before have shewn, by the remarkable valour of the British seamen; as the present siege of it was one of the most remarkable actions in this age; and as the attempt made for his relief cannot well be understood without it; I shall take the liberty of giving a succinct account of the whole affair, from the time the place was invested, to its surrender.

ALICANT is a city and port, commanded by a strong castle, standing on a rock, at a small distance from the sea, and about sixty-eight miles south from the capital city of Valencia. There was in it a pretty good garrison, under the command of major-general Richards, which made an obstinate defence against a very numerous army of the enemy, with a very large train of heavy artillery, and excellently supplied with ammunition. At last, the city being absolutely untenable, the garrison resolved to retire into the castle, which had hitherto been esteemed impregnable. They sunk three cisterns in the solid rock, and then, with incredible labour, filled them with water. The troops that retired into it, were Sir Charles Hotham's regiment, and that of colonel Sibourgh, generally called the French regiment, because it was composed of refugees. After some progress made in this second siege, the French saw that it was impossible to do any great matter in the usual way, and therefore, contrary to all expectation, resolved upon a work excessively laborious, and, in all outward appearance, impracticable; which was that of mining through the solid rock, in order to blow up the castle and its garrison into the air together. At first major-general Richards, and all the officers in the place, looked upon the enemies scheme as a thing utterly impossible to be accomplished, and were scarcely well pleased with their undertaking, in hopes it would give time for our fleet to come to their relief; yet, this did not hinder them from doing all that lay in their power to incommode the workmen, and, at last, to countermine them.

The besiegers, however, wrought so incessantly, and brought such numbers of peasants to assist them in their labours, that they having, in about twelve weeks time, finished the works thought proper for this service, by very experienced engineers, and charged them with 1500 barrels of powder, several large beams, iron bars, and crows, and other utensil of destruction, summoned the castle to surrender, March 20th, most solemnly assuring a safe and honourable convoy to Barcelona, with bag and baggage for every person in it, if they submitted within three days, and prevented the ruin of the castle; but threatened otherwise, no mercy should be shewn, if any might accidentally escape the blow: and, to demonstrate the reality of their design, they desired the garrison might depute three, or more engineers, with other gentlemen of competent skill, to view their works, and make a faithful report of what they saw. Accordingly,

cordingly, two field-officers went to the mine, and were allowed the liberty of making what scrutiny they pleased; upon which they told the governor, that, if their judgment failed them not, the explosion would carry up the whole castle to the easternmost battery, unless it took vent in their own countermine, or vein; but, at least, they conceived it would carry away the sea-battery, the lodging-rooms in the castle-cloze, some of the chambers cut for soldiers barracks, and, they very much feared, might affect the great cistern.

A grand council of war was called upon this; the French message delivered, and the engineers made their report; the besieged acknowledged their want of water; but believing the fleet might be sensible of their distress, and consequently under some concern for their relief, their unanimous resolution was, to commit themselves to the providence of God, and, whatever fate attended them, to stand the springing of the mine. The French general, and Spanish officers, expressed the utmost concern at this answer, and the second night of the three allowed, sent to divert them from what they called, and it is very likely thought, inexcusable obstinacy, offering the same honourable articles as before, even upon that late compliance; but these still were rejected by the besieged. The fatal third night approaching, and no fleet seen, the French sent their last summons, and withal an assurance, that their mine was primed, and should be sprung by six o'clock the next morning; and though, as they saw, all hope and prospect of relief was vain, yet there was room for safety still, and the terms already proposed was in their power to accept. The besieged persisted in their adherence to the result of their first council, and the French met their usual answer again; therefore, as a prologue to their intended tragedy, they ordered all the inhabitants of that quarter to withdraw from their houses before five o'clock the ensuing morning. The besieged, in the mean time, kept a general guard, devoting themselves to their meditations. The major-general, colonel Sibourg, and lieutenant-colonel Thornicroft, of Sir Charles Hotham's regiment, sat together in the governor's usual lodging room; other officers cantoned themselves as their tempers inclined them, to pass the melancholy night.

At length, day appearing, the governor was informed, that the inhabitants were flying in crouds to the westernmost part of the town. The governor, attended by the above mentioned gentlemen, and about five or six other officers, went to the west battery, to inform himself better. After he had remained there about a quarter of an hour, lieutenant-colonel Thornicroft desired him to remove, as being unable to do any service there; he and colonel Sibourg both answered, that no danger was to be apprehended there, more than in any other place; and that there

they would wait the event. The lieutenant-colonel remained, because his superiors did, and other officers imitated the same example: but the hours of five being now considerably past, the corporal's guard cried out, that the train was fired, observing some smoke from the lighted matches, and other combustible matter near it, from whence the same ascended to the centinels above. The governor and field-officers were then urged to retreat, but refused.

The mine at last blew up; the rock opened and shut; the whole mountain felt the convulsion; the governor and field-officers, with their company, ten guns, and two mortars, were buried in the abyss; the walls of the castle shook, part of the great cistern fell, another cistern almost closed, and the rock shut a man to his neck in its cliff, who lived many hours in that afflicting posture. About thirty-six centinels and women were swallowed in different quarters, whose dying groans were heard, some of them after the fourth mournful day. Many houses of the town were overwhelmed in their ruins, and the castle suffered much; but, that it wears any form at all, was owing to the vent which the explosion forced through the veins of the rock, and the countermine. After the loss of the chief officers, the government fell of course to lieutenant-colonel Dalbaume, rather as I apprehend D'Albon, of Sibourg's regiment, who drew out a detachment from the whole garrison, and with it made a desperate sally, to shew how little he was moved at their thunder. The bombs from the castle played on the town more violently, and the shot galled every corner of their streets; which marks of their resentment they continued till the arrival of our fleet, which they had expected so long.

The Spanish and French historians speak of this action with all imaginable regard to the gallant defence made by the besieged. The Spanish army was commanded by the chevalier d'Asfeldt, who was then in the French service, and looked upon as the very best officer they ever sent to king Philip. He was an excellent engineer, saw at once what was to be done, and having formed his plan, pursued it steadily, and accomplished it generally. Under him commanded don Pedro Ronquillo, a Spanish general of distinguished merit. D'Asfeldt contrived and directed the mine, Ronquillo raised and defended the entrenchments between the castle and the sea. Both punctually performed their parts, though both were difficult. D'Asfeldt was very strict and austere; the Spaniards, even of his own party, thought him cruel; yet, upon this occasion, he not only shewed himself generous, but humane. He used every argument possible to persuade major-general Richards to spare himself and his brave garrison, and deplored their loss with tenderness and affection. The Spaniards magnified their heroic conduct,

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conduct, and called the ruined castle, the monument of English courage.

On the 5th of April, about eight o'clock in the morning, Sir Edward Whitaker's Squadron arrived, and attempted the relief of the castle; his ships were the *Defiance*, *Northumberland*, *Essex*, *York*, and *Dunkirk*. The last went within the line, as drawing less water than the other, in three and a half fathom; then laying her broadside to the east part of the town, began to cannonade a battery of four guns, and two others raised under the hill, each mounted with two guns, and from the mole-head, a forty-two pounder. The wind having blown fresh the night before, and an happy swell rolling in from the eastward at eleven, the great ships were obliged to weigh their anchors, making out of cannon-shot. The *Dunkirk* having much of her rigging damaged, and her small bower cut between one and two, fell fast a-stern, lying exposed to the enemy's shot, bombs, and carcases, till three in the afternoon, at which time, by winding the right way, she with much difficulty got off. The weather continuing very bad till the 7th, and it not being known to what extremities the garrison might be reduced, and the enemy increasing considerably in strength, the general sent a flag of truce a-shore, with proposals for surrendering the castle; which being agreed to, and our men embarked, the admiral (Sir George Byng) proceeded with the troops towards Barcelona, having detached some ships to cruize for the Turkey fleet; others, with transports for corn to Barbary; and the *Suffolk*, *Humber*, and *Ipswich*, which he left to clean at Port Mahon, were under orders to proceed to Genoa and Final, in order to embarking and transporting the German troops from those places to Catalonia.

In his way to Barcelona he landed general Stanhope, with the troops, at Terragona, and returning with the garrison of the castle of Alicant to Port Mahon, joined some other ships to those he first intended for Genoa and Final, and sent them thither under the command of Sir Edward Whitaker; but directed him first to proceed to Leghorn, for a supply of provisions, which was at this time very much wanted. The few ships he had with him at Port Mahon, he was cleaning as fast as possible, that so they might cruize against the enemy, who had taken the *Falcon*, a ship of thirty-two guns, off Cape de Gat, in her passage to Lisbon, from whence he had ordered Sir John Jennings to join him, with the ships under his command, who was off Gibraltar the 21st of May, with sixteen men of war, English and Dutch, and about forty transports, laden with corn, as also provisions and stores for the fleet in the Mediterranean, and arrived at Port Mahon the 28th; from whence he guarded the corn ships to Barcelona, and was joined the 8th of June by Sir George Byng, with the rest of the English and Dutch men of

war ; and there Sir Edward Whitaker arrived with his squadron from Italy, and above two thousand recruits for the army in Catalonia.

A council of war being held, it was determined, that since the king of Spain, as the posture of his affairs then stood, could not come to any resolution relating to the fleet's assisting in the reduction of those parts of Spain, still in the possession of the enemy, the admiral should sail to a station ten leagues south of Cape Toulon, not only for intercepting the enemy's trade, but to alarm them all that might be ; but since it was necessary that a squadron should be on the coast of Portugal, Sir John Jennings was sent thither with one ship of the second rate, four of the third, five of the fourth, and three of the fifth.

Sir George Byng arrived before Toulon the 21st of June, in which harbour he saw only eight ships rigged, and one large man of war on the careen, the rest being disarmed ; which satisfied him, that the informations he had formerly received were true, that the enemy did not intend, in fact were not able, to bring out any fleet that year ; but were resolved to content themselves with sending abroad small squadrons to protect their corn-fleets. After having thus insulted Toulon, he in a short time returned to Barcelona road, where he found most of the ships arrived from the services upon which he had sent them ; and some of them, particularly the Centurion and Dunkirk, had been so fortunate as to make a great many prizes. The court of Spain was, at the instance of cardinal Grimani, very desirous to have the reduction of Sicily attempted, and was informed by general Stanhope, that it was her majesty's pleasure, part of the fleet should assist in the design upon Cadiz ; but the Dutch ships having been separated in bad weather, and ours being too few to answer these and many other services the court proposed, he suspended for some time the coming to any resolution, being every day in expectation of the ships of the states-general.

But at length, that the service might not suffer through delay, the admiral formed a disposition of her majesty's ships, and appointed Sir Edward Whitaker for the service of Sicily, while he himself designed to proceed on the other with general Stanhope. The 26th of July, the court of Spain having notice of the enemies penetrating into the Lampourdon, with intention, as they apprehended, to besiege Girone, and there being a want of ships to protect the coast of Catalonia, and hinder the enemies having supplies by sea, as also a squadron to bring over the prizes laden with corn from Porto Farina, which they were in great want of in that principality, and some ships to go to Italy, for money to subsist the troops ; the court seemed to lay aside the design on Sicily, and the admiral sent five ships for

for the vessels laden with corn, which have been before mentioned.

The warmth, impatience, and irresolution of the court at Barcelona, obliged the admirals to drop both these great designs ; for, without regard to what had been resolved, or even for what themselves had demanded before, they were continually desiring, that it was impossible our ships could perform one service, without neglecting another. Thus, upon an apprehension that the enemy would attack Girona, the English ships were desired to intercept their subsistence. Soon after, they were distressed for want of provisions themselves, and then the most necessary thing that could be done, was to send for the prizes laden with corn from Porto Farina. By that time this was resolved on, money grew scarce, and then his catholic majesty hoped, that the English ships would go on and fetch it immediately from Italy. Our admirals, however, still flattered themselves that something might be done at Cadiz, where it was known the people were in want of bread, and were, besides, highly discontented with the French government.

On the 27th of July, the Dutch squadron arrived from Leghorn, upon which Sir George Byng called a council of war, and laid before them the queen's orders, the desires of his catholic majesty, and the project formed by themselves for attempting Cadiz ; but the commander in chief of the Dutch ships excused himself from any share in it ; declaring, that they were victualled only till the end of August, which disabled him from undertaking any service beyond the 20th of that month. On the 28th of the month last mentioned, three English men of war, the Nassau, Ludlow Castle, and Antelope, sailed for Barcelona, having on board a great sum of money, for the service of his catholic majesty. It was then agreed, that Sir George Byng should proceed to Cadiz, and the Dutch ships be employed in other services ; which, however, could not be executed ; and therefore Sir George Byng resolved to return home to England, having taken on board the fleet general Stanhope, with colonel Harrison's regiment of foot, and a Spanish regiment of dragoons, whom he landed safely at Gibraltar on the 31st. On the 25th of September he sailed for England, arriving at St. Helen's, in the Royal Anne, with the Torbay, Chichester, Colchester and Antelope, and a small prize taken by the Chichester, in her way from Gibraltar, on the 15th of October.

Sir Edward Whitaker was left with a pretty strong squadron in the Mediterranean, where, in the Bay of Roses, he discovered the grand convoy, intended for the French forces in the Lampourdan, which consisted of forty large vessels, laden with corn, and other provisions, of which he took thirty, and hindered the rest from putting to sea ; by which the enemy was greatly

greatly distressed, and king Charles's army so happily supplied with provisions, as to be able to keep the field, which otherwise they could not have done. Having thus attended our fleets in the Mediterranean, as long as they were employed in any considerable service, we shall now return to the exploits performed in the Soundings by lord Dursley, with the squadron under his command.

Sir George Byng, in his return from the Mediterranean, having obtained an exact detail of the strength, station, and designs of M. du Guai Trouin, sent an account of it to the lord high-admiral, who immediately dispatched it to the lord Dursley, just returned from cruizing for a corn fleet, which the French expected from the Baltick. His lordship's instructions were, to give the enemy all the disturbance he could, and to take particular care of the West-India trade, the intercepting of which was the service that was principally designed by M. du Guai Trouin. On the 8th of October, his lordship sailed from Plymouth, with one third rate, and two fourths, having before detached captain Vincent with six ships, to secure the West-India fleet; and soon after, his lordship joined that detachment, by which he effectually prevented the French from succeeding in their design. On the last of October, his lordship being then off Scilly, took a large French ship from Guadaloupe, and a small privateer. Three weeks after, he met with the Barbadoes fleet, and having sufficiently strengthened their convoy, detached two frigates for intelligence, into the road of Brest, that he might be the better enabled to undertake further service.

While his lordship was thus employed, there happened, in the latter end of November, such an accident to one of the ships of his squadron, as very well deserves our notice. Captain Hughes in the Winchester, chased a ship, which proved to be a Dutch privateer, whose commander being required to strike, he, instead of paying respect due to the flag of England, fired both great and small shot into him; but being answered in the same manner, after an obstinate dispute (though it was very well known the Winchester was an English ship of war) the commanding officer was killed, and between thirty and forty of the Dutch seamen.

His lordship being the vice-admiral of the red, detached, on the 9th of December, captain Hartnol, in the Restauration, with four other ships, to cruize fifteen or twenty leagues west of Scilly, to protect some East-India ships, and their convoys, from Ireland; and, on the 2d of January, was going from Plymouth, with seven clean frigates to relieve them; but being ordered to proceed part of the way with Sir John Norris, towards Lisbon; his lordship, after complying with this order, remained in his appointed station till he was forced from it by foul weather;

ther ; which, however, gave him an opportunity of taking a French privateer of twenty guns, and retaking the *St. Peter* of Dublin, a rich ship, of which the enemy had made themselves masters, off Cape Clear. His lordship, considering that the East-India trade were not yet arrived from Ireland, appointed three ships of his squadron to see them safe from thence.

On the 21st of February, the *Kent* brought into Plymouth a small privateer, and a French merchant ship ; as the *Restauration* and *August* did the next day four more, which were bound from Nantz to Martinico ; and not many days after, his lordship appointed the *Restauration* and *August*, to see two East-India ships well into the sea ; but, by contrary winds, they were forced back again. The 10th of March, the *Montague* took a privateer of ten guns, and his lordship having seen the East-India ships, and those bound to the Isle of May, a hundred and fifty leagues from Scilly, returned to Plymouth the 9th of May : seven days after which, the *Lyon*, *Colchester*, and *Litchfield*, brought in four prizes, two of them privateers, the others merchant ships ; when his lordship leaving the squadron, came to town, after having acquired as much reputation as it was possible for an officer to do in that difficult station, and where many had lost the credit for which they had toiled many years.

Before I proceed to the events in the West-Indies, I shall take notice of some accidents that happened in our naval affairs, and which seem to have escaped the attention of most, if not all our historians. In the first place, I am to observe, that in the latter end of June, her majesty's ship the *Fowey*, of thirty-two guns, was taken in the Mediterranean, by two French men of war of greater strength. On the 23d of September, captain Hanway, in her majesty's ship the *Plymouth*, of sixty guns, arrived at Plymouth with a French man of war, which he had taken on the 20th. Captain Hanway was bound to Plymouth, in order to repair some damages he had received ; and about seven leagues N. W. by N. from the Deadman, he saw this ship, and chased her two hours, before he came up with her ; as soon as he came near enough to engage, he fired upon her with great vigour, and after a sharp action, which lasted above an hour, he obliged her to surrender. The French ship was called *L'Adrid*, had been fitted out from Dunkirk, commanded by the *Sieur Jacques Calhard*, having forty guns mounted, (but had ports for forty eight,) and two hundred and sixty men on board ; several of the men belonging to the *Plymouth* being sick on shore, captain Hanway could make use of no more guns in this action than the enemy's ship had mounted. The captain of the French vessel, with fourteen other officers and seamen, were killed in the engagement, and sixty wounded ; of the *Plymouth's* company, the captain of a company

of marines on board, and seven men, were killed, and sixteen wounded.

In the latter end of the month of October, the West-India fleet, being about one hundred and fifty leagues off the Lizard, met with a violent storm, by which they were separated from five ships of war, appointed for their convoy; the Newcastle, which was one of them, being so shattered, that she lost her main-mast, and with much difficulty got to Falmouth; soon after, the Hampshire and the Gloucester were attacked by the Squadron of M. du Guai Trouin, and made a gallant defence, notwithstanding the great inequality of force; which, however, gave the ships under their convoy an opportunity to escape. At last, after seven hours fight, the Gloucester, a sixty-gun ship, and just rebuilt, was taken; but the Hampshire obliged the enemy to sheer off, and in a very shattered condition got into Baltimore. On Christmas-day, the Solebay man of war, with eight merchant ships under her convoy, bound to Lynn in Norfolk, were unfortunately lost upon Boston-Knock, and only two boats full of men saved out of the ships. From these disagreeable accidents, let us now return to the conduct of admiral Wager in the West Indies.

As this admiral had been always extremely careful of the trade in that part of the world, so, in the spring of the year 1709, he sent captain Hutchins, in the Portland, to protect the trading sloops that were going to Porto Bello. All the latter part of the month of April, captain Hutchins lay in the Bastimentos; from whence he descried four large ships, two of fifty, and two of thirty guns, in the harbours of Porto Bello. The two largest, as he was informed by the private traders, were the Coventry, a fourth rate, taken from us by the French, and the Minion, both from Guinea. On the first of May he had intelligence, that they failed the evening before; upon which he stood to the northward till the third, when he gained sight of them about eight in the morning. At noon, he discovered their hulls very plain, and they being to windward, bore down to him, firing some guns as they passed by; soon after which they wore, as if they designed to engage in the evening, but did not. It was little wind, and about six o'clock he tacked upon them, and keeping sight all night, near eight in the morning he came up within pistol shot of the Minion, but was obliged to fight her to leeward, because he could not possibly carry out his lee guns, though the ships of the enemy did. The Coventry, after he had been warmly engaged, got on his lee bow, and firing very smartly at his masts, did them no little damage; but he being not willing to be diverted from the Minion, plyed her very smartly, nor could she get from him, until they shot his maintop-sail-yard in two, when both of them shot a head, he creeping after them as fast as possible in that crippled condition; in the mean while,

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splicing his rigging, bending new sails, and repairing other damages in the best manner he could.

About four in the morning a boat was perceived going from the *Minion* to the *Coventry*, so that he believed he had much disabled the former, and that by the frequent passing of the boat between them, she was sending the best part of her loading on board the other. By ten at night he had completed all his work, and the next morning was ready for a second encounter; but it proving little wind, he could not come up with them until the 6th, when before seven in the morning, he was close in with the *Coventry*, which ship hauled up her main-sail, and lay by for him. Coming nearer to her, it was observed she had many small-shot men, so that he durst not clap her on board as he had designed, but plied her with his guns; in the mean time, he received but little damage from the *Minion*. Between eleven and twelve, he brought the *Coventry's* main-mast by the board, and then her fire was much lessened; however, continuing to do what they could, at half an hour past twelve she struck; the first captain being killed, the second wounded, and a great slaughter made among the men, many of them being those who belonged to the *Minion*: whereas of ours there were but nine killed, and twelve wounded, most of whom recovered; and in the prize, there were about twenty thousand pieces of eight, great part whereof were found among the French seamen.

Rear-admiral Wager, upon the pressing solicitation of the merchants, sent the *Severn* and *Scarborough* to England, to convoy home the trade, because they were but weakly manned, and according to the orders he had from the lord high-admiral, when any ships under his command were so reduced by sickness, as to have no more men on board than were necessary to navigate the ship, these ships were to be sent home; and the reason of this was, that by an act of parliament, which passed soon after commodore Ker's affair, our admirals were absolutely restrained from pressing men on any account in the the *West-Indies*; so that, in truth, there was nothing left for an admiral to do in such a case, but to send home ships that were of no further use. All the time the rear-admiral continued in this station, he took care to keep a sufficient number of ships to cruise upon the enemy, and to protect our trade, which they did with all the success that could be wished or expected. But in the autumn, our admiral was ordered home; and accordingly he left the few men of war that were stationed on the coast of *Jamaica* under the command of captain *Tudor Trevor*, who was soon after relieved by captain *Span*. As for the rear-admiral, he had a safe and speedy voyage home, where he was received, on his coming from *St. Helens*, in the month of November, with all the respect imaginable; the letters from the *West Indies* having, contrary to custom, done the greatest honour to the vigilance of our

our navy in those parts, while under his direction ; which is a clear confutation of a modern maxim at a certain board, that it is impossible to satisfy the merchants at home, or the planters abroad.

Before I close this account of our affairs in America, it is necessary I should say something of a misfortune that befel us in Newfoundland ; and the rather, because none of our historians have been particular about it, for which reason, I am obliged to take what I have to relate, entirely upon the credit of a French writer. The Sieur de Saintovide, the king's lieutenant at Placentia, took the fort of St. John, on the east side of Newfoundland, by escalade, in which action the governor was wounded, and made prisoner, as were the soldiers of the garrison, consisting of about a hundred men. This, my author says, happened on the 1st of January, 1709, and the next day informs us, that the fort at the mouth of the harbour, built on a rock, and extremely well fortified, surrendered also, and the garrison, consisting of sixty men, were made prisoners of war. This affair must have been attended with very bad consequences for the present ; but, as we shall see, these were not only remedied in the succeeding year, but the French settlements, in their turn, were in a manner totally destroyed. But, it is now time for us to return home, and to conclude the history of this year with a short account of the alterations made with respect to the management of naval affairs.

The earl of Pembroke, finding the sole care and direction of the fleet a load too heavy for him to bear, though he had discharged his office of lord high-admiral in every respect to the general content of all parties, very prudently and virtuously resolved to lay it down. A great deal of pains were taken to divert his lordship from this resolution, but to no purpose ; he thought the business might be better done by one who had greater experience in maritime affairs ; and thereupon, this high office was offered to that gallant sea-officer the earl of Orford, who absolutely refused it, though he was willing to accept a share in the direction of the admiralty. Her majesty, therefore, in the beginning of the month of November, thought proper to direct a commission, whereby she constituted and appointed Edward earl of Orford, Sir John Leake, Sir George Byng, George Dodington, and Paul Methuen, Esqrs. commissioners, for executing the office of lord high-admiral of Great-Britain and Ireland, in the room of the earl of Pembroke, on whom the queen bestowed a yearly pension of three thousand pounds *per annum*, payable out of the revenue of the Post-office, in consideration of his eminent services.

Soon after this alteration, there followed a promotion, *viz.* on the 12th of November, 1709, her majesty being pleased to appoint a gentleman who had been long laid aside, *viz.*

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Matthew Aylmer, Esq; admiral and commander in chief of her majesty's fleet; the lord Dursley vice-admiral; and Charles Wager, Esq; rear-admiral of the red, Sir John Jennings admiral; Sir Edward Whitaker vice-admiral of the white. And, Sir John Norris admiral; and John Baker, Esq; vice-admiral of the blue.

The parliament met, and the queen laid before them the proceedings of the last year, and directed an account of the expences of the government both civil and military, to be sent them from the respective offices. The business of Dr. Sacheverel took up the best part of the session; but it happened luckily, that the supplies were first granted, amounting in the whole to six millions, one hundred eighty-four thousand, one hundred sixty-six pounds, seven shillings; in order to the raising of which, a lottery was established, of one million five hundred thousand pounds, of which six hundred thousand pounds were subscribed on the 20th of January, being the first day the books were opened, and all the rest in less than six weeks. This was sufficient to shew the strength of public credit at that time, as also the disposition of the commons, to continue the war till the ends of it were answered; but, after Sacheverel's trial, it was soon perceived, that this ardour began to abate, which we find attributed by our historians to many different causes.

The chief, however, seems to have been the management of the French king, who, by publishing to all the world the mighty offers of peace that he had made to the allies, and dressing up in the strongest colours the hard conditions which the allies would have imposed upon him, and with which he declared he would have complied, if they had not appeared impossible, and calculated rather to prevent than promote the re-establishment of the tranquillity of Europe. By these representations, he raised great compassion among the neutral powers, excited divisions among the allies, and caused great jealousies and heart-burnings, both here and in Holland. This did not hinder our ministry from pursuing their former schemes, and endeavouring to restore a martial spirit, by the success of their designs on all sides; and as they had hitherto found their conduct most liable to be attacked on the subject of the war in Spain, they took all imaginable care to issue very early the sums granted for that service, which amounted to above a million; but it was resolved, since there was no immediate occasion for great fleets in the Mediterranean, to recal Sir Edward Whitaker, and to leave admiral Baker, with a small squadron, to protect the trade, and obey the orders of king Charles III.

Matthew Aylmer, Esq; admiral of the fleet, being in the Soundings with a considerable force, saw all the several fleets of our

our outward-bound merchantmen safe into the sea, and having sent them forward on their respective voyages, upon the 27th of July, he remained cruizing for two days afterwards, about sixty-eight leagues from the Lizard. On the 29th at noon, he discovered 13 sail. He ordered the Kent, Assurance, and York, to chase a-head, and followed with the rest of the ships under his command; but the weather proving hazy, he could not discover next morning more than one merchant ship. He received advice, however, before noon, that the Assurance had made prize of one of the enemies vessels, upon which he immediately sent his boat to bring the master of her on board him; which was accordingly done.

This Frenchman informed the admiral, that the ships he had seen the day before, were 14 merchant-men, bound for the banks of Newfoundland, and Martinico, under convoy of the Superbe, a French man of war of 56 guns, and the Concord of 30: that the former, having seen them into the sea, was to cruize in the Soundings, and the latter to proceed to Guinea; and that, on their perceiving the English fleet, the Concord bore away with the merchant-men under his convoy. Soon after this the Kent, commanded by captain Robert Johnson, came up with, and engaged the Superbe, for the space of an hour, when she struck; in which action captain Johnson behaved like a gallant officer, and an experienced seaman; for, as he attacked the French ship without waiting for other ships, so she was taken by him without any assistance, although she had a greater number of men than the Kent. Both of them were very much shattered in the fight; but so good a sailer was the Superbe, that, had she not been three months off the ground, she would in all probability have escaped. This ship had taken several valuable prizes from us before, and our cruisers had often chased her without success; but falling thus into our possession, she was registered in the British navy, being a very beautiful vessel, and not above eighteen months old.

Sir Edward Whitaker was at Port Mahon with his squadron, when he received the order before-mentioned, and sailing from thence on the 27th of March, he arrived at Lisbon on the 4th of April, with three ships of the third rate, where he made some stay, in order to take the homeward-bound merchant-men under his protection; and then sailing on the 29th of that month, he arrived safely on the first of June with our own, and the Dutch and Portugal fleet, and their convoys, in our channel. As for vice-admiral Baker, having conducted the transports to the several ports to which they were bound, he, in his return to Barcelona, got sight, off the Faro of Messina, of four large ships, with several frigates under their convoy; this was on the 2d of May, and he chased them with all the diligence possible. The next morning captain Masters, in the Fame, took one of the ships,

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ships, and soon after captain Cleveland, in the Suffolk, took another, called Le Galliard, of fifty-six guns; but the remaining two, which were galleys, escaped, with most of the settees. The vice-admiral having seen the transports safe into Barcelona, and having received advice, that Sir John Norris, with a squadron under his command, was at Terragona, and that he was come to command in the Mediterranean, resolved to join him as soon as possible, in order to execute any orders he brought with him from England, or to contribute, as far as in his power lay, to the support of king Charles's affairs, which were now in a more flourishing condition than they had been for some years past. We will take notice next of admiral Norris's instructions, and of what, in pursuance of them, he performed during the time he commanded in these parts.

The grand fleet designed for this year's service in the Mediterranean, sailed from Plymouth on the 12th of January, under the command of Sir John Norris, who having seen the Virginia, and other merchant-men bound to the West-Indies, safe into the sea, arrived at Port Mahon on the 13th of March, where he was joined by Sir Edward Whitaker, and a Dutch rear-admiral. Immediately after his arrival, he detached three English, and two Dutch men of war, with the public money, recruits, and ammunition, to Barcelona, in order to receive his catholic majesty's commands. While the admiral remained here, he had the mortification of hearing, that two of our men of war had been taken by the French; with this alleviating circumstance, however, that both officers and men had behaved bravely, and that the misfortune was entirely owing to the enemy's having a superior force.

Not long after, he received more welcome intelligence, viz. that two of our ships had taken a French man of war of sixty guns, called the Moor, a very fine ship, and which was afterwards registered in the list of our royal navy. After making the necessary dispositions for the many services that were required from the fleet, Sir John sailed on the 7th of April, from Port Mahon, and arrived on the 11th at Barcelona. There he was informed by the king of Spain, that the enemy had a design, either upon Sardinia or Naples, and that the duke de Turtis, a Genoese nobleman, who commanded a fleet of galleys for the service of king Philip, was at sea, in order to execute this enterprise. His majesty likewise informed him, that he was in great want of the German succours, that were promised him from Italy. The admiral resolved to do his best towards answering both these demands of his catholic majesty, and having first landed the viceroy in Sardinia, where he found all things quiet, he proceeded to the coast of Italy, in order to embark the succours before-mentioned. On the 6th of May, Sir John Norris arrived

arrived at Leghorn, and having there provided for the security of our Levant trade, which was much disturbed by monsieur de L'Aigle ; he sailed from thence to Vado Bay, where, while the Germans were embarking, he had intelligence, that the Italian gallies had actually taken on board a body of upwards of two thousand men, in order to make a descent on the island of Sardinia.

Upon this, Sir John Norris called a council of war, and in pursuance of the resolutions taken there, he, on the first of June, detached four men of war to convoy the transports to Barcelona ; he likewise detached five English and four Dutch men of war, to cruize in the height of Toulon, for a convoy which the French expected from the Levant. The same day he sailed with the rest of the confederate fleet, with two imperial regiments, to go to the assistance of Sardinia, upon certain advice, that the duke de Turfis was sailed with his gallies, and, as we observed before, some land forces on board, to invade that island. The 2d they came before La Bastida, in Corsica, and saw a little French merchant-ship coming from the Archipelago, which, upon the approach of our fleet, retired under the cannon of that place ; upon this, admiral Norris sent some boats which brought away the ship, but the men made their escape on shore. A bark coming from the shore, brought the admiral advice, that the duke de Turfis, having continued some days at Porto Vecchio, was sailed to Bonifacio, with a design to execute his intended enterprise against Sardinia ; whereupon they sailed again ; on the 5th came into the bay of Terra Nova, in Sardinia, wherein they found four tartanes of the enemy, which had landed there four hundred men, and sixty officers, under the command of the count de Castillo. They took, the same day in the evening, those four ships, and understanding by the prisoners, that the count, with his forces, was but two miles off upon that shore, the admirals resolved to land some forces to attack them, which was done the next day. They marched directly to Terra Nova, where the enemy were posted ; but the count de Castillo seeing it was in vain for him to offer any resistance, surrendered at discretion ; so that they took four hundred and fifty soldiers prisoners, with sixty-three officers, and several persons of quality, natives of Sardinia ; who, being disaffected to the German government, had joined the enemy, or had gone with the count de Castillo in this expedition, in hopes that their interest would occasion an insurrection in favour of king Philip V.

Their enterprise having succeeded beyond expectation, and there being no danger of any rebellion on that side, the troops returned on board the 7th, and the admirals resolved to go in quest of the duke de Turfis, who, according to the report of the prisoners, was sailed to another bay, on the opposite side of the island,

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island, to land the rest of his forces. On the 8th, they came, by favour of a fresh gale, into the canal of Bonifacio, where they were informed, by a Neapolitan felucca, that the duke de Turfis was sailed the night before from thence, with intention to retire into the gulf of Ajazzio, in Corsica; whereupon they made all the sail they could, in hopes of coming up with him in that bay; but in the morning of the 9th, when they came into the same, they were informed that the duke de Turfis, foreseeing they would pursue him, was sailed thence the night before, with his galleys, having left in this gulf eight large barks, with five hundred soldiers on board, and the greatest part of his ammunition, artillery, and provisions, in hopes that they would not take them in a neutral place.

But Sir John Norris thought fit to seize them, and signified to the republic of Genoa, that the queen of Great-Britain, his mistress, could not but express on all occasions the highest resentment against them, for having permitted the duke de Turfis, one of their subjects, to make, in their dominions, such an armament designed against one of the kingdoms belonging to the king of Spain her ally; and that, looking upon their permission or connivance as a breach of their neutrality, he would attack the queen's enemies in all their harbours. The Genoese governor, to whom these representations were made, answered with as much submission as could be expected; promised that he would not supply the duke de Turfis, or any that belonged to him, with provisions; and most earnestly requested, that the admiral would not land any troops upon the island. The admiral having considered his request, and being sensible that it would be to very little purpose to attempt following the enemy into the mountains, thought proper to grant it, and thereupon proceeded immediately for Barcelona, where he arrived on the 18th of June; and the king of Spain desiring that part of the troops might be landed in Valencia, and that the fleet might be as soon as possible at Terragona, it was resolved to sail thither directly, and to leave orders for vice-admiral Baker to follow; which orders, as I have already shewn, he punctually obeyed.

The inhabitants of the Cevennes having given the king of France a great deal of disturbance, and having numbers of their countrymen in foreign service, it was proposed to the British ministry, that, notwithstanding the miscarriage of former attempts, something should be again undertaken in their favour; and to enforce this advice, it was observed, that the Camisars, then in arms, were within fifteen leagues of Montpelier, and that it was possible to land our troops at Port Cette, within a single league of this city. Upon this, the ministry themselves, conceiving such an expedition might disconcert the enemies' designs in Spain, or at least facilitate king Charles's enterprizes in Catalonia,

Catalonia, resolved to send a gentleman to Spain, thoroughly instructed as to the whole of this affair, with orders to propose it to general Stanhope, and Sir John Norris, upon whose approbation, and the consent of the king of Spain, the design was to be immediately put in execution, by the fleet then on the coast of Catalonia. It must be allowed, that this project was very well formed, and, according to the best informations that I have been able to obtain, if our troops had actually fixed themselves for three days at Cette, we might, with the assistance of the duke of Savoy, have given the French king more trouble than he had ever met with from any of our projects during the war. For his own subjects, then in arms against him, were a bold, daring, hardy people, and, with a very little encouragement from us, would have formed an army of twenty or thirty thousand men, to whom all the French exiles, in every part of Europe, would have resorted; and, as among them there were many experienced officers, it is not easy to conceive, what consequences this affair might have had, or to what extent the flame might have spread.

On the arrival of this gentleman from England, general Stanhope, who was a very enterprising officer, eagerly embraced the scheme, and prevailed upon king Charles to permit a body of troops, though indeed it was but a very small one, to embark on board the fleet. This resolution being taken, was communicated to Sir John Norris, who, on the 6th of July, held a great council of war, in which it was resolved, to send an express to the duke of Savoy, and to embark the forces immediately, that an affair of such importance might not suffer by delay. The command of these troops, which consisted of no more than the regiment of colonel Stanhope, and three hundred men from Port Mahon, was given to major general Seiffan, a native of Languedoc, and a very good officer. The fleet sailed from Barcelona on the ninth, and arrived before Cette on the 19th. The next morning, by break of day, the troops, which were but seven hundred men, and who had landed the evening before, without any opposition, marched directly towards the town. Sir John Norris appointed some ships to batter the fort at the mole-head, upon which the inhabitants retired to the church, and soon after both town and fort surrendered; as in the evening of the next day did the town of Agde; so that now we had firm footing in the enemy's country: and this expedition had a more promising appearance than any that had been hitherto undertaken against France; our only misfortune was, that there were so few men spared for so important a design.

On the 17th, major-general Seiffan received advice, that the duke of Roquelaure was advancing with 400 dragoons, and 4000 militia, to ford the lake, and re-possess Cette; upon which the major-general thought proper to leave a hundred and forty men

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to secure the bridge of Agde, and marched with the rest of the forces to oppose the enemy ; writing at the same time to the admirals Norris and Sommelsdyke, to desire them to send all the boats of the fleet, with as many men as they could spare, into the Etang or Lake, to attack the enemy in their passage through the same ; which was done accordingly. The duke of Roquelaure, seeing his design prevented by these precautions, returned to Mezé, and the admirals and general detached a major, with a hundred and fifty men, to reinforce the detachment left to secure the bridge of Agde ; but, at the same time advice came, that this important post had been abandoned upon a false alarm. Nevertheless, it was resolved to prevent the enemy, and to return to Agde with shallops by sea, in order to regain that post ; but the very moment that this was to be executed, a strong wind happened to rise, which obliged them to abandon that design, and direct all their care to secure Cette.

In short, the duke de Noailles arrived at Agde, the same day that they were to return thither. They began then to think of the defence of the mountain of Cette, and posted there the few troops they had in the vineyards, surrounded with a slight wall ; but with orders to retire, yet not before the arrival of the enemy. The officer, who commanded fifty men, did not rightly apprehend this order, or else he was surprised ; for scarce had a few French dragoons fired upon our men, before they surrendered to them at discretion. The other troops retired in disorder, though the necessary dispositions had been made to support them in their retreat, and the several officers did all that could be expected from their courage and experience to rally the troops. While these were re-imbarking on the 17th, a captain was left in the fort, with fifty men to cover the retreat. It was not accessible, but on the side of the mole, and was defended by two pieces of cannon in the place that leads to it ; and besides, the enemy had no boats. The shallops were just by the fort the whole morning ; but admiral Norris had no sooner put off to go on board his ship, but the enemy sent word to the captain, that if he did not immediately surrender the fort, he must expect no quarter. Whereupon the officer let down the bridge, and surrendered at discretion, even before the troops were re-imbarked. The duke de Roquelaure sent them back the captain who had so ill defended the fort, in exchange for a burgher who had been released before ; but the captain was set ashore again, and told, that since he had been so complaisant to M. de Roquelaure, as to deliver up the fort to him, it was but reasonable he should be near the duke's person, and treated according to his merit.

Thus ended an expedition, from which much was expected, and which had no other good effect, except obliging the enemy to recal a considerable body of their troops from Roussillon ; in doing this the duke de Noailles made a very remarkable march.

of which the French have boasted excessively. Sir John Norris having re-imbarked the forces, sailed on the 19th, and shewed himself off Toulon and Marseilles; some days after, he stood into the road of Hieres, where he discovered a French fly-boat, carrying fifty guns, under three forts, upon the island of Port Croix; upon which he instantly detached some English and Dutch frigates, under the command of captain Stepney, to attack both the ship and the fortresses. This was performed with great vigour, and in a short time the ship was abandoned, and the lower of the three forts; upon this our boats rowed hastily to board the vessel, into which our men had scarce entered, before the ship, by a train laid for that purpose by the enemy, was blown up, and thirty-five of our people either killed or wounded. This misfortune was soon followed by another; for our ships that were cruising off Toulon, being distressed for water, sailed to an adjacent island for a supply, and in the mean time a great corn fleet, for which they were waiting, took that opportunity to enter the port of Toulon.

On the 14th of August, Sir John Norris returned to Port Mahon, where he received the welcome news of the great victory of Saragossa. He then expected to have sailed on an expedition for the service of his catholic majesty; but was disappointed, partly through some delay made by the troops in embarking, and partly by the haste the Dutch were in to return home; so that, finding it impracticable to do any further service for the present, he ordered most of his ships to be cleaned; which being performed, he sailed on the 30th of October from Port Mahon, and on the 6th of November he took three French ships from Newfoundland. After this, he secured the Turkey fleet, and then attempted to annoy the enemy in the bay of Roses, where he met with such a storm, as drove the Resolution on shore, on the coast of Catalonia, near to Barcelona, where she was lost, notwithstanding all imaginable care to prevent it, and the rest of the fleet was forced into the harbour of Port Mahon.

His catholic majesty's affairs had by this time taken a new and unfavourable turn, and therefore his majesty wrote in pressing terms to Sir John Norris, in order to engage him to sail over to the Italian coast, to bring, with the utmost expedition, such troops as could be spared from thence for his service. Sir John sailed from Barcelona, and arrived on the 19th of March in the bay of Vado; on the 22d following, the Severne, Lion, and Lime, made the signal of seeing four ships; upon which the admiral ordered the Nassau and Exeter to give them chase, and upon hearing a great firing of guns, detached the Dartmouth and Winchelsea to their assistance. On the 27th, the Severne and Lime came into the road, and captain Pudner, who commanded the former, gave Sir John Norris an account, that, in conjunction with the Lion and Lime, he had, the day before, engaged

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engaged four French ships, from sixty to forty guns, for above two hours, and then the French crowded all the sail they could, and made away; the Severne, being disabled, returned with the Lime into Vado road; but captain Galfridus Walpole, who commanded the Lion, continued the chase, though he had his right arm shot away, about forty men killed and wounded, and his ship much torn by the enemy's shot. The Exeter, commanded by captain Raymond, came up with one of the Frenchmen, and, after a brisk engagement of above two hours, took her; but he was so disabled, that he was forced to let her go again. She proved to be the Pembroke, which had been taken from us a year before, that was, while in our service, a sixty-gun ship; but at this time she mounted no more than fifty.

Sir John having given the necessary directions for embarking the troops on board an hundred and twenty transports, in order to escort them to Barcelona, received advice, while he was waiting for a wind, that Sir John Jennings was arrived at Port Mahon, in order to command in the Mediterranean. We have already, contrary to our usual method, carried this part of the history beyond the bounds of the year 1710, which was occasioned by a desire of preserving perspicuity, which otherwise could not have been so well done; and, for the same reason, we shall proceed with Sir John Norris's conduct, though it will carry us almost to the close of the year 1711; which, however, is better than breaking the thread of the narration, to resume it again at a great distance of time; and this too, when all that can be said about it will fall within a very narrow compass.

He sailed from Vado for Port Mahon, in April: but was forced by a storm into the road of Arasio, where, with great difficulty, he procured forage for the horses, and where he lay wind-bound till the 4th of May, and then proceeded to Barcelona, arrived there, and landed the troops on the eighth, where, having consulted with the duke of Argyle, and taken care to send a strong squadron to Genoa for the public money, he thought next of proceeding home with the Turkey trade; and, with that view, ordered captain Cornwall to escort them to Gibraltar or Lisbon, and there wait for his arrival. This being performed, he followed them as soon as the king of Spain's affairs would permit; and sailing with them under his convoy from Lisbon on the 15th of September, he arrived with them off the Isle of Wight the 8th of October, 1711, with four ships of the third rate, seven of the fourth, three of the fifth, two bomb vessels, two store ships, and an hospital ship; and from thence held on his course to the Downs, leaving the command of the fleet that continued in the Mediterranean to Sir John Jennings, of whose proceedings we shall speak in their proper place; but, at present, it is requisite that we should give an account, as we promised, of the expedition set on foot for restoring our affairs in Newfoundland.

The check we had received the year before, had given the ministry great disquiet. They found themselves, at this juncture, in a very critical situation, and were therefore under a kind of necessity of providing against any new clamours, which they were sensible would be set up, in case the French were not effectually rooted out in a place which so nearly affected our merchants, and upon which their commerce with Spain, Portugal, and Italy, so much depended. In order, therefore, to provide in the best manner possible for so important an undertaking, they made choice of two officers of experience, one of them to command the squadron, the other the land forces that were to be put on board it. The former was captain George Martin, and the latter, colonel Francis Nicholson, who was sent to Boston in New England, in order to provide every thing necessary for the expedition, and to draw together all the forces that could be spared from that colony, so that they might be able to embark as soon as the squadron should arrive.

This squadron consisted of the Dragon, a fifty gun ship, commanded by captain George Martin; the Falmouth, of fifty guns, by captain Walter Rydel; the Leostoff, of thirty-two guns, by captain George Gordon; the Feversham, of thirty-six guns, by captain Robert Paston, and the Star bomb ketch, by captain Thomas Rochfort; to which was afterwards added, the Chester, a fifty gun ship, commanded by captain Thomas Matthews. Captain Martin arriving in New England, found all things properly adjusted for the execution of this enterprise against the French settlement, without delay; in consequence of which, he proceeded from Nantasket road the 18th of September, with the Dragon, Falmouth, Leostoff, Feversham, and Star bomb vessel, the Provence galley, two hospital ships, thirty-one transports, and two thousand land forces, having sent the Chester before, to endeavour to intercept any supplies which the enemy might attempt to send to Port-Royal, in Nova Scotia; and on the 24th, in the afternoon, he anchored at the entrance of the harbour. A council of war was called, and, pursuant to what was agreed, the small embarkations and boats were got ready to receive the men, and put them on shore.

Things being in this situation, on the 25th of September, about six in the morning, colonel Vetch, and colonel Reading, with fifty men each, together with Mr. Forbes, the engineer, went on shore to view the ground for landing the troops; and soon after colonel Nicholson himself, with a body of men, actually landed; the enemy firing at the boats in which they were, from their batteries of cannon and mortars, but with no great success. Colonel Vetch, with five hundred on the north side, so lined the shore, that he protected the landing of the cannon, ammunition, and stores, and the mortar being fixed on board the bomb vessel, she driving up with the tide of flood, within

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within cannon shot of the fort, both that day and the next, bombarded the enemy therein, which did in a great measure induce them to capitulate, sooner than otherwise they would have done: not but that they were very much galled in the attempts made on them, and the warm fire from the artillery on shore; but the 28th, 29th, and 30th, the bomb vessel was not able to throw any shells, by reason of hard gales of wind.

At a council of war, held on the first of October, two letters, which were received from monsieur Subercase, directed to colonel Nicholson, were taken into consideration, together with the answers which he had made thereunto; and the preliminaries being agreed on, the governor marching out of the fort, with the garrison, our troops took possession of it soon after, with drums beating, and colours flying; where hoisting the union flag, they, in honour of her majesty, called the place Annapolis Royal; and a sufficient number of men being left therein, the ships and troops proceeded to New-England as soon as all things necessary were settled; from whence captain Martin departed, not long after, in order to put in execution the remaining part of his instructions, and prepare for his return to England.

These were not all the misfortunes that befel the French in this part of the world, for our men of war and privateers took this year near fifty of their ships. The Portland and the Valeur took, in their passage to Newfoundland, two very rich prizes, value thirty thousand pounds. But not long after, the Valeur was surprised in harbour, and taken by the French, and in the month of August, captain John Aldred, in the Rochester; captain Humphrey Pudner, in the Severn; and captain George Purvis, in the Portland, visited all the French harbours on the north side of Newfoundland, and in a manner totally destroyed them.

We are now to return home, in order to take notice of what happened here, relating to the affairs of the navy; and as these are commonly influenced by a total change in the ministry, it may not be amiss to observe, that, in the beginning of the month of August, the earl of Godolphin was removed from being lord high admiral, and that high office was put into commission. This great change was quickly followed by others of the same nature; for, about six weeks after, Edward earl of Orford having resigned his place of first lord-commissioner of the admiralty, the queen appointed Sir John Leake, Sir George Byng, George Doddington, Esq; Paul Methuen, Esq; and John Aislaby, Esq; lords commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of Great-Britain. But this commission did not continue long in this situation, for in the month of December, Sir James Wishart, and George Clarke, Esq; were appointed lords commissioners of the admiralty,

rality, in the room of George Doddington, and Paul Methuen, Esqrs.

The new parliament met on the 25th of November, and, on the 27th, the commons chose William Bromley, Esq; of Worcesterhire, for their speaker: The queen, in her speech from the throne, recommended the carrying on the war in very pathetic terms; and the commons, in their address, promised her majesty to take proper care of it. Accordingly, on the 5th of December, they voted 40,000 men for the sea service, for the year 1711, and 120,000*l.* for the ordinary of the navy; on the 10th of February they voted, that the sum of 5,130,539*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* be granted for payment of the debts of the navy, and for services performed by them on account of land forces to Michaelmas 1710, exclusive of the register office; and, on the 20th of the said month, they resolved, that 103,303*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.* be granted for the use of such proprietors, or inhabitants only, of Nevis and St. Christopher's, who were sufferers by the French invasion, and who have settled, or shall resettle their plantations in the said islands. While these regulations were making by the legislature, her majesty took care to provide for action; and in consequence thereof, appointed Sir John Leake, rear admiral of Great-Britain, to be admiral and commander in chief of her fleet, in the room of Matthew Aylmer, Esq; at the same time she appointed Sir Thomas Hardy rear admiral of the blue; and some time after Sir George Byng was made admiral of the white. These necessary circumstances premised; we may now proceed to the naval operations of the next year.

The grand fleet, under the command of Sir John Leake, had very little to do. It was intended for the defence of our coast, and for keeping the enemy in awe, which was very effectually performed; for the French king, from the many misfortunes he had met with, was utterly incapable of equipping any capital ships; and therefore, contenting himself with sending out, as he had done for some years past, small squadrons to annoy our trade, he seemed no longer to look on France as a maritime power. Sir Thomas Hardy, rear admiral of the blue, was sent with a strong squadron, consisting of four fourth rates, two fifths, and two sixths, to block up the port of Dunkirk. On the 21st of May he arrived before that port, into which he forced two privateers of twenty guns each, and a dogger which carried eight; and this, notwithstanding the enemy's fire from the platform at the pier-head. While he was in this situation, he discovered in the bay four sixty gun ships, and two smaller vessels, all unrigged, and had certain information of a small squadron that was sitting out there for the sea; after which he cruised as carefully as he could, as well for that, as for the convoy from Bretagne; but both, notwithstanding all his vigilance, escaped him.

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On the 27th of June, an English man of war, called the *Advice*, commanded by Kenneth, lord Duffus, was attacked in Yarmouth roads, by several French privateers. His lordship engaged them with great bravery, and did not give up his ship, which was a fourth rate of forty-six guns, till all his sails were torn to pieces, not a brace or bowling left, the shrowds cut away, two-thirds of his men killed and wounded, and his lordship had five balls in his body. The eight privateers that took him, brought the ship with great triumph into Dunkirk, where they most inhumanly stripped both officers and private men of their wearing apparel, and, but for the kindness of the inhabitants, had left them in a manner naked. Such was the brutal behaviour of these barbarous plunderers, and to such we must remain exposed, if that infamous nest of pirates, destroyed for the common safety of mankind, shall ever, through the weakness of our councils, be settled or fortified again.

On the 8th of August, Sir Thomas Hardy being in Yarmouth roads, with his squadron, received orders to proceed as far northwards as the islands of Orkney, in order to secure the Russia trade, and to send some ships that were with him to the Downs; the admiralty having received certain intelligence, that M. de Saus, a French officer, had actually got to sea from Dunkirk, with four large ships, *viz.* one of fifty guns, one of twenty-eight, one of twenty-six, and one of twenty-four: in pursuance of these orders, Sir Thomas saw the Russia fleet, which was remarkably rich that year, as far as Shetland; and then sending them forward with a proper convoy, he returned to the Downs, where he received orders to proceed westward, in quest of M. du Cassé. While our ships were thus employed, a misfortune befel us upon our own coast; for M. de Saus, with his privateers, fell in with our Virginia fleet, which consisted of twenty-two sail, two of which were forced ashore, four escaped, and all the rest were taken.

As soon as the news of this was carried to England, orders were sent to pursue the French squadron, and to prevent, if possible, their getting back to Dunkirk; but the *sieur Saus* found means to rid himself of these attendants, though they were once within sight of him, and carried six of his prizes into Dunkirk, leaving the rest at Bologne, Calais, and other ports on the coast. Our cruizers and privateers repaired, in some degree, this misfortune, by the depredations they committed on the coast of France, from whence they brought a great number of small prizes, which, if they did not turn much to our benefit, were, however, a great prejudice to France, since most of them were laden with corn, and other provisions, of which at that juncture, the people were in great need. But it is now time to return to the proceedings of our squadrons in the Mediterranean, where, as we have before shewn, Sir John Jennings commanded in chief, with a numerous fleet, of whose designs

designs we shall now speak particularly, as they were the last that were formed during the war in those parts.

The affairs of king Charles had suffered so severely since the battle lost at Villa Viciosa, that even his best friends almost despaired of retrieving them. It was, however, resolved to send thither a large naval force, to assist in whatever measures might be thought proper, either for restoring his hopes, or providing for the safety of his person. The duke of Argyle commanded the English troops, with circumstances equally honourable to himself, and shameful to those who suffered so many brave men to fall under such heavy misfortunes. The army was but thin; and well it might be so, since general Stanhope had been besieged, and taken, with eight battalions, and as many squadrons, a few months before, in the miserable hamlet of Brihuega. But this is not all; the regiments, thin as they were, were also ragged and starving, having no credit but what his grace procured for them, who soon brought things into better order, and his very little army under good discipline. In short, he appeared there, what he appeared every where, not only a brave man and an active officer; not barely a great general, or an able statesman, but a friend to mankind, and a lover of his country.

After performing some few necessary services, it was resolved, that the fleet should cruise off Toulon, in order to intercept the supplies which the enemy expected from Languedoc, and the corn fleet from the Levant. While he was in this station, he received orders from England, to return immediately to the coast of Catalonia, that he might be ready to carry the king of Spain to Genoa, or where else he should desire; his majesty, by the death of his brother, the emperor Joseph, being lately become sole heir of all the dominions of the house of Austria. He was likewise directed to afford all the assistance possible to the kingdom of Naples, in case any commotion should happen there at this juncture; and accordingly he repaired to Barcelona, to consult his majesty, and the duke of Argyle, as to the properest method of executing these orders, having first detached two men of war of the third, one of the fourth, and one of the fifth rate, to cruise on the coast of Naples, with orders to assist the subjects of the house of Austria, if any attempts should be made for reducing the garrisons of Orbitello, or Piombino.

On his arrival there, he found the king not at all inclined to quit Catalonia, till such time as he had advice of his being elected emperor, in which he was promised all the assistance that could be afforded him by the high allies; and, on the other hand, he found his majesty equally unwilling to part with this fleet, upon which all his hopes depended. Sir J. Jennings contented himself, therefore, with sailing from Barcelona, on the 13th of July, for Port Mahon, where he arrived on the 18th, having

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having first of all promised the king of Spain, to return as soon as the ships were refitted, and he had taken in a proper supply of provisions, which began to grow very scarce; and this promise he exactly performed by the 26th, when we find him again in the road for Barcelona, with one second, five third, and one fourth rate, besides seven Dutch men of war, under the command of vice-admiral Peterson, having ten other ships, most of the line, abroad on necessary service. When these had joined him, he took the king of Spain on board, having then a fleet of twenty-four ships of war, and landed him in ten days time at Genoa; from whence the admiral sailed to Leghorn, being in great want of cables and other stores, in order to procure such as the place would afford; and while he was there, two of our captains brought in two rich prizes from the Levant.

His excellency continued in that port to the 2d of Nov. when he sailed for Vado Bay, and having embarked the forces that were ready to proceed for Catalonia, he sent them, under the protection of five men of war and two fire-ships, to Barcelona, under the command of captain Swanton, with whose squadron, and three Dutch ships of war, the admiral sailed as far westward as Cape Roses; and was then to repair to Port Mahon, where captain Swanton was ordered to join him, as soon as he had seen the transports in safety, that the admiral might be able to make a detachment for protecting the coasts of Portugal; as also some ships to cruize in the Streights mouth, for the security of our trade. When the admiral had made the island of Minorca, the wind blew excessively hard from the north-east, which obliged him to come to an anchor on the north side of the island, where most of the ships sails blew away from their yards; but he got, however, the next day into Port Mahon. On his arrival he was informed, by the captains of two ships he found there, that they had heard a great firing of guns all the night before; upon which he sent the Chatham and Winchelsea, the next morning, to see what they could discover; who soon brought an account, that the Dutch vice admiral, with his squadron, was in the offing, together with four British ships.

These ships of ours were the Hampton-court, commanded by captain Mighells; the Stirling-castle, the Nottingham, the Charles Galley, and the Lynn, which came from the coast of Catalonia, and in their passage had fallen in with two French men of war, the Thoulouie, and the Trident, each of fifty guns, and four hundred men. The Hampton-court came up with the first of them, and engaged her two hours, to whose commander, by the time the Sterling-castle was within musquet shot (which was about ten at night) she struck; but by the advantage of little winds, the Trident got away with her oars. The Hampton-court's masts being much wounded in the fight, they, by the violence of the weather, came next day all by the board, so that she was towed into port by the Sterling-castle. The first captain

tain of the Thoulguse, was M. Grand Pre, and the second captain one Rigby, an Englishman, who had formerly borne command in our fleet. From the former of them the admiral accepted his parole of honour for six months; but the latter he detained, although M. Grand Pre assured him he was naturalized in France, and was become a Roman catholic; but some way or other he found means to escape, and it was believed he got on board a ship bound for Genoa, which lay in the harbour of Mahon. About the same time, the Restoration, a ship of seventy guns, was lost on the back side of the Mallorca, off Leghorn, but all her officers and men were saved; nor fell it out better with a settee, that had on board to the value of four thousand crowns, which she was bringing from one of the ports of Corsica.

The French having at present no fleet in the Mediterranean, the admiral was at liberty to employ his ships in such a manner, as might best answer the purpose of protecting Catalonia, and incommoding the enemy; which he accordingly did, till towards the end of the year he received advice, that the French were busy at Toulon, in fitting out a considerable force, which was to put to sea in the spring, of which the admiral took all the care he could to be particularly informed, and at last received a certain account, that this squadron was to consist of eleven or twelve ships, of which eight were of the line, and three or four were frigates; that they were to proceed first to Cadiz, and from thence to the West-Indies. Upon this, the admiral, on the 21st of Feb. held a council of war, in which, upon a strict examination, it was found, that the ships under his command, could not put to sea till supplied with provisions from Italy; and therefore a frigate was dispatched to vice-admiral Baker, then at Lisbon, with this intelligence, that he might strengthen the convoy of the store-ships and victuallers sent from thence, and at the same time it was resolved, that as soon as the English and Dutch ships arrived from Italy, the admiral should cruize between Port Mahon and Cape de Gatt, in order to intercept the enemy.

This necessary supply of provisions, and naval stores, arriving safe at Port Mahon, and the admiral having intelligence from all sides, of the great naval preparations of the enemy, was determined in a council of war, held on the 11th of March, to put to sea with one second, three third, two fifth rates, and two fire-ships of ours, and nine ships of the States-General, and to cruize ten or twelve leagues from Cape Toulon, until more certain advice of the enemy could be had. Captain Walpole, in the Lion, joining the fleet from Genoa, and informing them, that he had seen in his passage nine tall ships to the N. W. of the island of Minorca; it was resolved in a council of war, held on the 23d of March, to proceed to the southward of Majorca and Ivica, in order to intercept the enemy,

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enemy, if it was possible, between that and the Cape of St. Martin, in their passage down the Streights. Obtaining, however, no further intelligence, he came to an anchor on the first of April off the island of Formentara, from whence he sent two clean ships to look into the bay of Denea, Xabea, and Altea, as also into Alicant road; and, in case they brought him no advice, it was determined to sail immediately to Barcelona. This was accordingly done, and on his arrival there, and hearing nothing of the French, he sent a clean frigate to look into the harbour of Toulon, in order to discover what they were doing there, with a resolution, upon the return of that ship, to proceed to Port Mahon, there to revictual, and then to stand over to the Italian coast, in order to bring from thence a new supply of troops to Catalonia.

We are now to proceed to an account of what was done this year in the West-Indies, where, when we spoke last of affairs in those parts, we left commodore Littleton with a strong squadron under his command. This gentleman was extremely well qualified for this station: he had all the abilities and experience that could be wished for in a sea-officer, and yet was as ready to ask, and receive advice, as if he had neither. On his first arrival in those parts, which was in the month of November, 1710, he took all the care that was possible to obtain proper intelligence of the motions of the galleons, which were still at Carthagená; and at the same time he neglected nothing that the merchants thought requisite, either for the security of their trade in those parts, or for the safe convoy of such ships as from time to time were sent home; so that, during his stay at Jamaica, there were few or no complaints, but every body studied to mind his own business, and to discharge, when called upon, his duty in the public service.

The desire of taking the galleons, was what principally occupied the thoughts of the commodore, and as he was frequently perplexed with false intelligence, he stationed the Nonfuch and the Roebuck, on the Spanish coast, giving orders to captain Hardy, who commanded the former, to dispatch the Roebuck to Jamaica, with any certain intelligence he could obtain, either as to the time when it was proposed the galleons should sail, or the strength of the convoy that was to accompany them. These orders were faithfully executed, though very little intelligence, except that the galleons had as yet no convoy, could, for many months, be procured.

In May, 1711, the commodore received an account from the masters of some vessels from Madeira, that M. du Cassé, with a squadron under his command, had been seen from that island. Soon after, a Spanish sloop was taken, in which was a letter from the governor of Carthagená, expressing his hopes, that M. du Cassé would shortly arrive with seven sail of stout ships, in order to convoy the galleons. Upon this the commodore immediately

mediately sent an advice-boat to recal the Nonsuch, and, in the mean time, began to prepare for an expedition, resolving not to lose this opportunity of attacking the French squadron, and having a chance for making prize of some of the galleons.

The Jersey, commanded by captain Vernon, was then cruizing to the Windward of Jamaica, and having taken a French ship belonging to the port of Brest, which carried thirty guns, and one hundred and twenty men, he carried her into Jamaica, on the 23d of May. The captain of this vessel informed the commodore, that he had been trading on the coast of New Spain, from whence, proceeding to Port Lewis, in Hispaniola, where he put on shore the money he had taken, he was sailing from thence to Petit Guavas, in order to take in there a cargo for France, when he fell into the hands of captain Vernon. He added, that he sailed from Port Lewis on the 20th, in company with M. du Casse, who was gone for Carthagena, and that his squadron consisted of one ship of seventy-four guns, another of sixty, one of fifty, one of twenty-four, and one of twenty; but captain Hardy arriving on the 27th, assured Mr. Littleton, that two ships of the French squadron, one of which was the Gloucester of fifty guns, formerly taken from us, and another of forty-four, arrived at Carthagena, ten days before, and waited for M. du Casse, who designed, as soon as the galleons could be ready, to sail with them for the Havannah, and from thence to Cadiz.

Upon this, captain Vernon was sent over to the coast of New Spain; and returning on the 4th of July, reported, that on the 28th of June, he had looked into the port of Carthagena, where he saw twelve ships, six rigged, and six unrigged, and five sloops; the six ships that were rigged, he informed the commodore, were the St. Michael, of seventy-four guns; the Hercules, of sixty; the Griffin, of fifty; two small frigates, and the vice-admiral of the galleons, which carried sixty guns: and that, of the ships that were unrigged, there were two at the upper end of the harbour, preparing for sea, one of which he believed to be the Minion of fifty guns, and another of forty, the rest he took to be trading vessels.

Upon the 15th of July, the commodore sailed with one third rate, four fourth rates, and a sloop for Carthagena; and arriving on the coast of New Spain on the 26th, he discovered five ships to the leeward, which he chased into Boca Chica, at the entrance of Carthagena harbour. Upon this, he stood off to sea the greatest part of the night; but stretching in to the shore the next morning, chased four ships, and about six came up with the vice-admiral of the galleons, and a Spanish merchant ship; and as M. du Casse had taken most of the money out of the galleon, having some suspicion of the commanding officer on board her; so was this very carrack the same which had escaped from Mr. Wager, as hath been before related; and coming from

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from Carthagena, in company with some French ships of war, it happened she was separated from them, and believing our ships to be those with M. du Cassé, (as her commander said), lay by the greatest part of the day, and when Mr. Littleton came near, hoisted Spanish colours, and a flag at the foretop-mast-head, so that between five and six at night, the Salisbury's prize, commanded by captain Robert Harland, engaged her; soon after which, the Salisbury, commanded by captain Francis Hosier, did the same.

The commodore being within pistol shot, was just going to fire into her when they struck their colours; and the Jersey, going after one of the merchant ships, took her; the Nonfuch chasing the other, she escaped in the night. The vice-admiral of the galleons, being wounded by a small shot, died soon after. M. du Cassé had taken most of the money out of the galleon, except what was found in some boxes which belonged to private persons. She had sixty brass guns mounted, and three hundred and twenty-five men; and the ship which the Jersey took, was a vessel belonging to the merchants, of about four hundred tons, and twenty-six guns, laden for the most part with cocoa and wool. The prisoners, by the description given to them of the ships which were seen by the commodore, the day he came off of Carthagena, assured him, they were those with M. du Cassé, and that he had been out of Carthagena but two days, being separated from the Spanish vice-admiral, and nine merchant ships, the day after he came out; and since Mr. Littleton was well assured that he intended to touch at the Havannah, it was determined to cruize a little to the leeward of Point Pedro shoals, as the most proper place for intercepting them, until such time as further intelligence could be gained from captain Hook, of the Jamaica sloop, who was sent over to the coast with some Spanish prisoners.

About this time the French formed a very memorable design of attacking the Leeward Islands, and this, with the natural strength of their own colonies; for which purpose they assembled, in the month of May and June, about two thousand men in Martinico; these they embarked on board the following vessels; viz. a large ship, of thirty-six guns, a hag-boat of twenty-four guns, two merchant-ships, and nine privateer sloops. They put to sea on the 10th of June, with an intent to land on the island of Antigua; but they were scarce clear of their own island, before they met with her majesty's ship the Newcastle, commanded by captain Bourn, who attacked them so briskly, that, notwithstanding it was a calm, and they lay in such a manner, as that it was impossible for him to bring his broadside to bear upon them; yet, after an action of three hours, in which the French lost sixty-four men, he obliged them to relinquish their enterprize, and to take the opportunity of the first little breeze

breeze that sprung up, to return into one of the ports of their own islands.

Unwilling, however, absolutely to abandon their design, they refitted their vessels, and beat up for volunteers, and, on the 16th, landed near fifteen hundred men on the island of Montserrat; they debarked these troops about twelve at night, and began to plunder the adjacent country; but being informed that captain Bourn sailed from thence that very day, and was expected again the next, they embarked in such a hurry, that they left fifteen or twenty of their men behind them, who were made prisoners by the inhabitants of the island, and thus ended this project, through the courage and conduct of this worthy commander. The French, however, did not escape totally unchastised for this mischief, for captain Lisle, in her majesty's ship the Diamond, having notice of their situation, and suspecting that some of their transports would very soon put to sea, he kept cruising, together with the Panther, and another of her majesty's ships, at a small distance from the coast, and in a short time, took three of them, besides other prizes, so that the enemy were effectually cured of their inclinations to make descents for this year.

To return now to commodore Littleton, who having sent away the homeward-bound trade in the month of August, under the convoy of the Nonfuch, returned again to his cruising station, in the latter end of the same month. He had not been long at sea, before the captain of the Medway's prize, who he sent to Bluefield's-bay in Jamaica, brought him advice, that the master of a trading vessel had lately made oath before lord Archibald Hamilton, then governor of Jamaica, that eighteen French men of war, having a large number of transports with soldiers under their convoy, arrived lately at Martinico, from whence, it was believed, they would very speedily sail, to make an attempt upon Jamaica. This intelligence induced the commodore to sail instantly back to the island, where the governor assured him, there was not a word of truth in the story. This accident, however, had a very ill effect, since at that very instant M. du Casse, with his squadron, got safe into the Havannah, which he could not possibly have done, if the commodore had kept his station. It may be believed this disappointment gave him infinite disturbance, but it did not, however, hinder his cruising for some time off the Havannah, in hopes of repairing this disaster; in which he did not succeed.

Upon his return to Jamaica, he found the Thetis, a French man of war, lately taken, arrived from New-England; and soon after captain Lestock, in the Weymouth, from the same place, with a small privateer, which he had taken on the coast of Porto Rico, in his passage. There were at this time many merchant ships ready to sail home, which whom the commodore sent the Anglesea, Fowey, and Scarborough; the last-mentioned

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ed ship had been taken from the French by the two former, upon the coast of Guinea, where, not long before, the French had taken her from us. Thus ended the operations of the naval campaign for this year in the West-Indies.

But, before we leave America, it is necessary that we should enter into an account of that famous expedition against the French settlements in Canada, which makes so great a figure in the French histories, and on which we find so many reflections made in our own; the subject indeed is both intricate and unpleasant, but, withal, it is extremely necessary to set it in a clear light; since, notwithstanding its miscarriage, through a concurrence of unforeseen, as well as unlucky accidents, it was certainly one of the best intended, and very far from being one of the worst contrived designs that was set on foot during this war, and, therefore, we hope the reader will not think an impartial relation of the whole affair unworthy of his attention.

Sir Hovenden Walker, rear-admiral of the white, was appointed to command in chief, and general Hill, who was brother to lady Masham, was likewise appointed commander of about five thousand land-forces, that were to be employed in this design. As it was the first, and indeed the only great undertaking of the new ministry, I cannot believe but that they were in earnest, and really in hopes of raising their reputation by giving an extraordinary blow to the French power in those parts; which I conceive must evidently appear, if we consider the great force employed for this purpose. There were upwards of five thousand men, and eight transports and tenders belonging to the train,

On the 29th of April, 1711, Sir Hovenden sailed with the men of war and transports under his command; but coming off the Start the first of May, a westerly wind obliged him to put into Plymouth; from whence he sailed again in two days time, and continued his voyage very happily towards New-England, where he arrived on the 24th of June, without any other accident, than two of his captains disobeying his orders, viz. captain Soans, of the *Edgar*, and captain Butler, in the *Dunkirk*; they had both chafed without signal, and left the fleet, notwithstanding the strict injunctions of the admiral, grounded on his instructions to the contrary. As captain Soans had joined the fleet again the next day, he was only mulcted three months pay; but captain Butler having never been seen by the fleet, till their arrival at Nantasket, near Boston, was discharged and dismissed from his command.

The admiral was far from meeting, in New-England, with that hearty zeal for the service which he expected; for being obliged to take up a great quantity of provisions for the use of the fleet and transports, he found the utmost difficulty therein, the person who was depended upon for that service, not only refused

fused it, but endeavoured to serve his private interest, at the expence of the public, by buying up great quantities on his own account, in order to vend them again to whoever should undertake to supply the fleet; so that by the slowness of the colony, and the avarice of particular persons, the whole expedition was ruined.

The admiral and general did all that was in their power, by memorials and solicitations, to remedy this inconvenience; but to little or no purpose, since the inhabitants were extremely sensible of their own interest, and deaf to every thing else. General Nicholson came to Boston, and gave all the assistance that was in his power, and so did some other public-spirited persons, without which it had been impossible for the fleet and forces to have proceeded at all; and, as it was, they found it impracticable to leave Boston before the 30th of July, when, with a few pilots on board, who professed their own ignorance, and went against their will, Sir Hovenden Walker sailed for Quebec.

On the 14th of August he reached the Bird Islands, which lie about two hundred and fifty leagues from Cape Anne, and having sent the Chester, Leopard, and Saphire, to cruize between Placentia and Cape Breton, an island opposite to Newfoundland, expecting their joining him in his passage to Quebec; the former of which ships had taken, and sent into Boston before he sailed thence, a ship of one hundred and twenty tons, and ten guns, that had seventy men on board, whereof thirty were soldiers for that garrison. The Leostoff, Feversham, Enterprize, and Triton's prize, all small frigates which were stationed at New-York and Virginia, he ordered to join him off Cape Breton, being empowered by her majesty's orders so to do, if he should find it necessary; and this he the rather did, because of the use they might be to him in his proceeding up the river to Quebec, which navigation most of the people with whom he had spoken, represented to be very dangerous; and therefore he rightly judged the Humber and Devonshire, which mounted 80 guns each, too big to be ventured thither, for which reason he sent them home, and shifted his flag on board the Edgar, a ship of 70 guns, general Hill removing into the Windsor, which carried ten less; but since he had information that a ship of 60 guns, and another of 30, were expected from France very suddenly, he ordered the Humber and Devonshire to cruize on the opening of the bay of St. Lawrence, until the last of August, and then to pursue their voyage home. He had very fair weather until he got into the bay, when it became changeable; sometimes thick and foggy, and at others calm, with little winds, and the navigation appeared to be intricate and hazardous. The 18th of August, when he was off Gaspe-bay, near the entrance of the river, it blew fresh at N. W. and for fear the transports should be separated, and blown

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to leeward, he anchored in the bay, where, staying for an opportunity to proceed up the river, he burnt a French vessel that was fishing, not being able to bring her off.

On the 20th of August, the wind veering westerly, the admiral had hopes of gaining a passage; but the next day in the afternoon it proved foggy, and continued so all night, and the day following, with very little wind till towards evening, when there was an extreme thick fog, and it began to blow hard at E. and E. S. E. which rendering it impossible to steer any course with safety, having not either sight of land, or soundings, or anchorage, he, by the advice of the pilots then on board him, both English and French, who were the best in the fleet, made the signal for the ships to bring to, with their heads southward, at which time it was about eight at night, believing that in that posture they should not come near the north shore, but rather have driven with the stream in the mid channel; but, on the contrary, as they lay with their heads southward, and the winds easterly, in two hours time he found himself on the north shore among the rocks and islands, at least fifteen leagues farther than the log-line gave, where the whole fleet had like to have been lost; the men of war escaping the danger with the utmost difficulty, but eight transport ships were cast away, and almost nine hundred officers, soldiers and seamen perished.

The French pilot (who, it was said, had been forty voyages in this river, and eighteen of them in command) informed him, that when it happens to be so foggy as to prevent the sight of the land, it is impossible to judge of the currents, or to steer by any course; for that he himself had lost two ships, and been another time cast away upon the north shore, when he judged himself near the south; inasmuch, that it was extremely difficult to procure men in France, to proceed on so dangerous a navigation, since almost every year they suffered shipwreck.

Sir Hovenden Walker plied two days after this with fresh gales at W. and S. in order to save what men and stores he could, and on the 25th of August, by the advice, and with the consent of the general, he called a council of war, consisting of all the sea officers, wherein great debates arose, most of the captains being rather inclined to censure the admiral's conduct, in not calling a council of war before he left Boston, than to give him any reason to grow pleased with councils of war, by the advice they gave him in this. Sir Hovenden told them plainly, that if he had acted amiss in what they mentioned, he was to answer for it in another place, and that the nature of the service, and the circumstances they were in, required them to confine their deliberations to another matter; and, therefore, in order to cut short these unnecessary debates, he would propose the single question, proper for their present con-

sideration : which was, whether they thought it practicable to get up to Quebec or not ? upon which they came unanimously to the following resolution, *viz.* " That, by reason of the ignorance of the pilots, it was wholly impracticable to go up the river of St. Lawrence, with the men of war and transport, as far as Quebec ; as also the uncertainty and rapidity of the currents, as by fatal experience was found." Upon this, the Saphire was sent to Boston, with an account of the misfortune, and the Montague to find out the Humber and Devonshire, and to stop all ships bound up to Quebec ; and the Leopard being left with some sloops and brigantines, to take any men from the shore that might be saved, and to endeavour to weigh some anchors left behind, he proceeded to Spanish River, in the island of Breton, the rendezvous he had appointed, there to be perfectly informed of the state of the army and fleet, and to settle matters for their further proceedings ; but all the ships did not join till the 7th of September.

The admiral had now nothing more to do, than to provide the best he could for his safe return home, and for the due distribution of ships and forces to their respective stations and garrisons throughout North America, which he seems to have performed with all the care and diligence imaginable ; and it appears, that in the whole course of his command, he preserved a perfect understanding with the land officers, and gave all the assistance that was either desired, or could be expected, to the several governors of our settlements in that part of the world. In his voyage home, he met with no accidents that either retarded his passage, or added to the misfortunes he had already met with ; but arrived safely at St. Helen's, on the ninth of October, 1711, with the fleet and transports under his command.

On the 13th, the soldiers having all had their quarters assigned them, and the transports being directed to the several ports where the regiments were to debark, the admiral, having had leave for that purpose, set out for London. On the 15th, the admiral's ship, in which he had hoisted his flag, the Edgar, a third rate, of 70 guns, blew up at Spithead, by which several hundred seamen were lost, with all Sir Hovenden Walker's furniture, stores, and public papers, books, draughts, journals, charts, &c. the officers original demands, supplies, and receipts ; which was certainly a very great misfortune to him, and such a one as did by no means deserve to be heightened by any groundless or malicious reflections ; which, however, were not spared upon that melancholy occasion. That every evening, Sir Hovenden waited upon secretary St. John, who expressed an extraordinary concern on the miscarriage of the expedition. On the 19th, the admiral was introduced to the queen at Windsor, by the duke of Shrewsbury ; when her majesty received

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ceived him very kindly, gave him her hand to kiss, and told him she was glad to see him.

On the 7th of December, the queen opened the session with a speech, in which she spoke much of peace; of the improvement of commerce; of easing the people; of maintaining the poor; and, in short, of every thing that was proper to conciliate the minds of moderate people, who were not so solicitous about parties, as desirous of seeing their country happy. The house of lords entered, however, upon the measures that were expected; but the commons complied more readily with the inclinations of the court: and as soon as the estimates were laid before them, came to a resolution, that 40,000 seamen, including 8000 marines, should be employed for the sea service, and that 18,000 pounds should be granted for the ordinary of the navy. They likewise granted all that was required for the service of the war, and made provisions for raising the mighty sum given for the services of that year, and which amounted to no less than 6,656,967 pounds, very early, and with a remarkable cheerfulness; so that it looked as if the ministry were determined to make a peace sword in hand, and to take no step that might possibly encourage the enemy to think we would lay down our arms, till all the ends of the grand alliance were effectually answered.

Sir John Leake was now at the head of the admiralty, and in that quality managed the business of the board in the house of commons; and as the season for action advanced, he received a commission to command again in the channel, as he had done the year before; and the command of the squadron in the Soundings was left to Sir Thomas Hardy, whose proceedings we shall next resume, as a proper introduction to the operations of the year 1712. The rather, because the grand fleet did little more this year than convoy a body of troops, commanded by lieutenant-general Hill, who were sent to take possession of Dunkirk; which service ended, they returned into the Downs; but, as to Sir Thomas Hardy, he continued to act effectually, and to take all the care that was in his power to distress the enemy in their naval concerns, till his diligence, in this respect, was superseded by the conclusion of the peace.

Early in the spring, he had intelligence of the return of M. du Casse from America, for whom he cruized with the utmost diligence during the whole month of February; but with little or no success, except picking up now and then some small French vessels. He watched with the same assiduity for M. du Guai Trouin; but was again disappointed. In the beginning of August, Sir Thomas chased six ships, and a tartan. One of them immediately hoisted a broad white pennant at the main-top-mast-head, shortened sail, and made a signal for the line of battle; and then tacked, and stood towards him, upon a supposition, as it was afterwards owned, that our ships were pri-

vateers from Flushing, with two prizes; but when they came nearer, and found their mistake, they kept their wind, and did all they could to make their escape, our ships pursuing them with the utmost diligence.

About five in the afternoon, the admiral came up with the biggest of them, which was the Griffin, a king's ship, but then in the service of the merchants. It was commanded by the chevalier d'Aire, knight of the order of St. Lewis, who shortened sail immediately, brought to, and sent some of his officers on board our flag, to inform him, that he was bound with bale goods for La Vera Cruz, and that before he sailed from Brest, he had received letters from Paris, importing, that in a few days he might have had the queen of England's pass; but that his friends advised him not to lose a wind, in order to wait for it; but Sir Thomas told the lieutenant, that if they had no pass, he should look on the ship as a good prize; and accordingly sent his own lieutenant to take possession of her, himself, with the other ships of his squadron, continuing the chase. About eleven at night, the Windsor engaged the St. Esprit, a ship of thirty-six guns, and one hundred seventy-five men, laden with bale goods for Cadiz, and about an hour after she blew up, just as the captain had given orders to strike; but the captain, with about thirty-five men, were saved by our boats. The Berwick took the Adventure, of Havre de Grace, carrying twelve guns and forty men, bound for Newfoundland; but the master producing the queen's pass, she had leave to continue her voyage. The same ship took also the Incomparable, of sixteen guns, bound for Martinico; and the Ruby man of war, likewise took a small French ship of twelve guns, which was also called the Ruby, bound for St. Domingo; so that of this French squadron, only one ship of eight guns, and the tartan, escaped. The Griffin was certainly a good prize; but our ministers were so very desirous of obliging their new friends, that, after a long suit, in order to obtain the condemnation of the said vessel, Sir Thomas Hardy, and the rest of the captors, were obliged to accept of a sum of money, far short of the value of the ship and cargo, which has been justly considered as a hardship upon these brave men.

Vice-admiral Baker was, in the beginning of this year, at Lisbon, with a considerable squadron of our ships, from whence he sailed on the eighth of February, in order to cruise off Cape St. Mary's. He had not been long in that station, before he ran a large Spanish ship of sixty guns on shore, upon the Portuguese coast, the wind being at that time so high that they durst not venture near her. The inhabitants of the country, however, went on board and plundered her; the cargo, consisting of sugar, cocoa, snuff, hides, and twenty thousand pieces of eight. The vice-admiral presented a memorial to the king of Portugal, setting forth his right to her, and demanding,

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manding, that the effects taken in this clandestine manner, should be delivered up; but they were so effectually secreted, that it was not in the power of the court to give him any redress.

On his return to Lisbon, he found orders from England to cruize with five ships of war, for the security of the homeward-bound Brazil fleet, on which service the court of Portugal desired he might proceed by the 9th of April, and that two frigates might be sent with their outward-bound East-India fleet as far as the Madeiras. The vice-admiral was very willing to comply with this; but the difficulty was, how to do it without departing from his orders, since he had directions from the lords of the admiralty to send two ships to cruize in the Streights mouth; however, he had hopes, that the Dutch commander in chief would have taken care of this East-India fleet.

On the first of April, arrived a convoy with provisions and stores from England, which determined him, since the Dutch had disappointed the Portuguese in their expectations, to send a fourth rate frigate with the East-India ships as far as the western islands, and to cruize himself for the Brazil fleet, in such a station, as that he might be easily joined by the before-mentioned ship; and at the same time he dispatched captain Maurice, with a small squadron, to cruize in the Streights mouth. He continued cruising about the western islands for several months, under great apprehensions, that the French squadron under the command of M. Cassard, for bound were the Brazils; till, at last, the provisions on board his squadron being reduced to five weeks at short allowance, it was necessary for him to think of returning to Portugal; but being still apprehensive, that if the Brazil fleet failed before the French squadron, the latter would undoubtedly follow them to the Terceras, where they knew that fleet must refresh; he resolved to continue in his station as long as it was possible, in order to which, he engaged the Portuguese to furnish him with three weeks fresh provisions. On the 11th of September, being off the islands of Tercera, he met with a Portuguese frigate, which informed him, that he had fleet the left but three days before, and that he believed they would that day be in the road of Angra, the chief town in the island of Tercera.

Soon after he had this advice, a violent storm arose, which very much shattered the ships, and drove him so far, that he could not fetch the island again; and judging that it must also have the same effect on the Brazil fleet, he made an easy sail towards Lisbon, in order to pick up such as should be straggling from their convoys; but had no sight or intelligence of them, till he came off the rock, when he found they arrived the very day before he made the land; and as the cessation of arms was soon

soon after concluded, the squadron of ships under his command was called home.

Sir John Jennings at this time commanded the grand fleet in the Mediterranean, and in the month of May joined the Dutch vice-admiral with the transports, having on board six thousand five hundred men, which were put on shore in two days time; and his imperial majesty and count Staremberg, pressing the necessity of carrying the cavalry over from Italy, it was resolved the admiral should return to Vado, from whence he sailed with the transports on the twenty-seventh of July, arrived at Barcelona on the seventh of August, where, soon after, he received the queen's orders for a suspension of arms, both by sea and land, and a letter from the lord Viscount Bolingbroke, directing him to suffer a great French corn-fleet to pass unmolested, every ship of which he must otherwise have taken; from this time, though the admiral was no longer concerned in military operations, yet he was very far from being inactive, since he transported the empress with her retinue, from Barcelona to Genoa, escorted thirty thousand men at two embarkations, from Catalonia to Naples, and afterwards carried over the duke and dutchess of Savoy, from Villa Franca to their new kingdom of Sicily; which, though done in the succeeding year, I mention in this place, that I may not be obliged to return into the Mediterranean, merely to speak of matters of parade.

We are next, according to the method hitherto pursued, to return to the West-Indies, where we left commodore Littleton, with a small squadron, protecting the trade, and annoying the enemy as much as his strength would permit; but the government having certain intelligence, that the French were sending a considerable force into that part of the world, in order to disturb our trade, and perhaps to attack some of the Leeward Islands; the court thought it necessary to send an officer of rank, with a considerable squadron thither, for which service they made choice of Sir Hovenden Walker; which shews, that the administration did not conceive he had brought any stain upon them by his conduct in the Canada expedition.

He received his commission in the beginning of April, and on the 28th he sailed from St. Helen's, with about an hundred merchant-ships under his convoy. He parted on the 4th of May, fourteen leagues from Cape Finisterre, with the Litchfield and South-Sea-Castle, and the trade bound to Portugal; and arriving at the Madeiras with the Monmouth, a third rate, the August and Centurion, fourth rates, the Scarborough and Roebuck, fifth rates, and a frigate of twenty guns, it was determined to leave the Barbadoes trade there, under their proper convoy, consisting of the Woolwich, Swallow, and Lime; but that fleet, taking in their wine sooner than usual, sailed with the

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On the 24th of June, admiral Walker arrived at Antigua; where the governor was more apprehensive of an insurrection amongst the inhabitants, than of an invasion from the French; and indeed things were at that time in a very unsettled condition in the Leeward Islands, where the governor, colonel Douglas, was upon almost as bad terms with the people as his predecessor, colonel Parke, whom they murdered for his tyrannical behaviour. Admiral Walker promised the governor, that if any thing like an insurrection happened, he would send him any assistance he should require from Jamaica; but advised him to treat the people with lenity, and to consider, that though he was sent over with instructions to prosecute such as were concerned in destroying the late governor, yet this was to be done in a legal manner, and with due regard to the liberty of the subject, and the monstrous provocations they had received, before they had proceeded to extremities, not justifiable indeed, but, at the same time, not altogether inexcusable. But this governor, who was so careful of his own safety, gave him not the least intelligence that a French Squadron was expected in those parts; though, if he had taken any pains to be properly informed, he might have known that the French at Martinico expected, at this very time, the arrival of M. Cassard, with nine men of war. Sir Hovenden Walker sailing from thence, arrived safely at Jamaica on the 6th of July, where having made the necessary dispositions for sending home the trade, and stationing properly the ships under his command, he received, when he least expected it, the news by an advice-boat, of an attempt made by the French upon Antigua and Montserrat.

This expedition of monsieur Cassard deserves to be particularly taken notice of. He sailed from Toulon with a stout Squadron of the king's ships, and is said to have had general instructions to annoy their enemies. As there was, even at this time, a negotiation carrying on between the British and French ministers, it is surprising that the latter did not give him orders to forbear attacking our colonies, till such time as he received intelligence from France, the neglect of which occasioned great murmuring in England, and might have retarded the peace, if the news had arrived before it was so far advanced. M. Cassard sailed first to St. Jago, which is the principal of the islands of Cape de Verde, of which he made himself master without much difficulty, and having blown up the fort, and carried off whatever he could meet with, continued his voyage for the West-Indies, where he arrived in the beginning of the month of July; and having drawn together in Martinico upwards of three thousand men, he had thoughts of attacking Antigua; but finding it very difficult to land there, he fell upon Montserrat,

ferrat, where he met with a very feeble resistance; the inhabitants retiring into the heart of the island, because in the mountains they had a fortress almost inaccessible. The French continued upon the place some days, doing all the mischief possible; but having information that several of our ships were coming to the relief of the island, they abandoned it, though not till they had in a manner totally destroyed all the settlements in it.

Some mischief they did to our trade on the coast of Antigua, but finding themselves very much disliked by such as wished well to peace, they resolved to give over cruising upon the English; upon which they prepared every thing necessary for a longer voyage, and then stood over to the continent, where they attacked the Dutch settlement of Surinam, and obliged the inhabitants to pay them eight hundred thousand pieces of eight by way of contribution; this was in the month of October; and, in the mean time, captain Archibald Hamilton, in her majesty's ship the *Woolwich*, having received an account at Antigua of the cessation of arms; and that the French had, notwithstanding, carried several prizes into Martinico; he sent a ship thither to demand them of Mr. Phelypeaux, general of the French islands, who ordered all of them to be restored, and such goods as had been taken out of them to be put on board again.

Sir Hovenden Walker, in the mean time, remained at Jamaica, where he gave the necessary orders for the security of the trade, for cruising on the French coast, and for protecting the private commerce of the inhabitants with the Spaniards at Porto Bello, St. Domingo, and other places. While he was thus employed, there happened, in the night of the 29th of August, a hurricane much more violent than had been felt for many years in the island. It began about nine at night, and continued raging with the utmost vehemence till twelve. The lightning, in the mean time, covered the earth in continued gleams of sulphureous fire; the wind blowing all the time, not only with prodigious force, but with a horrid noise. In the morning a most dreadful prospect appeared, many houses blown flat upon the ground, most of the rest stripped and laid open; trees torn up by the roots; the west-end of the church ruined by the fall of its walls; the governor's house dismantled, and scarce a dwelling in the island remained untouched. Several people were drowned on the shore, in the tempest, the sea forcing the boats and canoes a great way upon land upon Spanish-town, and washing away the houses; so that, what with the wind and the water, there were not above two standing, and few or none of the ships of war, but were either driven ashore, lost their masts, or were otherwise disabled. The hospital was blown down to the ground, and several of the sick people killed; and, on the first of September, a third part, the Monmouth, which

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which had been on the coast of Hispaniola, came in with jure-masts, having lost her proper masts in the violence of the weather, and another, if her main-mast had not given way, must have instantly overfet. It required some time to repair the damages which her majesty's ships sustained by this unfortunate accident; and, while this was doing, a very great desertion happened among our sailors, owing chiefly to the arts and intrigues of the captains of privateers, who made no scruple of preferring their private advantage to the security of commerce, and the welfare of their country. By that time the disputes which these transactions occasioned were tolerably composed, Sir Hovenden Walker received an order from the lords of the admiralty, to return home, after having first proclaimed the cessation of arms, which he accordingly did, and, after a prosperous voyage, arrived in Dover road on the 20th of May, 1713.

We are now arrived at the period of the naval operations in this war, and our next business will be to give an account of what advantages were gained, and of what might have been gained by the succeeding peace. It will however be proper, previous to this, to observe, that the administration had disputes with their old friends, and their new ones, in relation to the affairs of commerce, before the peace was concluded. In the first place, it was thought a little hard that the Dutch, throughout the whole course of this long and expensive war, should not have furnished their quota of ships and men in any one year; and this notwithstanding repeated exhortations with the States general upon this subject. With this grievance the nation was acquainted, and expressed no small resentment thereat, notwithstanding the pains taken by the friends of the Dutch to persuade them of the contrary.

To say the truth, the matter was carried very high on both sides; for the house of commons, having represented these omissions in our allies, as indubitable matters of fact, in order to justify the measures that were taking towards a peace, it was but natural for the states, who were averse to that peace, to reply as they did to this accusation; which, however, instead of satisfying, provoked the house of commons to such a degree, that, upon the printing of the answer they gave here, they declared that this was a breach of privilege, and the paper itself a scandalous, infamous, and seditious libel; for which the printer was put in prison, which prevented the publishing the remainder of the States representation; this was looked upon as a very strange procedure, and which seemed calculated rather to give credit to that representation, than to refute it; which, however, might have been easily done; for that we really bore a greater proportion of expence in this respect during the war, than we ought to have done, is a thing very certain; but it is the fault of all administrations, to be rather inclined to such short answers as may be given by acts of power, than to those that

that might be furnished by the exercise of reason; and for this they are deservedly punished, by being often thought tyrannical in those acts, the justice of which might be easily defended. In this case, however, the nation concurred in opinion with their representatives, and things went on, upon a supposition that this charge against the Dutch was fully made out; which encouraged the friends of the ministry to attack the rest of our allies, particularly the emperor, on the same subject: but, as these altercations have no immediate concern with the proper business of this work, I shall not insist upon them, but leave them with this remark, that in all future alliances, our ministers ought to be careful, not only in making the best terms they can for the nation, but also in seeing those terms punctually fulfilled, since it is impossible, especially under our present circumstances, for the nation to bear with patience such acts of indulgence towards foreigners, at their expence, when it is visible, that, with all their industry, the inhabitants of Great-Britain are scarce able to support the necessary charges of their government, joined to that vast expence which their generous concern for the balance of power in Europe, and the liberty of their neighbours hath brought upon them.

The difference with the French court was occasioned chiefly from M. Cassard's expedition in the West-Indies, as we have before hinted. The French ministry, who knew the importance of being well at that time with the people of Great-Britain, absolutely disclaimed that commander; insisting, that he had only general instructions, that he had misapplied them, and that proper satisfaction should be given. On the other hand, the British ministry were too far advanced in their pacific measures, to think of retreating, and so were content with these excuses, without insisting on the punishment of this officer; which, if what the French court said was true, he certainly deserved.

The first great step to the peace was getting Dunkirk put into our hands, which was represented as a thing impossible; and with the promise of which the French only amused us. On the 11th of July, however, arrived an express, with the news, that a few days before, the town, citadel, Rysbank, and all the fortifications of that important place, were delivered up to brigadier Hill, whom her majesty appointed governor and commander in chief. Her majesty, thenceforward, treated openly with the French court, though always under a promise that due care should be taken of the allies; and for this the ministry pleaded many things in their own justification. For, first, they alledged, that since the king of Spain was become emperor, it was no longer requisite to insist upon his having the whole dominions of the Spanish monarch: they insisted next, that if it had been ever so requisite, the thing was impracticable, the nation having found, by experience, that it was impossible to

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carry on the war in Spain to any purpose. This had indeed been long a point out of dispute, one of the warmest partisans of the house of Austria having freely declared as much a good while before, in a debate in the house of lords ; but added at the same time, though it was impracticable, a vote that no peace could be made, if Spain and the Indies were left to the house of Bourbon, was expedient at that juncture ; and yet upon this expedient. and at the same impracticable vote, all the clamours were afterwards raised. The friends to the treaty said farther, that the nation was unable to carry on the war longer, especially in the manner in which it had been carried on ; and that therefore, how much soever we might hate our enemies, it was necessary to make a peace, if we had any regard for ourselves. They added, besides, that they intended to make a peace on the plan of the general alliance, every article of which, they said, had been broke through, by subsequent agreements during the course of the war ; so that they would be thought to have the cause of liberty, and the balance of power more at heart, than even those who were for carrying on the war.

On the 19th of August, 1712, an instrument for a suspension of arms was signed at Paris, by the lord viscount Bolingbroke, and the marquis de Torcy, for four months ; and, in consequence of this, the necessary measures were taken for completing the peace : king Philip of Spain summoned a cortes, or general assembly of the states of his kingdom, before whom, and with whose consent, he made a renunciation of the crown of France, the queen having before appointed lord Lexington to be present at that ceremony. The negotiations at Utrecht, however, went on very slowly, notwithstanding the pains taken by the earl of Strafford, and doctor Robinson, bishop of Bristol, her majesty's plenipotentiaries ; and the great activity of the French ministers, who were the marshal d'Uxelles, a very able statesman, of whom prince Eugene said, with great spirit, upon this occasion, that he was the only French marshal he feared ; the famous Abbé de Polignac, afterwards cardinal by the same title, the ablest head in France ; and M. Mesnager, now raised to the title of count de St. John, who was entrusted with the first negotiations : and from this slowness it was found necessary to renew the suspension of arms four months longer.

At last, when the great influence of the queen was discerned, by her procuring the kingdom of Sicily for her cousin the duke of Savoy, which was her majesty's own act, the allies, most of them, thought fit to comply, and accept the terms she had stipulated for them, though with a visible reluctance. The emperor only remained firm to his resolution, and made the necessary dispositions for carrying on the war alone ; consenting, however, to evacuate Catalonia, and to accept of a neutrality for Italy, under the guaranty of her Britannic majesty. On the

19th of January, 1712-13, the new treaty of barrier and succession was signed by the ministers of Great-Britain, and of the States-General, whereby the latter obtained a mighty accession of territories, and a very great increase of power. On the 1st of March, the instruments relating to Catalonia and Italy were executed; and on the 4th the dukes of Berry, and Orleans, renounced their right to the crown of Spain, in the parliament of Paris. These preliminaries being settled, the great work advanced more briskly, and by the end of the month, it was brought to its conclusion.

On the first of April, 1713, the treaty of Utrecht was signed, as some would have us believe, in a clandestine manner. The truth was, that, to prevent disputes and protests, which might have furnished matter for dangerous pursuits in England, it was resolved to sign the treaty privately, at the house of the bishop of Bristol, which was accordingly done, under pretence of a conference; which being a thing frequent during that congress, rendered the matter less suspected. The earl of Strafford, and the bishop of Bristol, signed first; then the ministers of the duke of Savoy, declared king of Sicily by that treaty; those of the king of Portugal after them; then the plenipotentiaries of the king of Prussia, and those of the States-General last of all. The whole was over about two in the morning, occasioned by the length of the treaties that were to be read before they were signed; and when the business was ended, the respective ministers withdrew to their own places of residence, without any noise, or without directing any public rejoicings, as might have been expected upon such an occasion.

I have been the more particular in these circumstances, because some historians have represented them as matters of great importance. To speak impartially, I think there is very little, if any thing, in them; for in most separate peaces, the same thing has been done, particularly in that of Nimeguen; and I could name other, perhaps later, examples of a like conduct; so that, upon the whole, this ought to be considered rather as a misfortune than a fault. I shall not pretend to insist, that all was obtained by the treaty of Utrecht, that might have been obtained from France, after so long and so successful a war; but undoubtedly there was much obtained, and more might have been obtained, if it had not been for the disturbance given to the ministers at home, since, whatever people may suggest, all parties are alike friends to France, who thwart public measures, from a pure spirit of opposition.

Before I part with this treaty, however, I must observe, that it was very extraordinary in one respect; it procured us much greater advantages, I mean the people of Great-Britain, as a trading nation, than any treaty with which I am acquainted either before or since; and upon these, I must particularly insist, because they are immediately within my province. We have

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seen that Dunkirk was long before put into our hands ; let us now see what was to become of it.

The demolition of this place was of prodigious importance ; it lies but thirteen leagues from the south Foreland, and any easterly wind, which carries our ships down the channel, brings out those at Dunkirk, to meet and intercept them ; which, during the two wars preceding this treaty, made it often suspected, that the French had intelligence, either from our admiralty, or secretary's office ; though without foundation, since the very situation of the place furnished the enemy with advantages enough ; for the east end of the channel, which is so much exposed to Dunkirk, is but seven leagues broad, and gives them an opportunity of seeing our ships from side to side. It clearly appears from hence, that six parts in nine of our trade from the port of London, were freed from most of the hazards felt in those wars ; and though part of this must be exposed when it passes through the chops, or western entrance of the channel, yet it must be considered, that it was liable also to this before, and besides, this is only the south trade ; such ships as go to Holland, Hamburg, or the north, are absolutely free. Besides all this, the demolition of DUNKIRK was an inexpressible blow to the French naval power, and their trade, especially to the West-Indies ; so that a clearer proof could not be of our superior force, and of their distress, than the submission of France to this article. It is true, they endeavoured to mitigate the execution of it ; but in vain. The queen insisted upon Dunkirk's being demolished effectually, according to the letter, and it was demolished as effectually as could be desired ; whether ever it shall be restored, or if in time of war restored, suffered to continue, so as to become as in times past, a terror to the English nation, depends upon ourselves and future administrations.

By the 10th and 11th articles, the countries comprised in the charter of the Hudson's-bay company, of which the French had got possession, partly in the time of peace, and partly in that of war, were to be restored ; and not only restored, but his most christian majesty farther stipulated, that whatever had been taken in time of peace, or whatever injuries had been done to the Hudson's-bay company, before the commencement of the war, should be fairly examined, and full satisfaction made. The like is stipulated with respect to the depredations by M. Cassard, in the Leeward Islands, after the negotiations for peace were begun.

By the 12th article, the island of St. Christopher, and the whole country of Nova-Scotia, are yielded to the queen of Great-Britain, as by the 13th article, is the whole country of Newfoundland ; but the island of Cape Breton, is by the same article given up to France, which has been represented as a monstrous piece of complaisance, though there is great reason to believe, it

it was much less owing to the inclination of the English ministers, than to their inability of standing out any longer against the opposition carried on at home; and for this reason it is made one of the charges against the earl of Oxford, in the 13th article of his impeachment, wherein it was affirmed, that Cape Breton was part of Nova-Scotia; and the earl in his answer to that article asserts, that he had gone no farther than king William had gone in the treaty of Rylwick. But, however we might fail as to the point of Cape Breton, yet undoubtedly we acquired more by the treaty of Utrecht, than by any of our former treaties; I mean at the expence of the French, who at the time this treaty was signed, were actually in possession of Placentia in Newfoundland.

But, besides these advantages, there were others still more considerable (the demolition of Dunkirk only excepted) procured from the crown of Spain; for by the 10th article, the full and entire property of the town and castle of Gibraltar, with all things thereto belonging, are given up to the crown of Great-Britain, in propriety, to be held and enjoyed absolutely, with all manner of right for ever, without any exception or impediment whatsoever. By the 11th article, his catholic majesty doth in like manner, for himself, his heirs, and successors, yield to the crown of England, the whole island of Minorca, transferring to the said crown for ever, all right, and the most absolute dominion over the said island, and in particular over the town, castle, and fortifications of Port-Mahon. All that Spain reserves to itself, being no more than the right of pre-emption, in case the crown of Great-Britain shall at any time think fit to alienate or dispose of the said fortress of Gibraltar, or island of Minorca. By the 13th and 15th articles, the Assiento treaty is confirmed as fully, effectually, and authentically, as if the same had been repeated word for word in the said treaty, which was signed at Utrecht, on the 2d of July, O. S. by the bishop of Bristol, then lord privy-seal, and the earl of Strafford, her majesty's plenipotentiaries, and the duke de Ossuna, and the marquis de Monteleon, plenipotentiaries from his catholic majesty.

The ASSIENTO has since made so great a figure in our histories, and there will be such frequent occasion to mention it in the subsequent part of this work, (as that contract was the basis of the South-Sea trade), that I find myself under a necessity, as well for the sake of order and perspicuity, as for the performance of what I promised, to enter into a regular account of the steps taken for erecting and establishing this great company, which was one of the most signal performances of the Oxford ministry.

The earl of Godolphin, and his friends, had been peculiarly happy in the conduct of public affairs, and the maintainance of public credit, so long as the opposition given them did not rise so high,

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high, as to hinder their carrying public points in the house of commons; but after they once found themselves in that situation, their difficulties grew upon them daily, so that they were forced to contract debts in the public service, exclusive of such as were contracted, and provided for annually by parliament. At first these debts were seldom mentioned, some of them being pretty old, and others incurred by deficiencies, and the application of funds to other services than those for which they were originally designed. The drawing these debts out of obscurity, and declaring them unprovided for, was one of the first acts of the new ministry.

Their next care was, to form the proprietors of these debts into a new company, which, they conceived, would be as much dependent upon, and as useful to them, as the bank, or East-India company had been to the former ministry. But the business was, to find out a proper pretence of erecting such a new company; and this was very happily found, and very dextrously applied. It was always matter of wonder to the greatest part of this nation, why the war was not pushed in the West-Indies; especially, since there was a clause in the grand alliance, whereby we were entitled to hold whatever we could conquer in those parts. Some political reasons, however, restrained the vigour of our arms in that particular; and this, though the old ministry were very little to blame in it, made one great topic of public clamour.

When a thing is once made the theme of common discourse, many lights come to be struck out in relation to it, that were not thought of before; and this was the case here: some merchants of Bristol taking this matter into consideration, began to apprehend, that, however the ministry might be bound, private persons were not obliged to let slip advantages of this nature; and therefore they resolved to fit out two ships for the South Seas, upon their private account; which they did; and these ships returning in the year 1711, after having made many rich prizes, the wealth of the South Seas came to make a great noise.

The company was incorporated for carrying on a trade to the South Seas; and, by their charter, there was invested in them and their successors, the sole trade into, and from, all the kingdoms and lands on the east side of America, from the river Oroonoko, to the southermost part of Terra del Fuego, and on the west side thereof, from the said southermost part of Terra del Fuego, through the South Sea, to the northermost part of America, and into, and from all the countries, islands, and places within the said limits, which are reputed to belong to Spain, or which shall hereafter be found out, or discovered within the limits aforesaid, not exceeding three hundred leagues from the continent of America, on the said west side thereof, except the kingdom of Brazil, and such other places on the east side of America,

America, as are now in the possession of the king of Portugal, and the country of Surinam, in the possession of the States-General. And to give the thing still the greater sanction, the said company, and none else, were to trade within the said limits; and if any other person should presume to trade to the South Seas, they were to forfeit the ship and goods, and double the value: one fourth part to the crown; another fourth part to the prosecutor; and the remaining half to the use of the company. And it is also provided, that the company shall be the sole owners of the islands, forts, &c. which they shall discover, and erect within the said limits, to be held of the crown, under the annual-rent of one ounce of gold, and of all ships taken as prize, by the ships of the said company, and the company may seize, by force of arms, all other British ships trading in those seas.

The stock of this corporation was to arise from the subscription of these public debts, and the sum of 8,279l. was granted for the charges of management; and as trade could not be carried on without money, so the governor and directors of the new company had power, by their charter, to make any call, not exceeding ten per cent. for the prosecution of this trade.

The lord high-treasurer Oxford, than whom no minister had cleaner hands, or a sounder head, saw, with great satisfaction, the South Sea company's stock subscribed, by the very people who, upon its first proposal, had treated his project as a chimera. He knew, better than they, how far it was chimerical; he knew, that no advantageous trade could be carried on according to the scheme of the charter; but when the charter was granted, it was too early for him to discover what he really meant by trade to the South Seas. In the year 1713, the ASSIENTO treaty, or agreement between king Philip of Spain, and the Guinea company in France, for the furnishing negroes to the West-Indies, determined; and the lord-treasurer had an agent of his in Spain, who took notice of it to the duke d'Osuna, hinting also, that the granting this to the English might prove a means towards bringing about a peace; inasmuch, as this had been one of the principal points proposed by the private treaty between Great-Britain and king Charles. The proposal was early embraced, because it not only had a tendency to answer the great end of settling king Philip's title; but it also gave a handle to the Spaniards to rid themselves of the French, whose dealings in the South Seas had long given them, as it ought to have given us, great umbrage.

This ASSIENTO contract stipulates, in the first place, that from the first of May 1713, to the first of May 1734, the company shall transport into the Spanish West-Indies 144,000 negroes of both sexes, and of all ages, at the rate of 4800 negroes every year; that for each negro the Assientists shall pay 33 one-third pieces

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of eight, in full for all royal duties; that the said Assentists shall advance his catholic majesty 200,000 pieces of eight, upon the terms prescribed in the contract; that twice a-year they shall pay the before-mentioned duties of 4000 negroes, his catholic majesty giving them the duty on the other 800, to balance their risk, and extraordinary expenses; that his catholic majesty, and the queen of Great-Britain shall each be concerned a quarter part in the said trade, and shall be allowed a quarter of the profits, which shall be accounted for, by the Assentists, upon oath; that during the space, neither the French Guinea company, or the subjects of any other crown, shall have any licence to import negroes; and in case they should import them, they shall be considered as contraband, and the company shall have power to confiscate them, with many other clauses for the security of this trade, which are not necessary for me here to mention. I shall content myself with observing, that the rights and privileges granted by this contract were all by direction from the queen, properly assigned to the South Sea company; and though it might be, as I believe it was, true, that a little jobbing was practised in making the assignments, yet the whole was most advantageous to this nation; and if we have not reaped such benefits from this contract as we might have done, we ought not to blame the treaty of Utrecht, but ourselves; for there is no serving any nation after it is come to a certain height of corruption.

We have now finished, not only the naval history, but the naval memoirs of this reign, by annexing the best accounts we could collect of those great men who served their country under the happy auspices of this illustrious princess; the few things that remain to be said, are of a miscellaneous nature, and are brought in here, because they relate to naval affairs, and so are connected with our history more than with any other, and are at the same time of too great importance to be suffered to sleep in oblivion, while it is in our power to preserve them.

Of all the reigns since the conquest, it may be truly said, that the British constitution never appeared with greater lustre, than under that of the queen; by which I mean, that the prerogative, or influence of the crown, was never less exerted than by queen Anne and her ministers.

Thus immediately after the peace of Utrecht, in order to shew the care and concern that was had for the trade of the nation, the commissioners appointed for taking and stating the public accounts, directed Dr. Charles D'Avenant, director-general of the exports and imports, to lay before them distinct annual accounts of the importations and exportations of all commodities into and out of this kingdom, which he accordingly did, with his own remarks and reflections; a thing of very great importance to the state, and a precedent worthy of imitation; because, without

such authentic grounds, it is simply impossible that any probable conjecture should be made as to the growth or decay of our commerce in general, or how far it is, or is not, affected by the encouragement or discouragement of particular branches; which, however, are points of great importance to every government, and without a competent knowledge of which, no ministry can ever make a figure, or any parliament be able to decide with certainty, as to those points which are of greatest consequence to their constituents.

At the close of that work Dr. D'Avenant enters largely into the advantages that might be made by a trade carried on directly into the South Seas, and that in terms which shew plainly, the commerce of this company was not, even in a commercial sense, so visionary a thing as the enemies of the lord high-treasurer Oxford, its patron, pretended; for he there says plainly, that this company might extend the trade of the nation by vending its commodities and manufactures in unknown countries, and gives his reasons why he so thought. I must confess, that I never understood the scope of this great man's reasoning upon that subject till I read a book lately published by Mr. Dobbs, wherein he has shewn, with great public-spirit, how this may be done, either by discovering a north-west passage into those seas, and fixing colonies in the countries beyond California, or by prosecuting those discoveries that have been already made by the Dutch, and some of our own navigators, in respect to the Terra Australis, through the Straits of Magellan, either of which would open to us a new commerce, infinitely more advantageous than that of Spain to her Indies, because these new-discovered countries are so situated, as that their inhabitants must stand in want of our goods, at the same time that they stand possessed of gold, silver, spices, and other rich commodities, which must come to us in return; and therefore Dr. D'Avenant had great reason to suggest, that the new South Sea might prove as beneficial to Britain as her old East-India company. This very discourse of his, being addressed to the commissioners for taking and stating accounts, is the clearest demonstration, that, when the South Sea company was erected, there was a prospect of these advantages, and that, with a view to these, the powers of the company were rendered so extensive, and their capital made so large.

If this has not hitherto been done, still however it may be done, since the same powers remain vested in the company by their charter; and it is the more reasonable, that something of this sort should be attempted, because the Assiento contract is now given up. Besides, if we are able to settle any new colonies in that part of the globe, we should be able to trade with the Spaniards without an Assiento, and secure to ourselves such a proportion of commerce as might perhaps equal all that we now possess. But, if it should be found, that, notwithstanding these

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extensive powers, the company is either not inclined, or disabled to carry on such a new trade, then I humbly think it will be high time for the legislature to transfer those powers to some other body-corporate, that may be able and willing to exert them, and this with such clauses of emendation or restriction, as the experience we have since had of the management of public companies shall suggest to be either necessary or expedient.

In the same report by Dr. D'Avenant there are several other curious remarks on almost all the branches of our commerce; and if such a general state of trade as this were to be laid before the parliament, once at least in every reign, we should then be able to judge both of the efficacy of the laws already made, and of the usefulness and expediency of new ones. But it is now time to return from this digression, into which I was led by the desire of preserving a hint which seems so very capable of improvement, to the last acts of the queen's government and life, with which I shall conclude this chapter.

The treaty of Utrecht, which put an end to our disputes abroad, proved the cause of high debates and great distractions at home. The people were uneasy, the ministry divided, and the heats and violence of party rose to such a height, that her majesty found herself so embarrassed, as not to be able either to depend upon those in power, or venture to turn them out. The uneasiness of mind, that such a perplexed situation of affairs occasioned, had a very bad effect upon her health, which had been in a declining condition from the time of prince George's death; and this weakness of hers served to increase those disorders in her government, which were so grievous to herself, and so detrimental to her subjects: for her ministers, forgetting their duty to her and their regard for their country, consulted only their ambition and their private views; so that, whenever they met in council, they studied rather to cross each other's proposals, than to settle or pursue any regular plan; and to such a monstrous extravagance these jealousies rose at last, that it is believed a quarrel between two of her principal ministers, in her presence, proved, in some measure, the cause of her death.

For being at Kensington, to which she had removed from Windsor, she was seized on the 29th of July with a drowsiness and sinking of her spirits, and the next day, about seven in the morning, was struck with an apoplexy, and from that time continued in a dying condition. About three in the afternoon she was sensible, and, at the request of the privy-council, declared the duke of Shrewsbury lord high-treasurer of Great-Britain, though he was already lord chamberlain, and lord-lieutenant of Ireland. This was the last act of her administration; for the council now took upon themselves the direction of public affairs, appointing the earl of Berkley to hold

his flag on board the fleet, and sending general Whitham to take the command in Scotland, and likewise dispatched orders for the immediate embarkation of seven British battalions from Flanders. In the mean time the queen continued in the hands of her physicians and domestics, some of whom flattered themselves with false hopes to the last; but the blisters not rising, her majesty about seven in the morning, on the first of August, 1714, breathed her last. The following character I have taken from a history of her reign in MS. which now in all probability, will never be printed.

Anne Stuart, daughter to James II. king of England, &c. was born at St. James's, February 6, 1664-5, at 39 minutes past eleven at night. She was tenderly and carefully educated; and, having from nature the most valuable gifts, she became a very accomplished princess. She was moderately tall, and well proportioned, her complexion and shape excellent, till her constitution was impaired by grief and sickness. She appeared to best advantage speaking; for she had a clear harmonious voice, great good sense, and a very happy elocution. Her piety was unaffected; her humility sincere; her good-nature very conspicuous, but would have been more so, had it not been inherent in her family. As a wife, she was the pattern of conjugal fidelity, without any affectation of fondness. Her tenderness, as a mother, to her children was regulated by the rules of reason and religion; but her indulgence, as the mother of her subjects, knew no bounds. It was her only foible, that her uprightness of her own intentions left her without suspicion. Her affection for the people was so apparent, that it was never doubted, and so firmly rooted, as to be discernible in her last words. With a just sense of her own high dignity, she had a true concern for the rights of her subjects, and a strong passion for the glory of the nation; she loved public-spirit, and encouraged it; and though she was naturally magnificent and generous, yet she was frugal in her private expences, not to hoard, but to bestow on the necessities of the state. She gave her tenths to the clergy, which will remain a lasting monument of her zeal for the church. The many good laws, and the numerous happy events which fell out in her reign, will ever preserve her memory in esteem with those who wish well to the state. In a word, she was blessed with all the endowments that could make a woman admired, and exerted all the virtues necessary to make a monarch beloved. At her death her loss was thought irretrievable, and few who remembered her have altered their opinions. It would be improper to say more, and ingratitude to have said less.

Her majesty had issue by the prince of Denmark, 1. A daughter, that was still-born the 12th of May, 1684; 2. Lady Mary, a second daughter, born the 2d of June, 1685, and died in February, 1690; 3. Anne Sophia, who was born the 12th of May,

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May, 1686, and died the February following; 4. William, duke of Gloucester, born the 24th of July, 1689, who lived to be eleven years of age; 5. The lady Mary, born October 1690, who lived no longer than to be baptized; 6. George, another son, who died also soon after he was born.

M E M O I R S

OF

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c.

INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE

N A V A L H I S T O R Y.

Containing the Naval History of GREAT-BRITAIN, from the accession of king George I. to the time of his demise.

WE are now to enter upon a new period of time; and a great change in our government, brought about by a statute made in the twelfth year of king William III. for limiting the succession of the crown; by which, after the death of the queen, then princess Anne, without issue, it was to pass to the most illustrious house of Hanover, as the next protestant heirs: for the princess Sophia, electress-dowager of Hanover, was daughter to the queen of Bohemia, who, before her marriage with the elector Palatine, was styled the princess Elisabeth of Great-Britain, daughter to James VI. of Scotland, and I. of England; in whom united all the hereditary claims to the imperial crown of these realms.

But the princess Sophia dying a very little while before the queen, George-Lewis, elector of Hanover, her son, became heir of this crown on the demise of Queen Anne, and was accordingly called to the succession, in the manner directed by

by another statute passed in the fourth year of her majesty's reign.

For, by that law, the administration of the government, immediately on the queen's death, devolved on seven persons named in the act, in conjunction with as many as the successor should think fit to appoint, in the manner directed by that law.

The lords justices, the same day the queen died, issued a proclamation, declaring the accession of king George I. and commanding him to be proclaimed through all parts of the kingdom; which was done accordingly. On the next day they sent the earl of Dorset to his majesty, to invite him over; and on the 3d of August the lord high-chancellor, in the name of the lords justices, opened the session of parliament by a speech. On the 17th of the same month, the earl of Berkley sailed with a squadron of sixteen men of war, and six yachts, for Holland, in order to attend his majesty, where he was joined by eight ships of the States-General, under rear-admiral Coperen; and, to secure the coasts and the channel, admiral Wager, was sent down to Portsmouth, and Sir Thomas Hardy to Plymouth, to equip such ships as were fit for service.

His majesty arriving from Holland on the 18th of September, and making his public entry on the 20th, took the reins of government into his own hands; and very soon made some considerable alterations in the several boards; particularly in that of the admiralty, which was clean swept; for, instead of Thomas earl of Strafford, Sir John Leake, Sir William Drake, John Aislabe, Esq; Sir James Wishart, and Dr. John Clarke, who were there on the demise of the late queen, his majesty appointed Edward earl of Orford, Sir George Byng, George Dodington, Esq; Sir John Jennings, Sir Charles Turner, Abraham Stanyan, and George Baillie, Esqrs. In the month of November, Matthew Aylmer, Esq; was declared admiral and commander in chief of his majesty's fleet; and, soon after, Sir Charles Wager, rear-admiral of the red, was sent to relieve Sir James Wishart in the Mediterranean.

The subject of this work obliges me only to take notice of such acts of the new government as relate to naval affairs; and therefore, after observing that a new parliament was summoned, and met at Westminster March the 17th, the next thing that occurs, is, that on the 1st of April, 1715, they came to a resolution to allow ten thousand seamen, at four pounds a-month; and, on the 9th of May following, granted 35,574 l. 3 s. 6 d. for the half-pay of sea-officers; 197,896 l. 17 s. 6 d. for the ordinary of the navy; and 237,277 l. for the extraordinary repairs of the navy, and rebuilding of ships. These large sums were thought necessary, because, at this juncture, the fleet of Great Britain was very much decayed; and it was foreseen, that,

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that, notwithstanding the peace so lately concluded, new disputes were likely to arise, which might require fresh armaments.

Amongst these disputes, the most serious was that in which we were engaged with Sweden. This had begun before the queen's death, and was occasioned by the Swedish privateers taking many of our ships, which, with their cargoes, were confiscated, under a pretence that we assisted and supplied the Czar and his subjects with ships, arms, ammunition, &c. contrary, as was suggested, to our treaties with the crown of Sweden. Mr. Jackson, her majesty's minister at Stockholm, had presented several memorials upon this subject, without receiving any satisfactory answer; and therefore it was now thought expedient to make use of more effectual means, *viz.* sending a strong squadron of men of war into the Baltic, the rather because their high-mightinesses the States-General, labouring under the same inconveniencies, found themselves obliged, after all pacific methods had been tried in vain, to have recourse to the same measures; in order to protect the commerce of their subjects.

This once resolved, a squadron of twenty sail was appointed for this service, and the command given to Sir John Norris, who was then admiral of the blue, and who had Sir Thomas Hardy, rear-admiral of the same squadron, to assist him. The admiral hoisted his flag on board the Cumberland, a third rate, having ten ships of the line in his division. Sir Thomas Hardy was in the Norfolk, a third rate also, and had in his division eight ships of the line, the Mermaid frigate of twenty-two guns, and the Drake sloop, which carried sixteen. This fleet sailed from the Nore on the 18th of May, and arrived in the Sound on the 10th of June following; where finding the Dutch squadron, a conference was held on board the Cumberland on the 14th, in which it was resolved, that the combined squadron should proceed together, with the English and Dutch merchantmen under their convoy, for their respective ports; which they performed accordingly by the close of the month.

One of the first things Sir John Norris did, was, to dispatch an express to the court of Stockholm, in order to be satisfied whether the Swedes were resolved to go on in their practice of seizing and confiscating our ships; or whether, before it was too late, they would consent to enter into a negotiation for determining the disputes which had arisen between the two nations. The answer he received was so loose and uncertain, that he resolved to proceed according to his instructions. After Sir John's departure from Copenhagen, there arrived, under the convoy of two British men of war, forty-six merchant-ships, that were not ready to sail from England with Sir John Norris. These ships remained till the Danish fleet was ready to sail, in order to take the advantage of their convoy. About the middle of the month of August, the Danish fleet, consisting of twenty ships of

of the line, with the Russian Squadron, resolved to sail up the Baltic with the English and Dutch.

As the Czar of Muscovy was at this time at Copenhagen, and designed to command his own ships, several consultations were held to regulate the command of the several squadrons of different nations then in that road, which together were called the confederate fleet. It was at last resolved to give the chief command of it to the Czar of Muscovy, but so, that Sir John Norris should command the vanguard of the united fleet, the Czar the body of the line of battle, the Danish admiral count Gueldenlew the rear, and that the Dutch commodore, with his squadron and five British men of war, should proceed with the trade of both nations for their respective harbours in the Baltic. According to this resolution, the 16th the Czar hoisted his imperial flag, as admiral, on board one of his finest ships, and was thereupon immediately saluted by Sir John Norris with a discharge of his cannon, which was followed by the Danish and Dutch; and, these compliments being paid, his Czarian majesty gave the signal for sailing; the 18th they came to an anchor in the Kieger-Bucht, from whence they sailed towards Bornholm, where, being informed that the Swedish fleet was returned to Carlscroon, the British and Dutch merchant-ships, with their convoys, separated, and proceeded on their respective voyages, and the Czar, with his squadron, sailed for the coast of Mecklenburgh.

The Swedes had at this time a very numerous fleet, and in pretty good condition; but they were too wise to hazard it against such an unequal force as that of the confederates, and therefore withdrew it into one of their own ports, till they could receive the king's absolute orders. On the 28th of October Sir John Norris, with the British squadron under his command, and the Danish men of war commanded by count Gueldenlew, arrived at Bornholm, on which day the two cruisers, which Sir John Norris had sent to Carlscroon, returned to him with an account, that they had seen the Swedish fleet, with two flags and seven broad pendants, in Carlscroon, and all the ships they could discover lay rigged, as also that they had three cruisers under sail off the port. That night Sir John Norris sent these two cruisers, being the best sailers of his squadron, to Dantzick, to hasten the trade down the Baltic, and, if they found the six British men of war and all the merchantmen had joined there, to order the commodore not to lose a moment that could be made use of for sailing, but to proceed. These cruisers arrived at Dantzick on the 30th, where they joined the British men of war, and the trade, which on the 31st all sailed from Dantzick.

On the 9th of November the British men of war, with the trade, joined Sir John Norris's squadron at Bornholm, (having sailed from the fleet off Dantzick on the 4th of this month), and the

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the next day came all with him into the road of Copenhagen. On the 12th arrived the Dutch trade with their convoy, which had been obliged to stay after ours at Dantzick for provisions. A few days after, Sir John sailed from the road of Copenhagen; and, notwithstanding his fleet, as well as the merchantmen under his convoy, were surprised by a violent storm, which dispersed them, and in which the August of sixty guns, and the Garland of twenty-four, were unfortunately lost; yet the rest, with all the trade, safely arrived at the Trow on the 29th of November in the morning. Sir John Norris left seven ships of war, under the command of commodore Cleland, in the Baltic, to act in conjunction with the Danes, and for the farther security of the British trade, if necessary.

While this squadron was employed in the Baltic, the rebellion was extinguished in Scotland, but with so little assistance from our naval force, that it scarce deserves to be mentioned. It is true, Sir George Byng was sent to hoist his flag in the Downs in the middle of summer, and continued there as long as the season would admit; but no enemy appeared, and Sir John Jennings was sent to Edinburgh, from whence he went on board the Oxford in the Frith, and hoisted his flag as commander in chief of the squadron then upon the coasts, which would have been highly serviceable in case the pretender's adherents had either had any naval force, or had been succoured from beyond the seas: but there was nothing of this kind. The rebellion broke out under the influence and direction of the earl of Mar, who was soon joined by the clans; and the duke of Argyll being sent down against him, it quickly appeared how ill their measures had been taken. His grace had indeed but a small number of regular troops under his command; but his interest was so extensive, that he not only engaged many powerful families to declare for king George, but, which perhaps was the greater service of the two, engaged many more to remain quiet, who otherwise had joined the rebels. The business was decided by the battle of Sheriff-muir, near Dunblain, fought November 13, 1715, the same day that general Foster, and the English who were in arms, surrendered at Preston. Yet, after this, the chevalier de St. George ventured over into Scotland, where finding his affairs desperate, and his person in danger, he made his escape from the north with the utmost secrecy, which he effected by going on board a clean-tallow'd French snow, which sailed out of the harbour of Montrose, February the third, in sight of some English men of war, but kept so close along shore, that they soon found it was impossible to follow her.

These were the principal transactions of this year, at the close of which things were still in such confusion, that the parliament thought fit to grant very large supplies for the ensuing year, *viz.* 10,000 seamen at the rate of 4*l.* per month, the sums of 233,849*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* for the ordinary of the navy, and 23,621*l.*

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for the extraordinary repairs of the navy. We have already taken notice of what passed under Sir John Norris in the Baltic, and have therefore only to observe, that this year some of the piratical republics in Barbary having broke the peace, admiral Baker, who had the command of the English Squadron in the Mediterranean, received orders to bring them to reason, which he did without any great difficulty. But the Sallee rovers still did a great deal of mischief, and it was the more difficult to suppress them, because their ships were so small, and drew so little water, that our men of war were very seldom able to come near enough to exchange shot with them. At last captain Delgarno, in his majesty's ship the *Hind* of twenty guns only, came up with one of their best men of war of twenty-four guns, and, after an obstinate engagement of two hours and a half, obliged her to strike; but she had not been in his possession above a quarter of an hour before she sunk, and all her crew, except thirty-eight hands, perished: this, with the loss of another vessel of eight guns, and two more of sixteen guns each, which were forced on shore by his majesty's ship the *Bridgewater*, delivered, in a great measure, the English commerce in the Mediterranean from the interruptions given by these pirates.

In July his majesty went over to Holland, escorted by an English Squadron, and from thence continued his journey by land to Hanover, where the disturbances in the north made his presence at that time particularly necessary, and where he continued the rest of the year 1716, at the close of which admiral Aylmer sailed with his Squadron for Holland to escort him home. In the mean time the government was employed in extinguishing the remains of the rebellion here and in Scotland, and providing, in the best manner they could, against the revival of such disturbances, - of which they had the greater hopes from the conduct which the regent of France pursued, who shewed a strong inclination to live upon good terms with Great-Britain, as was indeed his interest. But it very soon appeared, that, notwithstanding the chevalier's adherents had lost their hopes with respect to succours from France, they had still another power willing and ready to assist them.

Upon his majesty's return a dangerous conspiracy was said to be discovered, in which many were engaged at home and abroad, and for defeating of which it was thought necessary to secure the person and papers of count Gyllenbourg, then his Swedish majesty's ambassador at this court, and who at the time of his death was prime minister of that kingdom; a fact which struck the foreign ministers here with the utmost surprise, from which, however, they quickly recovered themselves, when they were informed, that it was not for any act of his ministry, but for his being concerned in the management of a plot against the government. About the same time the famous baron Goertz was, at his Britannic majesty's request, arrested in Holland, where he

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acted as minister from the king of Sweden. In order to satisfy the world, the letters and papers relating to the invasion, which it was said his Swedish majesty intended to have made in Scotland, were rendered public, and the parliament soon after shewed the warmest resentment at the insolence of this attempt.

It was indeed amazing, that a prince, already overwhelmed by so many and so powerful enemies, should think of adding to their number by practices of this kind: but whoever considers the genius and spirit of the late Charles XII. will easily conceive, that it was natural enough for him to embrace any expedient, how dangerous soever, which seemed to promise the dissolving that confederacy by which he was distressed. But his design was not only rendered abortive by this unexpected discovery, which put it absolutely out of his power to carry it into execution; but it likewise brought upon him new difficulties, in consequence of his Britannic majesty's resentment of such behaviour, which presently discovered itself by the vigorous resolutions taken here: for, on the 21st of February, it was resolved in the house of commons, "That a bill be brought in to authorise his majesty to prohibit commerce with Sweden, during such a time as his majesty shall think it necessary, for the safety and peace of his kingdom," which afterwards passed both houses, and had the royal assent; and, on the 2d of March, a proclamation was published for this purpose.

As it was foreseen that this affair must necessarily occasion the sending another squadron to the Baltic, the necessary supplies were very early granted, viz. 10,000 seamen for the service of the year 1717; 226,799l. 5s. 3d. for the ordinary of the navy; and 20,761l. for the extraordinary repairs, and for the furnishing such sea stores as might be necessary. Immediately after, orders were issued for forming a grand squadron, consisting of twenty-one ships of the line, besides frigates, for the Baltic, the command of which was given to Sir George Byng, who was to have had two admirals under him, with an additional force; but, before those ships were ready, the ministry altered their design, and Sir George, in obedience to fresh orders, sailed on the 30th of March for Copenhagen.

On the 11th of April, Sir George arrived in the road of Copenhagen; the next day he had an audience of the king of Denmark, and assisted at several conferences, which were held in the succeeding week, in order to settle the operations by sea, and the command of the confederate fleet, in case it should be thought requisite for the several squadrons to join. Sir George next detached five ships of the line to cruise in the Categat, between Gottenburgh and the point of Schagen, to cover the trade from the Swedish privateers. The Danish cruizers being likewise employed for the same purpose, the passage was so effectually secured, that no ship could pass out of that port. Sir George himself waited only for a fair wind to sail with the rest of the British

British Squadron into the Baltic, where the Swedes, however, had by this time absolutely laid aside whatever designs were formed, either to our prejudice or against the general peace of Europe.

On the 7th of May, however, our admiral sailed from Copenhagen, having under his convoy a great number of merchant ships, bound for several parts of the Baltic, and in the Kiøger-bucht was joined by the Danish fleet, commanded by vice-admiral Gabel: they sailed together towards Carlscroon; but were obliged by contrary winds to return. As no enemy appeared, and the season of the year began to advance, Sir George Byng thought of coming home with the fleet; and accordingly, on the 2d of November, passed the Sound with nine English men of war, three frigates, and three vessels of small burden, leaving behind him six men of war, to act in conjunction with the Danish fleet; and on the 15th of the same month arrived safe at the mouth of the Thames; there leaving his squadron, he came up to London, where he was graciously received by his majesty. So that here ended the naval expedition for this year, and with it, in a great measure, all the apprehensions the nation was under from the Swedes.

In the mean time his majesty had thought fit to appoint Sir John Norris envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Czar of Muscovy; and, as if things began to be so disposed as to admit of a peace in the north, a resolution was taken to discharge count Gyllenbourg, which was thus brought about. His royal highness the duke of Orleans ordered the French minister here to acquaint the king, that his royal highness was perfectly well informed as to the king of Sweden's disposition, and that he was thoroughly satisfied, that his Swedish majesty had not, or ever had, any intention to disturb the tranquility of his Britannic majesty's dominions; that if, therefore, his ministers had entered into any practices of that kind, it was entirely without his knowledge; and that, upon their return to Sweden, he would cause a strict enquiry to be made into their conduct, in order to punish them, if they should be proved guilty. Upon this proposition from the regent of France, it was agreed, that count Gyllenbourg should be exchanged against Mr. Jackson, the English minister at Stockholm; and that baron Goertz should be released from his confinement in Holland; which was accordingly performed. Yet the storm did not entirely blow over; but the Swedish quarrel still proved a source of new expence to the British nation.

The ministry, to shew that their thoughts were not wholly taken up by these disputes in the north, framed at this time a very just and valuable design of suppressing the pirates in the West-Indies, who, since the close of the late war, were become very numerous and highly insolent. By a proclamation, dated the fifth of September, 1717, his majesty promised his pardon to

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to any West-India pirates, who should surrender themselves on or before the 5th of September following, for all piracies committed before the 5th of January preceding: and after the said 5th of September any of his said majesty's officers by sea or land, who should take a pirate, upon his conviction, to have for a captain, a hundred pounds; for any other officer, from a lieutenant down to a gunner, forty pounds; for an inferior officer, thirty pounds; and for every private man, twenty pounds. Lastly, any pirate delivering up a captain, or commander, on or before the 6th of September following, (so that he should be convicted) was to have two hundred pounds reward, to be paid at the treasury. We shall, in treating the events of next year, give an account of the good effects which this proclamation produced, by giving an immediate check to the insolence of these sort of people, and opening a way to their total suppression. But it is now time to return to affairs of greater importance, and to say somewhat of the politics of the British ministry at this juncture; the rather, because all the naval transactions which follow, depend entirely upon them.

The ministry, did not change their sentiments, but persisted still in their resolution, to bring the king of Sweden to such terms as they thought reasonable by force. This was a method, which, of all princes, Charles XII. could least bear; and therefore instead of thinking of a peace upon such terms, he turned his thoughts entirely on the means of carrying on the war; and though his affairs were in a very low and distressed condition, yet his heroic spirit, joined to the indefatigable pains he took, put them at last into such a posture, that, if he had not been snatched away by a sudden death, it is highly probable he would have restored them, at least on the side of Germany.

But this was not the only affair of consequence that employed the thoughts of the administration. We were then in close confederacy with the emperor and France, and, in conjunction with those powers, had undertaken to settle the affairs of Europe on a better foundation than the treaty at Utrecht left them. With this view the triple alliance was concluded on the 4th January, 1717; and that not answering the end expected from it, we next entered into the famous quadruple alliance, which was intended to remedy all these defects, and to fix the general tranquillity for ever. Yet, by unforeseen accidents, to which human policy will be always liable, this alliance proved the cause of an immediate war between us and Spain, and in its consequences was the source of the troubles that disturbed Europe, from the time of its conclusion to the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

By this quadruple treaty the contracting powers undertook to satisfy the emperor and the king of Spain: in order to which, his imperial majesty was to have Sicily given him; and the reversion

sion of all the Italian dominions, which the queen of Spain pretended was to be secured to her posterity. The crown of Spain was highly displeased with the provision made for its interest; and though the emperor seemed to be very well contented at this juncture; yet, as soon as Spain was compelled to accept what was now offered her, she also grew displeased with this partition, and we were many years unable to keep them both in any temper, or preserve ourselves from being involved in their quarrels, as the reader, in the course of this work, will be sufficiently informed. These Spanish disputes were another ground of opposition, which afforded room for the then patriots to complain, that we were more attentive to the interest of the emperor, than careful of the commerce of Great-Britain. In spite of this clamour, the ministry concerted with the emperor and France, the proper means for executing the project which gave birth to this treaty, by taking the island of Sicily from the duke of Savoy, who was now possessed of it, with the title of king, and giving it to his imperial majesty; to which the first-mentioned prince was obliged to submit, because he saw plainly, that if he did not yield this kingdom to the emperor, he should either have it taken from him by force, or lose it to the Spaniards, from whom Sardinia was, by our plan, to be taken and bestowed on the duke of Savoy, in exchange for Sicily.

In this critical situation things were, when the parliament met on the 21st of November, 1717; and, on the 2d of December following, they granted, as the custom had been of late years, 10,000 seamen for the year 1718, and 224,837l. 14s. 11d. for the ordinary of the navy. But, as this would by no means answer the designs that had been formed by the administration, the king was prevailed upon to send a message to the house of commons on the 17th of March, conceived in the following terms:

“GEORGE REX.

“His majesty being at present engaged in several negotiations, of the utmost concern to the welfare of these kingdoms, and the tranquillity of Europe; and having lately received information from abroad, which makes him judge that it will give weight to his endeavours, if a naval force be employed where it shall be necessary, does think fit to acquaint this house therewith; not doubting, but that in case he should be obliged, at this critical juncture, to exceed the number of men granted this year for the sea-service, the house will at their next meeting provide for such exceeding.”

This message was brought to the house by Mr. Boscawen, and an address, promising to make good such exceedings as were mentioned, if they should be found necessary, was moved for by Sir William Strickland, and agreed to, without a division; which was extremely agreeable to the court. The next

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day the king thought fit to make some alterations at the navy-board; and, accordingly, James earl of Berkley, Sir George Byng, Sir John Jennings, John Cockburn, and William Chetwynd, Esqrs. Sir John Norris, and Sir Charles Wager, were declared commissioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral of England, Ireland, &c. the right honourable James earl of Berkley appointed vice-admiral, and Matthew Aylmer, Esq; rear-admiral of Great-Britain, who was soon after raised to the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Ireland.

While these steps were taking, a great number of large ships were put into commission, and such other measures pursued, as rendered it evident, that the fleet now fitting out, would not prove a fleet of parade. The Spanish minister here, M. de Monteleone, who was a man of foresight and intrigue, being alarmed at these appearances, represented in a memorial, dated the 18th of March, 1718, "That so powerful an armament, in-time of peace, could not but cause umbrage to the king his master, and alter the good intelligence that reigned between the two crowns." The king answered, "That it was not his intention to conceal the subject of that armament; and that he designed soon to send admiral Byng, with a powerful squadron, into the Mediterranean Sea, in order to maintain the neutrality of Italy, against those who should seek to disturb it." The reason assigned for acting with so much vigour, was the dispositions made in Spain for attacking the island of Sicily, and the hardships that were put upon the British merchants. Cardinal Alberoni, who was then at the head of the Spanish affairs, defended himself, and the measures he had taken, with great spirit, endeavouring to make the world believe, that the Spanish expedition against the island of Sicily was not so much a matter of choice, as of necessity.

About the middle of the month of March, Sir George Byng was appointed admiral and commander in chief of the squadron intended for the Mediterranean; and, on the 24th of May following he received his instructions, which were not of the clearest kind; but, it seems, they were explained to him before-hand, by the great men who had then the direction of affairs.

The admiral sailed the 15th of June, 1718, from Spithead, with twenty ships of the line of battle, two fire-ships, two bomb-vessels, an hospital-ship, and a store-ship. Being got into the ocean, he sent the *Rupert* to Lisbon for intelligence; and arriving the 30th off Cape St. Vincent, he dispatched the *Superbe* to Cadiz, with a gentleman, who carried a letter from him to colonel Stanhope, the king's envoy at Madrid, wherein he desired that minister to acquaint the king of Spain with his arrival in those parts, in his way to the Mediterranean, and to lay before him the instructions he was to act under with his squadron; of which he gave a very ample detail in his letter.

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The envoy shewed the letter to the cardinal Alberoni, who, upon reading it, told him with some warmth, "That his master would run all hazards, and even suffer himself to be driven out of Spain, rather than recal his troops, or consent to any suspension of arms;" adding, "That the Spaniards were not to be frightened, and he was so well convinced of their fleet's doing their duty, that if the admiral should think fit to attack them, he should be in no pain for the success." Mr. Stanhope having in his hand a list of the British Squadron, desired his eminence to peruse it, and to compare its strength with that of their own Squadron; which the cardinal took and threw on the ground with much passion. Mr. Stanhope, with great temper, intreated him "To consider the sincere attention the king, his master, had to the honour and interest of his catholic majesty, which it was impossible for him to give greater proofs of than he had done, by his unwearied endeavours through the whole course of the present negociation, in promoting the interests of the king of Spain, and hoped his catholic majesty would not, by refusing to recal his troops, or consent to a cessation of arms, put it out of his power to give all the proofs of sincere friendship he always designed to cultivate with his catholic majesty."

All that the cardinal could be brought to promise was, to lay the admiral's letter before the king, and to let the envoy know his resolution upon it in two days: but it was nine before he could obtain and send it away; the cardinal probably hoping, that the admiral would delay taking vigorous measures in expectation of it, and perhaps put into some of the ports of Spain, and thereby give time for their fleet and forces to secure a good footing in Sicily. The answer was wrote under the admiral's letter in these words, "His catholic majesty has done me the honour to tell me, that the chevalier Byng may execute the orders which he has from the king his master."

"The cardinal ALBERONI."

Escorial, July 15, 1718.

Mr. Stanhope seeing things tending to a rupture, gave private and early notice of his apprehensions to the English consuls, and merchants settled in the Spanish sea-ports, advising them to secure their effects against the dangers that might arise from a breach between the two crowns. This shewed plainly enough, that our minister was perfectly acquainted with the disposition of the administration at home, who, notwithstanding they steadily pursued these war-like measures, as constantly adhered to their first resolution, of throwing the weight of this rupture, if possible, on the court of Spain. With this view, lord Stanhope set out himself for Madrid, in order to make new propositions to his catholic majesty; which, if accepted, might prevent things from coming to extremities; in which negociation he

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actually laboured till very near the time that hostilities were begun ; but to no purpose, for cardinal Alberoni was as much bent on executing his own scheme, as the British ministry could be with regard to theirs ; and therefore rejected all the proposals that were made him, with a firmness that was styled insolence by his enemies.

The admiral pursuing his voyage with unfavourable winds, it was the 8th of July before he made Cape Spartel, where the *Superbe* and *Rupert* rejoined him, and brought him advice of the mighty preparations the Spaniards had made at Barcelona, and of their fleet sailing from thence the 18th of June to the eastward. In passing by Gibraltar, vice-admiral Cornwall came out of that port and joined him, with the *Argyle* and *Charles* galley. The squadron wanting water, and the wind continuing contrary, they anchored off Cape Malaga ; where having completed their watering in four days, they proceeded to Minorca, where the admiral was to land four regiments of foot, which he carried out from England, in order to relieve the soldiers there in the garrison, who were to embark and serve on board the squadron. On the 23d of July he anchored with the squadron off Port-Mahon : here he received advice, that the Spanish fleet had been seen the 30th of June, within forty leagues of Naples, steering S. E. upon which he dispatched away expresses to the governor of Milan, and viceroy of Naples, to inform them of his arrival in the Mediterranean ; and having shifted the garrisons of Minorca, he sailed from thence the twenty-fifth of July, and arrived the first of August in the bay of Naples.

One need not wonder that the German government was extremely well pleased at the admiral's arrival, or that they paid him every honour in their power, since it is very certain, that his coming so luckily preserved that kingdom for the house of Austria, which had otherwise, in all probability, shared the fate of Sicily ; that the marquis de Lede had conquered almost as soon as he landed, or rather his landing gave people an opportunity of declaring for that power, which, though it had lost its sovereignty over them, had still preserved their affections.

This news alarmed the viceroy of Naples, who had now no hopes but from the defence that might be made by the citadel of Messina ; and from that he could have no great confidence, since it was garrisoned by the duke of Savoy's troops, who could not be supposed to interest themselves much in preserving a place which their master was to part with so soon. The viceroy, therefore, wisely considered how he might make the best use of the British fleet and his own forces ; upon which he came at last to this prudent resolution, which was, to embark 2000 German foot under the command of General Wetzels, who were to take possession of the citadel of Messina, and fort Salvador, in pursu-

ance of an agreement with the duke of Savoy, who, finding that at all events he was to lose the island, contrived to lose it so, as that he might get something for it. These German forces were to be escorted by the British fleet, which sailed for that purpose from Naples on the 6th of August, and arrived on the 9th in view of the Faro of Messina.

The Spanish army, after having taken the city last-mentioned, were now encamped before the citadel, which the troops, under the protection of Sir George Byng, were going to relieve. It was therefore highly likely that an action would ensue; and for this reason it was thought requisite to put on still a peaceable appearance, in order to throw the blame upon the Spaniards; which, however, was pretty difficult to do, since, with respect to the treaty of Utrecht, the Germans were as much invaders as they, and consequently the escorting an invasion seemed to be an odd way of conserving a neutrality. This step, however, was necessary to be taken; and the admiral, who in point of good sense and good breeding was as able a man as any in his time, did it with a very good grace.

He sent for this purpose his first captain, who was captain Saunders, with a letter to the marquis de Lede, in which he proposed to him to come to a cessation of arms in Sicily for two months, in order to give time to the several courts to conclude on such resolutions as might restore a lasting peace.

The next morning the captain returned with the general's answer, "That it would be an inexpressible joy for his person to contribute to so laudable an end as peace; but, as he had no powers to treat, he could not of consequence agree to any suspension of arms, even at the expence of what the courage of his master's arms might be put to, but should follow his orders, which directed him to seize on Sicily for his master the king of Spain: that he had a true sense of his accomplished expressions; but his master's forces would always be universally esteemed in sacrificing themselves for the preservation of their credit, in which cases the success did not always answer the ideas that were formed from it."

According to the best accounts the admiral could receive, he was led to conclude that the Spanish fleet was sailed from Malta, in order to avoid him; and therefore, upon receiving the marquis's answer, he immediately weighed, with an intention to come with his squadron before Messina, in order to encourage and support the garrison in the citadel; but as he stood in about the point of the Faro; towards Messina, he saw two of the Spanish scouts in the Faro; and being informed at the same time, by a felucca that came off from the Calabrian shore, that they saw from the hills the Spanish fleet lying by, the admiral altered his design, and sending away general Wetzell with the German troops to Reggio, under the convoy of two men of war, he stood through the Faro with his squadron, with all the sail he could,

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after their scouts, imagining they would lead him to their fleet, which accordingly they did ; for about noon he had a fair sight of their whole fleet, lying by, and drawn into a line of battle, consisting of twenty-seven sail of men of war, small and great, besides two fire-ships, four bomb-vessels, seven galleys, and several ships laden with stores and provisions, commanded by the admiral don Antonio de Casteneta, and under him by four rear-admirals : on the sight of the English squadron they stood away large, but in good order of battle.

The admiral followed them all the rest of that day and the succeeding night, with small gales N. E. and sometimes calm, with fair weather ; the next morning early (the 11th) the English being got pretty near them, the marquis de Mari, rear-admiral, with six Spanish men of war, and all the galleys, fire-ships, bomb-vessels, and store-ships, separated from their main fleet, and stood in for the Sicilian shore ; upon which the admiral detached captain Walton in the Canterbury, with five more ships after them ; and the Argyle fired a shot to bring her to, but she not minding it, the Argyle fired a second, and the Canterbury, being something nearer, fired a third ; upon which the Spanish ship fired her stern chace at the Canterbury, and then the engagement began.

The admiral pursuing the main body of the Spanish fleet, the Orford, captain Falkingham, and the Grafton, captain Haddock, came up first with them, about ten of the clock, at whom the Spaniards fired their stern-chace guns. The admiral sent orders to those two ships not to fire, unless the Spaniards repeated their firing, which, as soon as they did, the Orford attacked the Santa Rosa of sixty-four guns, and took her. The St. Carlos of sixty guns struck next, without much opposition, to the Kent, captain Matthews. The Grafton attacked warmly the Prince of Asturias of seventy guns, formerly called the Cumberland, in which was rear-admiral Chacon ; but the Breda and Captain coming up, captain Haddock left that ship, much shattered, for them to take, and stretched a-head after another ship of sixty guns, which had kept firing on his starboard bow during his engagement with the Prince of Asturias. About one o'clock the Kent, and soon after the Superbe, captain Master, came up with and engaged the Spanish admiral of seventy-four guns, who, with two ships more, fired on them, and made a running fight till about three ; and then the Kent bearing down under his stern, gave him her broadside, and fell to leeward afterwards ; the Superbe, putting forward to lay the admiral aboard, fell on his weather-quarter, upon which the Spanish admiral shifting his helm, the Superbe ranged under his lee quarter, on which he struck to her. At the same time the Barfleur, in which was the admiral, being a-stern of the Spanish admiral, within shot, and inclining on his weather quarter, rear-admiral Guevara and another sixty-gun ship, which were to windward,

bore down upon him, and gave him their broadsides, and then clapt upon a wind, standing in for land. The admiral immediately tacked and stood after them, until it was almost night, but it being little wind, and the hauling away out of his reach, he left pursuing them and stood into the fleet, which he joined two hours after night.

The *Essex* took the *Juno* of thirty-six guns, the *Montague* and *Rupert* took the *Volante* of forty-four guns, and rear-admiral Delaval, in the *Dorsetshire*, took the *Isabella* of sixty guns. The action happened off Cape Passaro, at about six leagues distance from the shore. The English received but little damage: the ship that suffered most was the *Grafton*, which being a good sailer, her captain engaged several ships of the enemy, always pursuing the headmost, and leaving those ships he had disabled or damaged to be taken by those that followed him. The admiral lay by some days at sea, to refit the rigging of his ships, and to repair the damages which the prizes had sustained; and the 18th received a letter from captain Walton, who had been sent in pursuit of the Spanish ships that escaped. The latter is singular enough in its kind to deserve notice, and therefore the historian of this expedition has, with great judgment, preserved it. Thus it runs:

“S I R,

“WE have taken and destroyed all the Spanish ships
“and vessels which were upon the coast, the number as *per*
“margin.

“I am, &c.

“G. WALTON.”

Canterbury, off Syracusa,

Aug. 16, 1718.

These ships that captain Walton thrust into this margin would have furnished matter for some pages in a French relation; for from the account they referred to it appeared, that he had taken four Spanish men of war, one of sixty guns, commanded by rear-admiral Mari, one of fifty-four, one of forty, and one of twenty-four guns, with a bomb-vessel, and a ship laden with arms; and burnt four men of war, one of fifty-four guns, two of forty, and one of thirty guns, with a fire-ship and a bomb-vessel. Such is the account given of the famous action by our admiral: the Spaniards published likewise an account on their side, which was printed in Holland, and circulated with great industry throughout all Europe, in order to make such impressions as might serve their purpose, and incline the world to believe, that their fleet had not been attacked and beaten fairly; but had been surprized and destroyed without that kind of notice which the laws of nature and nations require, to distinguish force of arms from piratical violence. It is but just in any cause to hear both parties, and the office of an historian obliges him to record whatever may give light to the events of that period he pretends to illustrate by his writings. For this reason I have

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thought it requisite to give place here to the Spanish account without curtailings or disguising it.

" On the 9th of August, in the morning, the English squadron was discovered near the tower of Faro, which lay by towards night, off Cape Della Mettelle, over-against the said tower. The Spanish squadron was then in the Streights, and some ships and frigates were sent to other places; besides the detachment commanded by admiral Guevara. And, as the intention of the English in coming so near was not known, the admirals of the Spanish squadron resolved to go out of the Streight, to join together near Cape Spartivento, carrying along with them the transports laden with provisions, that they might penetrate the better into the designs of the English; the rather, because the officer whom Sir George Byng had sent to the marquis de Ledes was not yet returned. The said officer had orders to propose to the said marquis, a suspension of arms for two months; upon which the said marquis answered him, that he could not do it without orders from court. Nevertheless, though it was believed that the alternative was taken of sending a courier to Madrid with the said proposals, the English squadron took the opportunity of night to surprize the Spanish squadron, and to improve those advantages which were owing to dissimulation.

" The said English squadron, on the 10th in the morning, advanced farther into the Faro, and was saluted by all the Spanish ships and vessels which were there; and it is to be observed, that admiral Byng having convoyed some transport-vessels as far as Rixoles, with the arch-duke's troops, the officer dispatched to the marquis de Ledes, affirmed, that it was not to commit any act of hostility, but only, that the said transports might be secured from insults under his protection.

" The Spanish squadron sent two light frigates to get intelligence of the English squadron; and, though they saw the English made all the sail they could (their intention being not known) to approach the Spanish squadron, whose admiral knew not then whether the English came as friends or enemies; yet the Spaniards being two leagues from the English, resolved to retire towards Cape Passaro, but without making much sail, that it might not be thought they suspected any hostilities. During this a calm happened, by which the ships of both squadrons fell in one among another; and the Spanish admiral perceiving this accident, caused the ships of the line to be towed, in order to separate them from the English, and join them in one body, without permitting the galleys to begin any act of hostility; which they might have done to their advantage during the calm. The weather changed when the marquis de Mari was near land, and by consequence separated from the rest, making the rear-guard,

" with

“ with several frigates, and other transport-vessels, which
 “ made up his division, and endeavoured, though in vain, to
 “ join the main body of the Spanish squadron, while the Eng-
 “ lish held on their way, their dissimulation, filling their sails to
 “ gain the wind, and cut off the said division of the said mar-
 “ quis de Mari; and having at last succeeded in it, they at-
 “ tacked him with six ships, and obliged him to separate from
 “ the rest of the squadron, and to make towards the coast,
 “ where they stood it against seven ships of the line, as long
 “ as the situation permitted; and being no longer able to resist,
 “ the marquis de Mari saved his men, by running his ships a-
 “ ground, some of which were burnt by his own order, and
 “ others taken by the enemy.

“ Seventeen ships of the line, the remainder of the English
 “ squadron, attacked the Royal St. Philip, the prince of
 “ Asturias, the St. Ferdinand, St. Charles, St. Isabella, St.
 “ Pedro, and the frigates St. Rosa, Pearl, Juno, and Volante,
 “ which continued making towards Cape Passaro; and as they
 “ retired in a line, because of the inequality of their strength,
 “ the English attacked those that composed the rear-guard, with
 “ four or five ships, and took them; and this happened suc-
 “ cessively to the others, which, notwithstanding all the sail
 “ they made, could not avoid being beaten; inasmuch, that
 “ every Spanish ship being attacked separately by five, six, or
 “ seven of theirs, after a bloody and obstinate fight, they made
 “ themselves masters at last of the Royal St. Philip, the Prince
 “ of Asturias, the St. Charles, the St. Isabella, St. Rosa, the
 “ Volante, and the Juno.

“ While the Royal St. Philip was engaged with the English,
 “ the rear-admiral of the squadron, don Balthazar de Guevara,
 “ returned from Malta with two ships of the line, and turning
 “ his prow towards the St. Philip, passed by the English ships
 “ which were a-breast of him, firing upon each of them, and
 “ then attacked admiral Byng's ships, which followed the St.
 “ Philip, and retired in the night, being very much damaged;
 “ for after the engagement, he stayed three or four days fifty
 “ leagues at sea, not only to repair the Spanish ships, which he
 “ had taken, and were all shattered to pieces; but also to make
 “ good the damages which himself had suffered; wherefore he
 “ could not enter Syracuse till the 16th or 17th of August, and
 “ that with a great deal of difficulty.

“ The particulars of the action are, that the whole division
 “ of the English admiral, which consisted of seven ships of the
 “ line, and a fire ship, having attacked the Royal St. Philip,
 “ at two in the afternoon the fight began, by a ship of seventy
 “ guns, and another of sixty, from which he received two
 “ broadsides; and advancing towards the Royal St. Philip,
 “ don Antonio de Castaneta defended himself so well, that the
 “ said two ships retired, and two others, viz. one of eighty
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" guns, and the other of seventy, renewed the attack ; and
 " the said ship of eighty guns retired very much shattered,
 " without making into the line ; but others making towards the
 " Spanish admiral, they fired upon him, while it was impos-
 " sible for him to hurt them, and shot away all his rigging,
 " without leaving him one entire sail, while two others,
 " one of thirty, and the other of sixty guns, attacked the star-
 " board of his ship, to oblige him to surrender ; but defending
 " himself till the English admiral was resolved to board him,
 " and carried a fire ship to reduce him by the flames, which
 " the Spanish commander prevented ; but after having lost 200
 " men, and maintained the fight till towards night, don Anto-
 " nio de Castaneta received a shot which pierced his left leg,
 " and wounded his left heel. Yet, nevertheless he continued
 " to defend himself till a cannon-bullet having cut a man in
 " two, the pieces of which fell upon him, and left him half
 " dead, he was forced to surrender.

" The prince of Asturias, commanded by don Fernando
 " Chacon, was at the same time attacked by three ships of
 " equal force, against which he defended himself valiantly,
 " avoiding being boarded, till, being wounded, and having lost
 " most of his men, he was obliged to surrender his ship,
 " which was all shot through and through, after having shot
 " down the masts of an English ship that retired out of the
 " fight.

" Captain don Antonio Gonfales, commander of the frigate
 " St. Rosa, defended himself above three hours against five
 " English ships, who did not take him till after they had broke
 " all his sails and masts.

" The Volante, commanded by captain don Antonio Escu-
 " dero, knight of the order of Malta, fought three hours and
 " a half against three English ships ; and having lost his sails,
 " he put up others that were in store, and was just going to
 " board one of the three ships that attacked him ; but his own
 " being shot through and through by six cannon bullets, and
 " the water coming in, he was obliged to surrender, because
 " the ship's crew forced him.

" The Juno was engaged also by three English ships ; yet
 " maintained the fight above three hours, not surrendering till
 " after most of her men were killed, and the ship just falling
 " in pieces.

" Captain don Gabriel Alderete, also defended the frigate
 " called the Pearl, against three English ships for three hours ;
 " and after having shot down the masts of one, which immedi-
 " ately retired, he was relieved by admiral don Balthazar de
 " Guevara, and had the good fortune to escape to Malta.

" Captain don Andrea Reggio, knight of the order of Mal-
 " ta, who was farthest advanced with the ship the Isabella,
 " was pursued all that night by several English ships ; and, af-
 " ter

“ter having defended himself for four hours, he surrendered the next day.

“The frigate called the *Surprize*, which was of the marquis de Mari's division, and by consequence farther advanced than the others, was attacked by three English ships, and maintained a fight for three hours, till the captain don Michael de Sada, knight of the order of St. John, being wounded, most of her men killed, and all her rigging spoiled, she was forced to surrender.

“The other light ships and frigates of the Spanish squadron, not already mentioned, retired to Malta, and Sardinia; as did also the admiral don Balthazar de Guevara, with his two ships St. Lewis and St. John, after having been engaged with the English admiral, and having rescued the frigate called the *Pearl*.

“It must not be forgot, that the marines in every ship signalized and distinguished themselves with a great deal of valour, they being composed of the nobility of Spain.

“The seven gallies which were under the command of admiral don Francisco de Grimaio, having done all that was possible to join the Spanish ships, seeing that there was still a fresh gale of wind, retired to Palermo.

“Besides the above-mentioned ships, which the English took out of the main body of the Spanish squadron, they also made themselves masters of the Royal, and of two frigates, St. Isidore, and the *Eagle*; those that were burnt by the order of the marquis de Mari, are two bomb-gallies, a fire-ship, and the *Esperança* frigate, so that the ships which escaped out of the battle are the following: St. Lewis, St. John, St. Ferdinand, and St. Peter; and the frigates *Hermione*, *Pearl*, *Galera*, *Porcupine*, *Thoulouse*, *Lyon*, *Little St. John*, the *Arrow*, *Little St. Ferdinand*, a bomb-galley, and a ship of *Pintado*.

“This is the account of the sea-fight which was at the height of Abola, or the Gulf of l'Ariga, in the canal of Malta, between the Spanish and English squadrons, the last of which, by ill faith, and the superiority of their strength, had the advantage to beat the Spanish ships singly, one by one; and it is to be believed, by the defence the Spaniards made, that if they had acted jointly, the battle would have ended more happily for them.

“Immediately after the fight, a captain of the English squadron came, in the name of admiral Byng, to make a compliment of excuse to the marquis de Lede, giving him to understand, that the Spaniards had been the aggressors, and that this action ought not to be looked upon as a rupture, because the English did not take it as such. To which it was answered, that Spain on the contrary will reckon it a formal rupture;

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" rupture ; and that they would do the English all the damages
 " and hostilities imaginable, by giving orders to begin with re-
 " prisals ; and, in consequence of this, several Spanish vessels,
 " and Guevara's Squadron, have already taken some English
 " ships."

There is no question to be made, but that both these relations retain some tincture of the passions and prejudices of those who drew them up ; and it is no less certain, that what was commonly reported at that time, of the bad behaviour of the Spaniards, and of their making but a weak defence, was indifferently founded. For the truth is, that their fleet, though strong in appearance, was every way inferior to ours ; their ships being old, their artillery none of the best, and their seamen most of them not to be depended upon. Yet it is agreed on all hands, that their admirals defended themselves gallantly ; so that, upon the whole, their defeat may be charged upon their irresolution at the beginning, and their not taking good advice when it was given them.

I mean that of rear-admiral Cammock, an Irish gentleman, who had served long in our navy, and who was a much better seamen than any who bore command in the Spanish fleet. He knew perfectly well the strength of both parties, and saw plainly, that nothing could save the Spaniards but a wise disposition ; and therefore, in the last council of war held before the battle, he proposed, that they should remain at anchor in the road of Paradise, ranging their ships in a line of battle, with their broadsides to the sea ; which measure would certainly have given the English admiral infinite trouble to attack them ; for the coast there is so bold, that their biggest ships could ride with a cable ashore, and farther out the currents are so various and rapid, that it would be hardly practicable to get up to them, but impossible to anchor ; or lie by them in order of battle. Besides, they might have lain so near the shore, and could have received so great reinforcements of soldiers from the army to man and defend them, and the annoyance the Spaniards might have given, from the several batteries they could have planted along the shore, would have been such, that the only way of attacking the ships seemed to be by boarding and grappling with them at once, to prevent being cast off by the currents, which would have been an hazardous undertaking, wherein the Spaniards would have had many advantages, and the English admiral have run the chance of destroying his fleet, or buying a victory, if he succeeded, very dear. The Spanish admirals were too much persuaded of their own strength, and the courage of their seamen, or else they foolishly depended on their not being attacked by our fleet. Whatever the motive was, they slighted this salutary counsel, and were thereby undone.

As soon as admiral Byng had obtained a full account of the whole transaction, he dispatched away his eldest son to England, who,

who, arriving at Hampton-court in fifteen days from Naples, brought thither the agreeable confirmation of what public fame had before reported, and upon which the king had already written a letter to the admiral with his own hand. Mr. Byng met with a most gracious reception from his majesty, who made him a handsome present, and sent him back with plenipotentiary powers to his father, to negotiate with the several princes and states of Italy as there should be occasion, and with his royal grant, to the officers and seamen, of all prizes taken by them from the Spaniards.

The admiral in the mean time prosecuted his affairs with great diligence, procured the emperor's troops free access into the fortresses that were still held out in Sicily, sailed afterward to Malta, and brought out the Sicilian galleys under the command of the marquis de Riva-roles, and a ship belonging to the Turkey company, which had been blocked up there by rear-admiral Cammock, with a few ships which he had saved after the late engagement, and then sailed back again to Naples, where he arrived on the 2d of November, and soon after received a gracious letter from the emperor Charles VI. written with his own hand, accompanied with a picture of his imperial majesty, set round with very large diamonds, as a mark of the grateful sense he had of the signal services rendered by his excellency to the house of Austria.

As for the prizes that had been taken, they were sent to Port Mahon, where by some accident the Royal Philip took fire, and blew up, with most of the crew on board; but the admiral had been before set ashore in Sicily, with some other prisoners of distinction, where he died soon after of his wounds.

The Spanish court, excessively provoked at this unexpected blow, which had in a manner totally destroyed the naval force they had been at so much pains to raise, were not slow in expressing their resentments. On the 1st of September rear-admiral Guevara, with some ships under his command, entered the port of Cadiz, and made himself master of all the English ships that were there; and at the same time all the effects of the English merchants were seized in Malaga and other ports of Spain, which, as soon as it was known here, produced reprisals on our part. But it is now time to leave the Mediterranean, and the affairs of Spain, in order to give an account of what passed in the northern seas.

A resolution having been taken, as before observed, to send a strong squadron to the Baltic, it was put under the command of Sir John Norris and rear-admiral Mighels, who, with ten sail of the line of battle, left Solebay on the 1st of May, having eighteen merchant ships under their convoy, and on the 14th arrived safely at Copenhagen, where the same day Sir John Norris had an audience of his Danish majesty, by whom he was very graciously received; and, soon after, he sailed, in conjunction

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tion with the Danish fleet, to the coast of Sweden, where the king found himself obliged to lay up his ships in his own harbours, and to take all possible precautions for their security. That monarch, however, was far from being idle, notwithstanding he was sensible of the great superiority of his enemies, but endeavoured to provide, in the best manner he was able, for his own security, by making a peace with the Czar, and in the mean time turning his arms against the king of Denmark in Norway, which kingdom he entered with an army of thirty thousand men, in two bodies, one commanded by general Arenfelt, and the other by himself in person.

He had all the success in this expedition that he could wish, especially the season of the year considered; for it was in the depth of winter that he penetrated into that frozen country, where, at the siege of Frederickshall, he was killed by a cannon bullet, about nine in the evening, on the 30th of November, 1718. The death of this enterprising monarch gave quite a new turn to the affairs in the north; and particularly freed us from all apprehensions on that side. Before this extraordinary event happened, Sir John Norris was returned with the fleet under his command to England, where he safely arrived in the latter-end of the month of October.

There remains only one transaction more of this year, which a work of this kind requires to be mentioned; and it is the account we promised to give of the reduction of the pirates. Captain Wood Rogers, having been appointed governor of the Bahama Islands, sailed for Providence, which was to be the seat of his government, on the 11th of April, and after a short and easy passage, arriving there, he took possession of the town of Nassau, the fort belonging to it, and of the whole island, the people receiving him with all imaginable joy, and many of the pirates submitting immediately. He proceeded soon after in forming a council, and settling the civil government of those islands, appointing civil and military officers, raising militia, and taking every other step necessary for procuring safety at home, and security from any thing that might be attempted from abroad, in which, by degrees, he succeeded. Some of the pirates, 'tis true, rejected at first all terms, and did a great deal of mischief on the coast of Carolina; but when they saw that governor Rogers had thoroughly settled himself at Providence, and that the inhabitants of the Bahama Islands found themselves obliged through interest to be honest, they began to doubt of their situation, and thought proper to go and beg that mercy which at first they refused; so that by the 1st of July 1719, to which day the king's proclamation had been extended, there were not above three or four vessels of those pirates who continued their trade, and two of them being taken, and their crews executed, the rest dispersed out of fear, and became thereby less terrible.

Thus

Thus, in a short time, and chiefly through the steady and prudent conduct of governor Rogers, this herd of villains was in some measure dissolved, who for many years had frightened the West-Indies, and the northern colonies; coming at last to be so strong, that few merchant-men were safe, and withal so cruel and barbarous, that slavery among the Turks was preferable to falling into their hands. It had been happy for us, if the management of the Spanish guarda costas had been committed to the care of some man of like spirit, who might have delivered the merchants from being plundered, without involving the nation in a war.

The parliament met on the 11th of November, and one of the first things they went upon, was the affair of Spain, which had indeed engrossed all public conversation, from the time of the stroke given to their fleet in the Mediterranean, some looking upon that as one of the noblest exploits since the revolution; but others considered it in quite another light; and when an address was moved for to justify that measure, it was warmly opposed in the house of peers and commons; but without effect. On the 19th of the same month, the house of commons voted 13,500 seamen for the service of the year 1719, at 4l. a month; and at the same time granted 187,638l. 17s. 6d. for the ordinary of the navy; and that we may range all the sums given under the same head, it may not be amiss to observe, that, on the 19th of January, the house of commons granted 25,000l. for the half-pay of sea-officers.

On the 17th of December 1718, a declaration of war in form was published against the crown of Spain; as to the expediency of which, many bold things were said in the house of commons. The ministry, however, continued the pursuit of their own scheme, in spite of opposition, and took such vigorous measures for obliging Spain to accept the terms assigned her by the quadruple alliance, that she lost all patience, and resolved to attempt any thing that might either free her from this necessity, or serve to express her resentments against such as endeavoured to impose it upon her, and with this view she drew together a great number of transports at Cadiz and Corunna.

The late earl of Stair, who was then our minister at the court of France, dispatched the first certain intelligence of the designs of Spain; which were, to have sent a considerable body of troops, under the command of the late duke of Ormond, into the west of England; upon this, the most effectual methods were taken here for defeating that scheme. A fleet was immediately ordered to be got ready to put to sea; a proclamation issued for apprehending James Butler, late duke of Ormond, with a promise of 5000l. to the person that should seize him; and an embargo was laid on all shipping. These precautions were attended with such success, and the fleet was fitted out with so much expedition, that on the 5th of April Sir John Norris

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failed from Spithead to the westward, with nine men of war, and on the 29th, the earl of Berkley sailed from St. Helen's; with seven other men of war to join him, which he did the next day.

The government likewise took some other very salutary measures to oppose this intended invasion of the Spaniards. The troops in the west of England, where it was conjectured they designed to land, were reinforced by several regiments quartered in other parts of the kingdom, and four battalions were sent for over from Ireland, and were landed at Minehead and Bristol, while at the same time the allies of his majesty were desired to get in readiness the succours, which by several treaties they stood engaged to furnish in case of a rebellion, or, if the British dominions should be invaded by any foreign power. Accordingly, about the middle of April, two battalions of Switzers, in the service of the States-General, arrived in the river Thames; and about the same time three battalions of Dutch troops, making together the full complement of men which Holland was obliged to furnish, landed in the north of England. But by this time came certain advice, that the Spanish fleet designed for this expedition, consisting of five men of war, and about forty transports, having on board the late duke of Ormond, and upwards of 5000 men, a great quantity of ammunition, spare arms, and one million of pieces of eight, which sailed from Cadiz on the 23d of February, O. S. being on the 28th of that month about fifty leagues to the westward of cape Finisferre, met with a violent storm, which lasted forty-eight hours, and entirely dispersed them. Thus, this design of the Spaniards, whatever it was, became abortive.

What loss they met with is uncertain; but several of their vessels returned to the ports of Spain in a very shattered condition. A very small part, however, of this embarkation, had somewhat a different fortune; for the earls of Marshal and Seaforth, and the marquis of Tullibardin, with about four hundred men, most Spaniards, on board three frigates and five transports, landed in the shire of Ross in Scotland, where they were joined by fifteen or sixteen hundred Scots, and had instructions to wait the duke of Ormond's orders, and the account of his being landed in England. But the whole design being quashed by the dispersion of the Spanish fleet, the Highland troops were defeated at Glenhiel, and the auxiliary Spaniards surrendered at discretion. They had met with a check before at Donan Castle, which was secured by his majesty's ships, the Worcester, Enterprize, and Flamborough, the castle being blown up, and the greatest part of their ammunition taken or destroyed.

It may be proper, in this place, to take notice, that we acted now in such close conjunction with France, that the regent declared war against his cousin the king of Spain; and though marshal Villars, and some other officers of great rank, refused, from

from a point of honour, to lead an army against a grandson of France, yet marshal Berwick, who, by the victory of Almanza, fixed that prince upon his throne, accepted the command of the army which was appointed to invade his territories, in order to force him to such conditions as were thought requisite for establishing the general tranquillity of Europe. Many people here suspected that this war would produce no great effects; but it proved quite otherwise; for the marquis de Silly advanced in the month of April as far as Port Passage, where he found six men of war just finished, upon the stocks, all which, prompted thereto by colonel Stanhope, (afterwards earl of Harrington,) he burned, together with timber, masts, and naval stores, to the value of half a million sterling; which was a greater real loss to the Spaniards than that they sustained by our beating their fleet. Soon after, the duke of Berwick besieged Fontarabia, both which actions shewed, that the French were actually in earnest.

While the Spaniards were pleasing themselves with chimerical notions of invasions it was impossible to effect against us, our admiral in the Mediterranean was distressing them effectually; for, having early in the spring sailed from Port Mahon to Naples, he there adjusted every thing for the reduction of Sicily, in which he acted with such zeal, and what he did was attended with so great success, that not only the imperial army was transported into the island, and so well supplied with all things necessary from our fleet, (which at the same time attended and disturbed all the motions of the enemy's army), that it may be truly said, the success of that expedition was as much owing to the English admiral, as to the German general; and that the English fleet did no less service than the army. To enter into all the particulars of this Sicilian expedition, would take up much more room than I have to spare, and would, besides, oblige me to digress from my proper subject, since the motions of a fleet attending a land army, for the service of the emperor, cannot be, strictly speaking, thought a part of the British naval history; for which reasons I shall speak of it as concisely as may be.

There is, however, one circumstance that deserves to be made known to posterity, and which I will not therefore omit. The imperialists having taken the city of Messina, on the 8th of August 1719, the admiral landed a body of English grenadiers, who very quickly made themselves masters of the tower of Faro, by which, having opened a free passage for the ships, he came to an anchor in Paradise road; and this being perceived by the officers of the Spanish men of war in the Mole, who began to despair of getting out to sea, they unbent their sails, and unrigged their ships, and resolved to wait their fate, which they knew must be the same with that of the citadel; and this gave great satisfaction to the admiral, who now found himself at liberty to employ his ships

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ships in other services, which had been for a long time employed in blocking up that port.

But, while all things were in this prosperous condition, a dispute arose among the allies about the disposition of the Spanish ships before-mentioned, which, upon taking the citadel, would of course fall into their hands. Signior Scrampi, general of the king of Sardinia's gallies, first started the question, and claimed the two best of sixty, and the other of sixty-four guns, new ships, which had belonged to his master, and were seized by the Spaniards in the port of Palermo. He grounded his right on the convention made at Vienna the 29th of December, 1718, in which it was said, "That as to the ships belonging to the king of Sardinia, if they be taken in port, they shall be restored to him; but that this shall be referred to admiral Byng to answer." To this the admiral replied, "That this convention having been only a ground-work for another to be made at Naples, he could be directed by none but that which had been made in consequence thereof, in April 1719, between the viceroy of Naples, the marquis de Breille, minister of Sardinia, and himself, in which no mention is made of those ships; and as for the reference to his opinion, he did freely declare he could not think the king of Sardinia had any shadow of title to them; that they had been taken by the enemy, were now fitted out and armed at their expence, and under their colours; that they would put out to sea if he did not hinder them, and attack all English ships they met with, and, if stronger, take them; so that he could not consider them in any other light than as they were the ships of an enemy." Count de Merci next put in his claim for the emperor, alledging, "That as those ships would be found within the port of a town taken by his master's arms, according to the right of nations they belonged to him." The admiral replied, "That it was owing to his keeping two squadrons on purpose, and at a great hazard, to watch and observe those ships, that they were now confined within the port; which if he was to withdraw, they would still be able to go to sea, and he should have a chance of meeting with and taking them."

But reflecting afterwards with himself, that possibly the garrison might capitulate for the safe return of those ships into Spain, which he was determined never to suffer; that, on the other hand, the right of possession might breed an inconvenient dispute at that critical juncture among the princes concerned; and, if it should be at length determined that they did not belong to England, it were better they belonged to nobody; he proposed to count de Merci to erect a battery, and destroy them as they lay in the basin; who urged, that he had no orders concerning those ships, and must write to Vienna for instructions about it. The admiral replied with some warmth, that he could not want

a power

a power to destroy every thing that belonged to the enemy, and insisted on it with so much firmness, that the general, being concerned in interest not to carry matters to an open misunderstanding, caused a battery to be erected, notwithstanding the protestations of Signior Scrampi, which, in a little time, sunk and destroyed them, and thereby completed the ruin of the naval power of Spain.

The imperial court had formed a design of making themselves masters again of Sardinia, out of which they had been driven, as is before observed, by the Spaniards: but our admiral judged it more for the service of the house of Austria, that this army should be immediately transported into Sicily. In order to effect this, and at the same time to procure artillery for carrying on the siege of the citadel of Messina, he went over to Naples, where, finding that the government was absolutely unable to furnish the military stores that were wanting, he very generously granted to his imperial majesty the cannon out of the British prizes, and procured, upon his own credit, powder and other ammunition from Genoa; and soon after went thither himself, in order to hasten the embarkation of the troops, which was made sooner than could have been expected, merely through the diligence of the admiral, and in spite of the delays affected by the then count, afterwards bassaw Bonneval, who was appointed to command them.

After the citadel of Messina surrendered, Sir George Byng re-embarked a great part of the army, and landed them upon another part of the island, by which speedy and unexpected conveyance they distressed the enemy to such a degree, that the marquis de Lede, who commanded the Spanish forces in chief, proposed to evacuate the island, to which the Germans were very well inclined; but our admiral protested against it, and declared, that the Spanish troops should never be permitted to quit Sicily and return home, till a general peace was concluded. In this Sir George certainly acted as became a British admiral, and after having done so many services for the imperialists, insisted on their doing what was just with respect to us, and holding the Spanish troops in the uneasy situation they now were, till they gave ample satisfaction to the court of London, as well as to that of Vienna. It must, however, be considered, that, in the first place, the admiral had the detention of the Spaniards in his own hands, since the Germans could do nothing in that matter without him; and, on the other hand, our demands on the court of Spain were as much for the interest of the common cause as for our own, so that though the steadiness of admiral Byng deserved commendation, yet there seemed to be no great praises due to the German complaisance.

The more effectually to humble Spain, and at the same time to convince the whole world that we could not only contrive but execute an invasion, a secret design was formed for sending a fleet and

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and army to the coasts of Spain, which was very successfully performed; and, on the 21st of September, 1719, vice-admiral Mighels, with a strong squadron of his majesty's ships under his command, and the transports, having on board the forces commanded by the late lord viscount Cobham, consisting of about 6000 men, sailed from St. Helen's; and the first account we had of them is comprized in the following letter, which, indeed, contains the only good account that was ever published of this expedition; and therefore I presume the reader will not be displeased to see it.

" His excellency the lord-viscount Cobham, with the men of war commanded by vice-admiral Mighels, and the transports having the forces on board, arriving on the coast of Galicia, kept cruising three days in the station appointed for captain Johnson to join them; but having no news of him, and the danger of lying on the coast at this season of the year with transports, rendering it necessary to take some measures of acting without him, and the wind offering fair for Vigo, his lordship took the resolution of going thither.

" On the 20th of September, O. S. they entered the harbour of Vigo, and the grenadiers, being immediately landed about three miles from the town, drew up on the beach; some peasants fired from the mountains at a great distance, but without any execution. His lordship went a-shore with the grenadiers, and the regiments followed as fast as the boats could carry them. That night, and the following day and night, the troops lay upon their arms. In the mean while provisions for four days were brought a-shore, and guards were posted in several avenues to the distance of above a mile up the country.

" On the 1st of October his lordship moved, with the forces, nearer the town, and encamped at a strong post, with the left to the sea, near the village of Boas, and the right extended towards the mountains. This motion of the army, and some parties that were ordered to view the town and citadel, gave the enemy some apprehensions, that preparations were making to attack them: whereupon they set fire to the carriages of the cannon of the town, nailed those cannon, and by all their motions seemed to be determined to abandon the town to the care of the magistrates and inhabitants, and to retire with the regular troops into the citadel; whereupon the lord Cobham sent to summon the town to surrender, which the magistrates made no difficulty of doing; and the same night his lordship ordered brigadier Honeywood, with eight hundred men, to take post in the town, and Fort St. Sebastian, which the enemy had also abandoned.

" On the 3d a bomb-vessel began to bombard the citadel, but with little execution by reason of the great distance. That evening the large mortars and the cohorn-mortars were landed

“ at the town ; between forty and fifty of them, great and small, placed on a battery under cover of Fort St. Sebastian, began in the night to play upon the citadel, and continued it four days with great success. The fourth day his lordship ordered the battering cannon to be landed, and, with some others found in the town, to be placed on the battery of Fort St. Sebastian. At the same time his lordship sent the governor a summons to surrender, signifying, that, if he staid till our battery of cannon was ready, he should have no quarter. Colonel Ligonier was sent with this message, but found the governor Don Joseph de los Cereos had the day before been carried out of the castle wounded ; the lieutenant-colonel, who commanded in his absence, desired leave and time to send to the marquis de Risburg at Tuy for his directions ; but, being told the hostilities should be continued if they did not send their capitulation without any delay, they soon complied.”

The capitulation consisted of ten articles, by which the garrison were permitted to march out with the honours of war, and the place, with all its works, magazines, and whatever they contained either of ammunition or provisions, were delivered up to his excellency the lord Cobham.

On the 10th of the same month, in the morning, the garrison marched out, consisting of 469 men, (officers included,) having had above 300 killed or wounded by our bombs. The place, it is said, cost us but two officers, and three or four men killed. There were in the town about sixty pieces of large iron cannon, which the enemy abandoned, and these they nailed and damaged as much as their time would give them leave ; and in the citadel were forty-three pieces, of which fifteen were brass, and two large mortars, besides above two thousand barrels of powder, and several chests of arms, amounting in the whole to above 8000 musquets ; all which stores and brass ordnance were lodged there from on board the ships that were to have visited Great-Britain in the preceding spring, and the very troops that gave up Vigo were part also of those corps which were to have been employed in that expedition ; seven ships were seized in the harbour, three of which were fitting up for privateers, one of which was to carry twenty-four guns ; the rest were trading vessels.

Vigo being thus taken, the lord Cobham ordered major-general Wade to embark with a thousand men on board four transports, and to sail to the upper end of the bay of Vigo ; which he accordingly did on the 14th, and, having landed his men, marched to Ponta Vedra, which place surrendered without opposition, the magistrates of the town meeting them with the keys.

In this place were taken two forty-eight pounders, four twenty-four pounders, six eight pounders, and four mortars, all brass, besides seventy pieces of iron cannon, two thousand small arms, some bombs, &c, all which, except the twenty-four pounders,

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ders, were embarked, and major-general Wade returned with his booty and troops to Vigo on the 23d.

The next day the lord Cobham, finding it would be impossible for him to maintain his ground any longer in Spain, ordered the forces to be embarked, as likewise the cannon, &c. which being done by the 27th, he sailed that day for England, where he arrived the 11th of November, having lost in the whole expedition about three hundred of his men, who were either killed, died, or deserted.

There is yet another expedition, of which we must take some notice before we shut up the transactions of this year, and it is that of Sir John Norris into the Baltic. Things had now changed their face in the north; the Swedes, since the death of their king, were become our friends, and the great design of sending this fleet was to protect these new friends against our old allies the Russians. The queen of Sweden was extremely well pleased on the receiving so seasonable a succour. In the beginning of September Sir John Norris, with his squadron, joined the Swedish fleet, and on the 6th of the same month arrived at the Dahlen near Stockholm, where her majesty's consort, the late king of Sweden, did him the honour to dine on board his ships. This junction of the English and Swedish fleets broke all the measures of the Czar Peter the Great, who had ruined the Swedish coast in a cruel manner, but was now forced to retire with his fleet into the harbour of Revel.

The lord Carteret, now earl of Granville, was then ambassador at Stockholm, and, in conjunction with Sir John Norris, laboured assiduously to bring the conferences at the island of Ahland to a happy conclusion; but the Czar not being at that time disposed to think of pacific measures, they could not prevail; so that, about the middle of September, the conferences broke up. All this time the fleet continued near Stockholm; but the winter season coming on, there being no reason to fear any farther attacks on the Swedes, as the Danes had accepted his Britannic majesty's mediation, Sir John Norris thought of returning home, and accordingly sailed from Elfsnap on the 27th of October, with a large fleet of merchantmen under his convoy, and safely arrived at Copenhagen on the 6th of November, where he was received by his Danish majesty with all imaginable marks of distinction and esteem. It must indeed be allowed, to the honour of this worthy admiral's memory, that, whatever views the ministry might have at home, he consulted the nation's glory abroad, and, by preserving the balance of power in the north, rendered the highest service to his country. On the 12th of the same month the fleet sailed from Copenhagen, and on the 17th met with a dreadful storm, which damaged several ships, but destroyed none. Towards the close of the month they arrived safe, and on the last day of November Sir John came to London, after having managed with great reputation, and finished with much

expedition, an enterprize which, in less able hands, would either have brought discredit on our naval power, or involved the nation in a bloody war; but by his steady and prudent conduct they were both avoided, and a stop put to those troubles, which for many years had embroiled the north.

His majesty returned from Hanover about the middle of November, 1719, and the parliament met the latter end of the same month, when there were very warm debates upon the subject of the Sicilian expedition; where many great men, and good patriots, thought our fleet had done too much for the Germans, and too little for themselves. On the other hand, the friends of the ministry maintained, that their measures were right; that the giving Sicily to the emperor, and Sardinia to the duke of Savoy, would effectually fix the balance of power in Italy, and free us, and the rest of Europe, from the apprehensions created by the mighty naval power of Spain.

On the second of December, the naval supplies for the ensuing year were settled. 13,000 men were allowed for the service of 1720, and the sum of 4l. per month as usual, granted for that purpose; 217,918l. 10s. 8d. were given for the ordinary of the navy, and 79,723l. for the extraordinary repairs. Soon after a demand was made for a considerable sum, expended in the necessary service of the last year, beyond what was provided for by parliament; and after great debates, in which those then in opposition took great freedoms, a vote was obtained on the 15th of January, for 377,561l. 6s. 9½d. in discharge of those expences. In the beginning of the month of February, the king of Spain acceded to the quadruple alliance; and, as a consequence thereof, a cessation of arms was soon after published, which was quickly followed by a convention in Sicily for the evacuation of that island, and also of the island of Sardinia; and thus the house of Austria got possession of the kingdom of Sicily by means of the British fleet. But, what return the imperial court made Great-Britain for these favours, we shall see in its proper place. About the same time, a messenger dispatched by the then lord Carteret, from Stockholm, brought the instrument of the treaty of friendship and alliance concluded between his majesty and the crown of Sweden.

The Czar of Muscovy remaining still at war with that crown, and having entered into measures that, in the opinion of our court, were calculated to overturn the balance of power in the north, it was resolved to send Sir John Norris once more with a fleet of twenty men of war under his command, into those seas. The design of this was, to secure the Swedes from feeling the Czar's resentment, or from being forced to accept such hard and unequal conditions as he might endeavour to impose. The better to understand this, it will be requisite to observe, that the Swedes had made some great alterations in their government,

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vernment, not only by asserting their crown to be elective, but by making choice of the prince of Hesse, consort to the queen their sovereign, for their king, on her motion and request; notwithstanding the claim of the duke of Holstein, her sister's son, to the succession. This young prince the Czar was pleased to take under his protection, and proposed to the Swedes, that if they would settle the crown upon him, his Czarish majesty would give him his daughter, with the provinces conquered from Sweden, by way of dowry; but, in case this was refused, he threatened to pursue the war more vigorously than ever, and for that purpose began to make very great naval preparations.

As our old league with Sweden was now renewed, the British fleet, on the 16th of April, sailed for the Baltic; in the beginning of the month of May they were joined, on the coast of Sweden, by a squadron of ships belonging to that crown; and, on the 24th of the same month, being near the coast of Ahland, they were joined by seven Swedish men of war more, under the command of admiral Wachmeister; the 26th it was resolved, that the fleet should proceed towards the coast of Revel; which saved the Swedes from feeling at that juncture any marks of the Czar's displeasure. In the mean time, our minister at the court of Denmark having prepared that monarch for an accommodation with Sweden, lord Carteret, who was our minister at Stockholm, negotiated, and brought to a happy conclusion the treaty of peace between the two crowns, under our mediation, and went afterwards to Copenhagen to present it to the Danish majesty, of whom he had an audience on the 29th of June 1720, for that purpose.

His lordship continued for some time after at the Danish court, where he was treated with unusual marks of esteem and respect, by a prince who was allowed to be one of the wisest crowned heads in Europe, and who, as a signal testimony of his favour to that accomplished statesman, took a sword from his side, richly set with diamonds, to the value of five thousand pounds, of which he made a present to his lordship.

The season for action being over, Sir John Norris, on the 8th of September, sailed with the squadron under his command to Stockholm. The new king of Sweden did him the honour to dine with him on board his ship, accompanied by Mr. Finch, the British envoy, and the Polish minister prince Lubomirski, and other persons of distinction; and his excellency soon after returned with the squadron under his command to England. The Czar bore this interposition of ours very impatiently, and his ministers did not fail to impute it wholly to the interest which his majesty, as a German prince, had to compromise affairs with Sweden, with relation to the acquisition he had made of the duchies of Bremen and Verden. However, thus much is very certain, that whatever benefit his majesty, as elec-
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tor of Hanover, might draw from the protection afforded to Sweden by the British fleet, this was a measure, as things then stood, entirely corresponding with the British interest; and we had often interposed in the very same manner under former reigns, to prevent such conquests in the north as might be fatal to a commerce, upon the proper carrying on of which, in a great measure, depend almost all the other branches of our trade. The insinuations, therefore, of the Czar had no great weight at the time, either with us, or with other powers, as appears by the conduct of Prussia and Denmark, both making separate treaties with Sweden, notwithstanding all the expostulations, remonstrances, and even threatenings of his Czarish majesty to prevent it.

His majesty having spent the summer in his German dominions, returned to Great-Britain in the month of November; and the parliament meeting on the 8th of December following, the proceedings of the whole year were laid before that august assembly; in which it was insisted upon, that the money issued for the sea-service had produced all the desired effects; and that, as peace had been settled by the force of our arms in the Mediterranean a few months before, so it was highly probable that the very terror of our arms would cause the troubles of the north to subside in a few months to come. Upon these suggestions a considerable naval force was asked for the next year; and though there was a good deal of opposition, and a great many bold speeches made, yet in the end the point was carried; and, on the 19th of December, the house of commons resolved, that 10,000 men be allowed for the sea-service for the year 1721, at 4*l.* a man per month for thirteen months: that 219,049*l.* 14*s.* be granted for the ordinary of the navy; and 50,000*l.* for extra-repairs for the same year. This provision being made, it was resolved to send Sir John Norris, and rear-admiral Hopson, with a squadron of thirteen men of war of the line, besides frigates and bomb-ketches, into the Baltic, to put an end to those disputes, which had already cost our allies so much blood, and ourselves so large a proportion of treasure, and which it was thought could not be soon settled any other away.

The Czar having still in view the reduction of the Swedes to his own terms, was very early at sea with a large fleet, and, designing to strike a terror into the whole Swedish nation, he ravaged their coasts with incredible fury, to give it the softest name, committing such cruelties as were scarce ever heard of amongst the most barbarous nations; yet the Swedes kept up their spirits, and depending on our protection, did not take any hasty measures, but insisted on certain mitigations, which by this firmness they at last obtained. In the middle of the month of April Sir John Norris sailed from the Nore, and towards the latter end of the same month arrived at Copenhagen, where he

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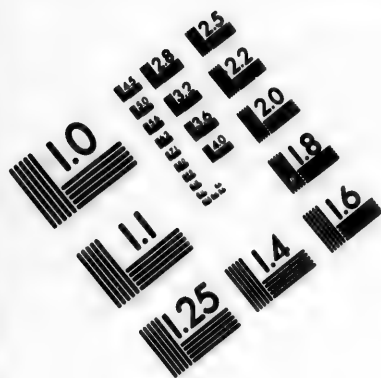
he was received with all imaginable marks of esteem ; soon after he continued his voyage for the coast of Sweden, where he was joined by a few Swedish ships. His appearance in those seas, and with such a force, produced greater consequences than were expected from it ; for the Czar doubting his own strength, and fearing, upon the loss of a battle, that his whole naval force would be destroyed, as he had seen of late to be the case of Spain, he began to be more inclinable to a peace, which was concluded at Neustadt, upon the thirty-first of August.

This treaty having settled the Czar's rights to the conquered provinces, and secured to the Swedes various immunities and privileges, in order to bring them more readily to consent to such terms as they would have otherwise thought hard, satisfied in some measure both crowns. Sir John Norris continued all this time with his fleet in the neighbourhood of Stockholm, in order to give weight to the negotiations of Mr. Finch ; and the peace being signed and ratified, he took leave of the Swedish court, and sailed for Copenhagen, where he arrived in the beginning of the month of October ; and on the 6th of the same month, returning home, arrived safely at the Nore on the 20th, leaving the north in perfect quiet, and all its powers under a just sense of the seasonable interposition of Great-Britain, in favour of that balance of power in those parts, which is of such high consequence to the tranquillity of Europe in general, as well as the particular advantage of each of the monarchs thus reconciled.

At home, the disputes and uneasiness which had been occasioned by the execution of the South-sea scheme, kept the nation in a high ferment, and put the court under a necessity of altering its measures, and making some changes in the administration ; among which, we may reckon the great alteration of the board of admiralty, which took place in the month of September, when his majesty was pleased to order letters patent to pass the great seal, constituting the right honourable James earl of Berkley, Sir John Jennings, John Cockburn, and William Chetwynd, Esqrs. Sir John Norris, Sir Charles Wager, and Daniel Pulteney, Esq; commissioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral of Great-Britain, &c. This appointment gave the most general satisfaction at that time ; and it must be allowed by all who were well acquainted with their characters, that the board was never better settled than by these gentlemen, four of whom were as great seamen as any in this age ; and the other three as well acquainted with the business of the office, and the duties of their post, as any that ever filled them.

The parliament met on the 19th of October, and on the 27th of the same month, the house of commons granted 7000 men for the service of the sea, for the year 1722, at the usual rate of 4*l.* a man *per* month ; and on the 2d of November, they resolved,





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solved, that the sum of 218,799l. 4s. 7d. be granted for the ordinary of the navy for the same year. This was a very moderate expence, and very agreeable to the situation of our affairs at that time, which had not been a little disordered by the large disbursements into which we had been drawn for many years past. It was not long, however, after this grant was made, before a new squadron was ordered to be got ready, consisting of thirteen very large ships, which squadron was to be commanded by Sir Charles Wager, and rear-admiral Hosier. The destination of this armament was never certainly known; but the most probable account that has been given, is, that it was intended to chastise the Portuguese, for an insult offered by them to Mr. Wingfield and Mr. Roberts, two gentlemen of the factory at Lisbon, whose goods they seized, imprisoned their persons, and even went so far as to condemn them to be hanged, upon a very trifling pretence. They were, however, upon our remonstrances soon after released, their goods restored, and the whole affair was amicably adjusted.

The pirates in the West-Indies, which had received some check from the vigorous dispositions of governor Rogers, and other commanders in those parts, began to take breath again, and by degrees grew so bold as even to annoy our colonies more than ever. This was owing to several causes; particularly to the encouragement they had met with of late from the Spaniards, and to the want of a sufficient force in the North American seas. The merchants, finding themselves extremely distressed, by a grievance that increased every day, made repeated representations, upon this head, to the government; upon which, fresh orders were sent to the officers of the navy cruising on the coast of Guinea, and in the West-Indies, to exert themselves, with the utmost diligence, in crushing these enemies to mankind; and these injunctions had at length the desired effect. There was among these pirates, on the coast of Africa, one Roberts, a man whose parts deserved a better employment; he was an able seaman and a good commander, and had with him two very stout ships, one commanded by himself, of forty guns, and one hundred and fifty-two men; the other of thirty-two guns, and one hundred and thirty-two men; and to complete his squadron, he soon added a third, of twenty-four guns, and ninety men: with this force, Roberts had done a great deal of mischief in the West-Indies, before he sailed for Africa, where he likewise took abundance of prizes, till in the month of April, 1722, he was taken by the then captain, afterwards Sir Chaloner Ogle.

Captain Ogle was then in the *Swallow*, and was cruising off Cape Lopez, when he had intelligence of Roberts's being not far from him, and in consequence of this he went immediately in search of him, and soon after discovered the pirates in a very convenient bay, where the biggest and the least ship were upon the

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heel scrubbing. Captain Ogle taking in his lower tier of guns, and lying at a distance, Roberts took him for a merchantman, and immediately ordered his consort Skyrn to slip his cable, and run out after him. Captain Ogle crowded all the sail he could to decoy the pirate to such a distance, that his consorts might not hear the guns, and then suddenly tacking, run out his lower tier, and gave the pirate a broadside, by which their captain was killed; which so discouraged the crew, that after a brisk engagement, which lasted about an hour and a half, they surrendered. Captain Ogle returned then to that bay, hoisting the king's colours, under the pirates black flag with a death's head in it. This prudent stratagem had the desired effect; for the pirates, seeing the black flag uppermost, concluded the king's ship had been taken, and came out full of joy to congratulate their consort on the victory. This joy of theirs was, however, of no long continuance; for captain Ogle gave them a very warm reception; and, though Roberts fought with the utmost bravery for near two hours, yet, being at last killed, the courage of his men immediately sunk, and both ships yielded. Captain Ogle carried these three prizes, with about one hundred and sixty men that were taken in them, to Cape Coast-castle, where they were instantly brought to their trials. Seventy-four were capitally convicted, of whom fifty-two were executed, and most of them hung in chains in several places, which struck a terror in that part of the world, as the taking several pirates in the West-Indies, towards the latter end of the year, did in those seas. But these successes were far from putting an end to the mischief; so that it was found necessary soon after to send several ships of war to the northern colonies and Jamaica, where by degrees they extirpated entirely this dangerous crew of robbers.

The parliament having met on the 9th of October, the house of commons, on the 24th of the same month, granted 10,000 men for the sea-service, at four pounds *per man per month*, for the year 1723; and, on the 29th, they resolved, that 216,388l. 1s. 8d. be allowed for the ordinary of the navy, for the same year; and soon after the king was pleased to promote Sir George Walton, knight, to the rank of rear admiral of the blue, in the room of admiral Mighels, who was appointed to succeed Thomas Swanton, Esq; lately deceased, as comptroller of the navy; and admiral Littleton dying the fifth of February, rear-admiral Strickland succeeded him as vice-admiral of the white; the other admirals taking place according to their seniority.

The naval transactions of this year were very inconsiderable; for though some great ships were put into commission, and there was once a design of fitting out a fleet, yet it was very soon after laid aside.

The perplexed situation of affairs on the continent making it necessary for his majesty to visit his German dominions, he embarked

barked on board the Carolina yacht on the 3d of June, arrived safely in Holland on the 7th, and continued his journey by land to Hanover, where he remained during the rest of the year 1723; at the close of which Sir John Norris, with a small squadron of men of war, was sent to escort him from Holland; and he returned safely to St. James's on the 30th of December.

The parliament, which had been farther prorogued, on account of the king's stay abroad, was now summoned to meet on the 9th of January; and care was taken, in the mean time, to regulate whatever had relation to foreign affairs, in such a manner as that his majesty might assure both houses, in his speech from the throne, that, through his assiduous application to business while at Hanover, all affairs had been adjusted, so that most of the courts of Europe were, at that juncture, either in a favourable disposition towards us, or at least in no condition to create in us any apprehensions on account of their armaments or intrigues.

In this state they continued for about two years, that is to say, till a little before the treaty of Hanover, which was concluded there on the 3d of September, 1725. It is sufficiently known to every body, this alliance was concerted in order to prevent the bad effects that were apprehended from the treaty of Vienna; in which there were many things dangerous to the trade of England, and the succession of the royal family; but this, however, the late emperor Charles VI. absolutely denied, and took a very strange as well as extraordinary measure, which was to appeal from the judgment of the king and his ministry to that of the people of this nation, for whom he professed the warmest gratitude, and the highest esteem; however, there was no great sign of this in the proclamation, published some time after, for prohibiting any of the goods and manufactures of Great-Britain from being imported into the island of Sicily, of which we had so lately, and at such a mighty expence to ourselves, put him in possession.

The year 1726 opened very inauspiciously: his majesty embarked on board the Carolina yacht, at Helvoetsluys, about one in the afternoon on new-year's-day, with a fair wind at north-east, and sailed immediately. But, about seven the same evening, a most violent storm arose, with hail and rain, which so separated the fleet, that only one man of war, commanded by captain Danſie, kept company with the king's yacht, on board of which was Sir John Norris. The tempest continued so high, and the sea so boisterous, for about thirty-six hours, that the whole fleet was in the utmost danger. The third, in the mornig, the yachts and men of war were near Dover; and one of the yachts, with some of his majesty's attendants, entered the river; but it was thought more adviseable that his majesty should land at Rye, where he arrived about noon; and on the 9th, in the evening,

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evening, he came from thence to his palace at St. James's, in perfect health.

On the 20th of January the parliament met, and the king made a very remarkable speech from the throne, in which he took notice of the critical situation of affairs in Europe, and of the measures he had taken for supporting the honour of his crown, and preserving the just rights of his people. When this speech came to be debated in the house of commons, very warm things were said, by those who were then in the opposition, against the plan of the Hanover alliance, which, though it was also disliked by many of the ministers here at home, yet was strenuously supported by others, and even by them, in that debate.

On the 26th of January the house of commons resolved, that ten thousand men be employed for the sea-service, for the year 1726, at 4*l.* a man *per* month for thirteen months. The 23d of February they resolved, that 212,381*l.* 5*s.* be granted for the ordinary of the navy for the same year. But this provision, as the affairs of Europe then stood, being not thought sufficient, his majesty held it requisite, on the 24th of March, to send a message to the house of commons, importing, that he found it absolutely necessary to augment his maritime force, and hoped he should be enabled, by the assistance of parliament, to increase the number of seamen already voted and granted for the service of this year, that he might be thereby enabled not only to secure to his own subjects the full and free enjoyment of their trade and navigation, but in the best manner to prevent and frustrate such designs as had been formed against the particular interest of this nation, and the general peace of Europe. Upon this message there was a very warm debate, which issued in an address from the house to his majesty, desiring, "That he would be pleased to make
" such an addition to the number of seamen already voted, and
" to concert such other measures as he in his great wisdom
" should think most conducive to the security of the trade and
" navigation of this kingdom, and to the preservation of the
" peace of Europe, assuring his majesty, that they would effec-
" tually provide for, and make good, all such expences and en-
" gagements as should be entered into for obtaining those great
" and desirable ends."

The Hanover alliance, originally contrived for the securing that electorate, proved the means of bringing it into some degree of danger, and perhaps the same cause will hardly ever fail to produce the same effects; whence it is evident, that, the less share we take in the affairs of the continent, the less the present royal family will be exposed to such attempts; and therefore a wise ministry will be sure to inform their master, that pursuing the real and acknowledged interests of Great-Britain will conciliate all the powers of the continent except France, and that attempts to aggrandize his electoral dominions will always create him
enemies,

enemies, disturb the peace of Germany, and affect the ballance of Europe.

I have already observed, that the ministry at home were by no means the authors of the Hanover alliance, though they looked on themselves as obliged to support it; and therefore, as soon as they were acquainted with the schemes formed by the allies of Vienna, they set about disappointing them with all their force. In order to this, they did not much trust to their good allies the French, or to the slow assistance of the Dutch, but chose the shortest and most expeditious method possible, of helping themselves, with which view it was resolved to send a strong fleet into the Baltic to awe the Czarina, to bring round another power, and to keep steady a third. It was likewise thought requisite to have another strong squadron on the coast of Spain to intimidate his catholic majesty, and to render his efforts, if he should make any against Gibraltar, ineffectual; and, to sum up all, as they very well knew that money was not only the sinews of war, but the great bond of friendship, at least among states and princes, they determined to send a considerable force to the Indies, in order to block up the galleons, as the shortest means of dissolving the union between their imperial and catholic majesties, being satisfied, that, if the former could not receive his subsidies, the latter could never rely upon his assistance: such were the plans on both sides at this critical juncture!

The command of the fleet intended for the Baltic was given to Sir Charles Wager, vice-admiral of the red, who had under him Sir George Walton, rear-admiral of the blue. The squadron they were to command consisted of twenty ships of the line, one frigate, two fire-ships, and one hospital-ship. His final instructions having been given to the commander in chief, he on the 13th of April, 1726, hoisted his flag on board the *Torbay*, a third rate man of war, at the Nore. He was saluted thereupon by all the ships lying there, and returned their salutes with one and twenty guns. About an hour after, Sir George Walton hoisted his flag on board the *Cumberland* at her mizen-topmast head, and saluted the admiral with nineteen guns, and was answered with seventeen. The 14th, Sir Charles delivered out a line of battle, and a rendezvous for Copenhagen road, or the Dahlen, near Stockholm, with sailing instructions. The 17th in the morning, the fleet weighed, and set sail from the Nore. On the 23d of the same month, the fleet came to an anchor in the road of Copenhagen; and on the 25th, Sir Charles presented his majesty's letter to the king of Denmark in cabinet-council, dined with his Danish majesty the same day, and entertained the then prince royal of Denmark on board his own ship the next. On the 6th of May, the fleet under the command of Sir Charles Wager anchored near Stockholm.

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The very next day Stephen Pointz, Esq; his majesty's envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary, accompanied by Mr. Jackson, his majesty's resident, came on board the admiral. The 8th, Sir Charles went up to that city with them; and on the 10th, had an audience of the king of Sweden, in the presence of several of the senators, to which he was introduced by Mr. Pointz. Sir Charles delivered a letter from the king his master to his Swedish majesty, by whom he was very graciously received. The 14th of the same month the squadron of Danish men of war sailed from Copenhagen for the island of Bornholm, in order to join the British squadron. These ceremonies over, Sir Charles Wager sailed with his squadron to the island of Nariguan, within three leagues of Revel. There, on the 25th of May, captain Deane, who had been on board the Port-Mahon, nearer in with the shore, returned on board the Torbay, and brought the admiral an account, that he had spoken with a Lubecker that came five days before from Petersburg, whose master informed him, that there were sixteen Russian men of war in the road at Cronslot, with three flags flying, viz. lord-admiral Apraxin, vice-admiral Gordon, and rear-admiral Saunders; that a great number of gallies were in readiness, of which but twelve were at Cronslot, and the rest at Petersburg, or Wyburgh.

The admiral took the first opportunity of sending his majesty's letter to the Czarina, inclosed in a letter to her admiral Apraxin, in which letter his majesty expostulated very freely with her on the subject of her armaments by sea and land, and on the intrigues which her ministers had lately entered into with the agents of the pretender. It is said, that the Russian court was very much nettled at this appearance of a British fleet upon their coasts, and was inclined to have come to extremities, rather than endure it. But vice-admiral Gordon very wisely represented to the council, that the Russian fleet was in no condition to venture an engagement with that of Great-Britain; upon which orders were given for laying it up, and for securing, in the best manner possible, both it and the gallies from being insulted. In the month of July prince Menzikoff, who was then prime minister, coming to Revel, mutual civilities passed between him and Sir Charles Wager; and his highness, to shew his regard to the English officers, frequently invited them to his own table.

The British fleet, while in this station, was joined by a Danish squadron, commanded by rear-admiral Bille, and remained before Revel till the 28th of September, when, having received certain intelligence that the Russians would not be able to attempt any thing that year, he sailed for Copenhagen, and from thence home, arriving safely at the Gunfleet on the first of November. It must be allowed that Sir Charles Wager performed, on this occasion, all that could be expected from the wisdom and skill of an English admiral; so that this expedition effectually

effectually answered its end, which ought to be considered as an honour to his memory, whether that end shall be thought right or wrong; for that is a mere political dispute, which neither can, or ought to affect the character of the admiral in the least.

The fleet that was sent to the coast of Spain, was commanded by Sir John Jennings, and consisted of nine large men of war, which were afterwards joined in the Mediterranean by several ships that were cruising there. The admiral sailed on the 20th of July from St. Helen's; and, on the 3d of August, entered the bay of St. Antonio, which alarmed the Spaniards excessively, who immediately drew down a great body of regular troops towards the coast. When the fleet first entered the bay, some pieces of cannon were fired at the foremost ships; but the governor of St. Antonio presently sent an officer to Sir John Jennings to excuse it, and to assure him it was an act of indiscretion committed by the governor of the fort, without orders. On the 25th of the same month the fleet arrived at Lisbon, and was received there with all possible marks of respect; and Sir John Jennings having received a message from the king of Portugal, intimating that he would be glad to see him, the admiral landed, paid his compliments to his majesty, and then returning on board his squadron, sailed from the river of Lisbon for the bay of Bulls, near Cadiz, where he was treated with great distinction, and had all the refreshments he desired sent him, by order of the Spanish governor.

He cruized for some time after off Cape St. Mary's, in order to wait for the ships that were to join him. On the 11th of the same month rear-admiral Hopson, with four British men of war, came into the river of Lisbon, and one of the ships having lost her main-yard, and another having her fore-mast damaged, the rear-admiral applied to our minister, brigadier Dormer, who immediately obtained an order from his Portuguese majesty, for furnishing every thing that was necessary out of his naval stores. The 9th, his majesty's ships the *Winchelsea* and *Swallow*, which sailed some time before from the Downs, came into the entrance of the river Tagus, and the next day proceeded to join Sir John Jennings.

It would be needless for me to enter into a farther or more particular detail of the motions of this squadron, which soon after returned to Spithead. It is sufficient to observe, that it answered perfectly the ends proposed by it; alarmed the Spanish court to the highest degree, obliged it to abandon the measures then taking to the prejudice of Great-Britain, and gave such spirits to the party in Spain which opposed those dangerous councils, as enabled them to triumph over all opposition. The duke de Ripperda, who had been lately prime minister, the very man who had negotiated the treaty of Vienna, by whose intrigues the two courts had been embroiled, took shelter, at the
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time of his disgrace, in the house of the earl of Harrington, then colonel Stanhope, and our minister at Madrid; and though he was taken from thence by force, yet the terror of a British squadron upon the coast prevailed upon the Spanish court to lay aside all thoughts of proceeding against him capitally, which they before intended, for betraying to the British ministry those very designs that occasioned the sending of this fleet; and he soon after made his escape from the castle of Segovia, and retired hither as to the only place of safety, from the resentment of his catholic majesty. Such were the events that attended the expedition of Sir John Jennings on the coast of Spain: let us proceed to the transactions in the West-Indies.

As the execution of all the great designs formed by the Vienna allies, depended entirely on the supplies that were expected from the Spanish West-Indies, our ministry thought they could not take either a wiser or bolder measure, than sending a squadron into those parts to block up the galleons, and so prevent them from receiving those supplies. A squadron was accordingly ordered to be equipped for that purpose, the command of which was given to Francis Hosier, Esq; rear-admiral of the blue, an excellent officer; but what his instructions were, I am not able to say, as having no better authority to proceed upon than bare conjectures. He sailed from Plymouth on the 9th of April, 1726; and though he had a very quick passage, yet the Spaniards had previous notice of his design; by an advice-boat from Cadiz, so that before he reached the Bastimentos, the treasure which had been on board the galleons, and which that year consisted of about six millions and a half sterling, was fairly carried back to Panama, on the other side the Isthmus. On the 6th of June vice-admiral Hosier anchored within sight of Porto Bello; upon which the governor sent to know his demands. The vice-admiral answered, with great prudence and temper, that he waited for the Royal George, a large South sea ship, then in the harbour, which had disposed of all her cargo, and had a very large sum of money on board. The Spaniards, in hopes of getting rid of so troublesome a guest, hastened her way; which, I think, was the greatest service this squadron performed. With respect to the blocking up of the galleons, that was so much magnified here at home, it was really a dream, for his remaining there three weeks, was time sufficient to put it out of their power to return for that season; and, therefore, his continuing there six months, as he did, till his squadron, that had been the terror, became the jest of the Spaniards, was altogether needless. A little before Christmas he weighed, and sailed for Jamaica, after such a loss of men, and in so wretched a condition, that I cannot prevail upon myself to enter into the particulars of a disaster, which I heartily wish could be blotted out of the annals, and out of the remembrance of this nation.

It happened very luckily for him, that there were at that time in the island of Jamaica, a great number of seamen out of employment, so that in two months time his Squadron was once more manned, and in a condition to put to sea; which he did, and stood over to Carthage, where he was able to do little or nothing; for the Spaniards had by this time recovered their spirits, and began to make reprisals, seizing the Prince Frederic, a South-sea ship, then at La Vera Cruz, with all the vessels and effects belonging to that company, which admiral Hosier did indeed demand, but to no purpose. He continued cruising in those seas, and some of his ships took several Spanish prizes, most of which were afterwards restored; and in this situation things continued till the vice-admiral breathed his last, on the 23d of August, 1727. But that, and what followed, being without the limits of this work, I have nothing farther to say of this expedition, which, whether well or ill concerted at home, was undoubtedly executed with great courage and conduct by this unfortunate commander, who lost his seamen twice over, and whose ships were totally ruined by the worms in those seas, which created a mighty clamour at home, and was, without doubt, a prodigious loss to the nation.

The Spaniards, intending to shew that they were not intimidated by these mighty naval armaments, proceeded in the scheme they had formed, of attacking the important fortress of Gibraltar; and towards the close of the year 1726, their army, under the count de las Torres, actually came before the place. Our ministry at home having had previous intelligence of this design, ordered a small Squadron to be got ready at Portsmouth in the month of December; and on the 24th, Sir Charles Wager, having hoisted his flag on board the Kent, as soon as the wind would permit, sailed, in order to join rear-admiral Hopson, for the relief of that garrison, which he performed very effectually the succeeding year.

The parliament met on the 17th of January, 1727, and on the 23d of the same month the house of commons came to a resolution, that 20,000 men should be allowed for the sea-service, at the usual rate of 4*l.* a month *per* man; and on the first of the next month, they voted 199,071*l.* for the ordinary of the navy. The first use made of these extraordinary supplies was, to send once more a fleet into the Baltic, where, it was said, the Czarina was preparing to attack the Swedes; and afterwards to proceed to the execution of designs which have been formerly mentioned. On the 21st of April, captain Maurice commander of the Nassau, was appointed rear-admiral of the white Squadron, and captain Robert Hughes, commander of the Hampton-Court, rear-admiral of the blue Squadron of his majesty's fleet; and captain Rogers was appointed to command the Nassau in the room of admiral Maurice. They were all three

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to serve under Sir John Norris, who sailed the latter end of that month, and arrived on the coast of Jutland the 8th of May, anchored in sight of Elsinour the 11th; the next day in the road of Copenhagen; the king of Denmark being at his palace at Fredericksburgh, Sir John, with the lord Glenorchy, his majesty's minister at that court, waited on his Danish majesty, and was extremely well received.

Soon after this the nation sustained a most heavy loss the death of King GEORGE I. which happened at his brother's palace, in the city of Osnaburgh, June the 11th, 1727, about one in the morning, in the thirteenth year of his reign, and in the sixty-eighth of his life. To speak without flattery, his majesty was a prince of great virtues, and had many qualities truly amiable. He was very well acquainted with the general interest of all the princes of Europe, and particularly well versed in whatever related to German affairs, with respect to which he always acted as a true patriot, and a firm friend to the constitution of the empire. As to his conduct after his accession to the British throne, his ministers were entirely accountable for it; for he constantly declared to them, that his intention was to govern according to the laws, and with no other view than the general good of his people. He was allowed, by the best judges of military skill, to be an excellent officer. He was very capable of application, and understood business as well as any prince of his time. In his deportment he was easy and familiar, of a temper very sensible of the services that were rendered him; firm in his friendships, naturally averse to violent measures, and as compassionate as any prince that ever sat upon a throne.

M E M O I R S

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ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c.

INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE

N A V A L H I S T O R Y.

The Naval History of GREAT-BRITAIN from the accession of king George II. to the end of the war in the year 1763.

KING GEORGE II. ascended the throne of Great-Britain in the year 1727, and in the forty-fourth year of his age. All the European powers were now at peace; nevertheless, some of them were so little satisfied with the terms to which necessity had compelled them to accede, that a future war was easily foreseen. The late king had engaged in an unnatural alliance with France, and, under a pretence of adjusting the balance of power, had burdened the nation with subsidies to Sweden and the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. The emperor Charles VI. for whom we had so lately wrested Sicily from the Spaniards, was now leagued with the court of Madrid, and the court of Madrid, and the political scheme of our ministry, some time before the death of George I. was to humble this very emperor, in whose cause we had so lately expended such sums of British treasure.

Before I proceed to the occurrences which are the immediate objects of a naval history, it seems necessary to bring the reader acquainted with the men in power at the beginning of this reign. Lord Townsend and the duke of Newcastle were generally supposed to conduct the important concern of foreign negotiations. The first of these is allowed to have possessed knowledge and talents

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lents equal to the task. As to the latter, he was certainly not a man of great abilities; but he had distinguished himself as a steady and indefatigable friend to the house of Hanover, and his parliamentary interest was very inconsiderable. Lord Carteret, though not ostensibly in the administration, was frequently consulted, and his advice generally followed. He was a man of some genius and learning, and, having been much abroad, was supposed to be well acquainted with the general system of Europe. The interior government of the kingdom was principally conducted by Sir Robert Walpole, who was at the head of the treasury, and leader of the Whigs in the house of commons. He was well versed in the mystery of financing, funding, and in the effectual application of money, as a powerful engine of government. He spoke in parliament, though not elegantly, yet with ease, fluency, and persuasion. He knew mankind, and on that knowledge he is said to have laid the foundation of that uniform plan of influence, so very agreeable to subsequent parliaments, and so indispensably useful to future ministers.

Our chief naval commanders were Sir Charles Wager, Sir John Norris, and admiral Hosier: the first commanded a fleet in the Mediterranean, the second in the Baltic, and the third in the West-Indies, where he died, about two months after the king's accession. Sir Charles Wager had been sent to secure Gibraltar, then besieged by the Spaniards. He afterwards continued upon the coast of Spain, in order to persuade that nation, by the *ultima ratio regum*, if necessary, to acquiesce in the general plan of peace to which the other considerable powers had already acceded. Sir John Norris had been sent with a fleet into the Baltic, with a design to protect Sweden from the Czarina, who threatened that country with an invasion. And admiral Hosier had sailed, in April 1726, to the West-Indies, in order to block up the Spanish galleons, and thereby prevent that treasure from being brought to Europe, without which, it was imagined, the courts of Vienna and Madrid could not prosecute the war.

Such was the situation of the British navy at the accession of George II. who, as I have before observed, found his kingdom at peace with all the world. No immediate change was made, either of ministers or measures; but, before the expiration of the year, lord Torrington was placed at the head of the admiralty, and the earl of Westmoreland made first lord of trade.

A new parliament was called. The two houses met on the twenty-third day of January, 1728. The commons unanimously chose for their speaker Arthur Onslow, Esq; member for the county of Surry, a man whose abilities and integrity rendered him singularly qualified for that important office. The king,

in his speech from the throne, informed his parliament, that the difficulties, which had hitherto prevented the execution of the preliminaries to the establishment of a general peace, were now removed, and that a congress would soon be opened for that purpose, in which he hoped the peace of Europe would be effectually secured; but that nevertheless, in order to prevent the possibility of an open rupture, it was necessary to continue the preparations for war. He wished that some scheme might be formed for the increase and security of seamen, that they might rather be invited than compelled into the service. He promised œconomy as soon as the public safety would permit, and concluded his speech, as usual, with recommending unanimity and dispatch. The two houses presented most dutiful addresses on the occasion. They voted 22,955 men for guards and garrisons, and 15,000 seamen, for the service of the year. They granted 231,000*l.* for the maintenance of 12,000 Hessians; a subsidy of 50,000*l.* to the king of Sweden, and 25,000*l.* to the duke of Brunswick.

The congress, which met at Soissons to establish peace, having yet determined nothing, the fate of Europe remained suspended. Spain had secretly shaken hands with France, and was now allied to Portugal by means of a double marriage; she therefore grew indifferent as to peace with England. She continued her depredations on our commerce in the West-Indies, where our fleet remained inactive and rotting, and our sailors perished miserably, insulted and unrevenged.

The parliament of England met, according to their prorogation, on the 21st of January. They voted 15,000 seamen for the service of the year: the number of land-forces was also continued, as were likewise the subsidies to foreign princes. The merchants of London, Bristol, and Liverpool presented petitions to the house of commons, complaining of the repeated injuries they had sustained by the depredations of the Spaniards in the West-Indies; upon which the house ordered the lords of the admiralty to produce every similar memorial which they had received; and they addressed the king, praying, that the instructions and letters sent to admiral Hoyer and his successors in command, might be laid before them. A committee of the whole house took this important affair into consideration, and after examining evidence, and amply debating the matter, resolved, that the Spaniards had violated the treaties subsisting between the two crowns; that they had treated the crews of several English ships with inhumanity; that the instructions given to admiral Hoyer, to seize and detain the Spanish galleons, were just and necessary. The house of commons then addressed the king, requesting his majesty to require satisfaction of Spain; and he answered them by a promise to comply with their request.

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Meanwhile the house of lords deliberated on the positive demand made by the catholic king, of the restitution of Gibraltar, founded on the contents of a letter written by king George I. to the king of Spain. From an authentic copy of this letter, it appeared, that his late majesty had actually consented to this restitution. Their lordships then resolved, that the house did firmly rely, that his majesty would, in support of the honour and trade of this kingdom, take effectual care to preserve his undoubted right to Gibraltar and Minorca.

The year 1730 produced nothing worthy the attention of a naval historian. The king, in his speech to parliament, which met on the 13th of January, informed them, that the peace of Europe was now established by a treaty concluded at Seville; that the uninterrupted commerce of Great-Britain was restored; and that the nation was to be amply indemnified for the Spanish depredations in the West-Indies. Nevertheless I find, that on the 2d of March, 1731, several masters and sailors of merchant-ships, who had been taken by the Spanish Guarda Costas, came to London to give an account to parliament of the cruel treatment they had received from the Spaniards. In 1733 the house of commons addressed the king, to know what satisfaction had been made by Spain for the depredations above-mentioned; and by his majesty's answer it appeared, that the commissioners had not yet made their report. In the speech from the throne, which put an end to the preceding session of parliament, the nation was told, that all disputes with foreign powers were settled, and the public tranquillity established. However, twelve ships of the line were put into commission, and press-warrants were issued for manning the fleet. Meanwhile rear-admiral Stewart demanded of the governor of Campeachy and the Havanna, restitution for three ships plundered by Spanish Guarda Costas. In consequence of this peremptory demand, one of the Guarda Costas was sold at St. Jago de Cuba, and the money paid to the South-Sea factors. One of the Spanish governors was sent home, and another confined in the castle of Cuba.

In 1734 the navy of England consisted of ninety-two men of war, sixty of which were of the line. In the following year a misunderstanding, on a frivolous occasion, happening between the courts of Spain and Portugal, the latter applied to Great-Britain for protection; in consequence of which, Sir John Norris sailed with a powerful fleet, and arrived at Lisbon on the ninth of June, where he was joyfully received as their deliverer.

Regardless of the frequent complaints and remonstrances delivered to the court of Spain by the British ambassador at Madrid, the Spaniards in America continued audaciously to insult and molest our commerce. They pretended that we had no right either to cut logwood in the bay of Campeachy, or to gather salt on the island of Tortugas. Their Guarda Costas boarded and plundered every English ship they met, under a pretence of searching for

for contraband goods. They even seized several English vessels, confiscated their cargoes, and threw the sailors into prison. Fired by such reiterated provocation, the people of England began now to lose all patience. Petitions to the house of commons were transmitted from various parts of the kingdom. The house again addressed the king, and the king again returned a promissory answer. It is difficult, even at this distance of time, to reflect with patience on the pusillanimity of the British ministry at this period; nor is it possible to imagine the Spaniards would have carried their insolence so far, if they had not depended on the pacific disposition of Sir Robert Walpole. He had other uses for the treasure which fleets and armies would consume; and therefore he left nothing unattempted to avert, or, at least, to procrastinate the storm. For this purpose, he patched up a convention with the court of Spain, importing, that the disputes between the two crowns should be settled by two plenipotentiaries. This convention was severely censured by the opposition in both houses of parliament. The city of London, the West-India merchants, and the merchants of Bristol, presented petitions, justly complaining, that their indisputable right to pass unmolested to and from the British colonies, was, in this convention, left, as a dubitable privilege, to be determined by plenipotentiaries.

The convention above-mentioned stipulated, that 95,000*l.* being a balance due from Spain to the crown and subjects of Great-Britain, should be paid in London before the expiration of four months after the ratification. The time was now expired, and the money not yet paid. The house of lords appointed a day for taking the state of the nation into consideration, and when the day arrived, Lord Carteret moved for a resolution, that this failure of payment was a high indignity to the king, and an injustice to the nation. The previous question was put, and the motion lost. But though the minister yet retained a sufficient majority in both houses, the nation in general was too much exasperated to afford any hopes of preventing a war with Spain. Letters of marque and reprisal were granted; the army was augmented; an embargo was laid on all outward-bound vessels; a fleet was assembled at Spithead, and a reinforcement was sent to admiral Haddock, who at this time commanded a fleet in the Mediterranean. Our whole fleet in commission consisted of eighty-four men of war, besides thirty-two ready to put into commission. The entire navy of Spain amounted to thirty-three ships of war, those of the flota, which are properly merchant-ships, included.

Both nations began to make vigorous preparations for war. The court of Spain at this juncture revived its alliance by a marriage between the Infant Don Philip and Madam de France, and the French ministry did not scruple to declare, that if Spain were oppressed by any power whatsoever, they should not remain idle spectators. The States General, on the other hand,

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did not scruple to signify by their ministers at the courts of France and Spain, that they were under certain mutual engagements to England, which, if required, they thought themselves in honour obliged to fulfil.

Vice-admiral Vernon sailed on the 20th of July for the West-Indies with nine men of war. This gentleman had rendered himself conspicuous in the house of commons by his blunt opposition to the ministry. In the debate concerning the Spanish depredations in the West-Indies, he had affirmed, that he could take Porto-Bello with six men of war. He had formerly commanded a fleet on the Jamaica station, and was therefore supposed to be well acquainted with those seas. His offer was echoed by the members in the opposition, and the whole nation resounded his praise. The minister embraced this opportunity of acquiring some popularity, and, at the same time, of removing a troublesome opponent in the house of commons. Besides, it was generally imagined that he was not without hopes that the admiral might disgrace himself and his party by not succeeding in the adventure. Vernon sailed for the West-Indies.

The English fleet cruising on the coast of Spain was particularly intended to intercept the *Assogues* ship from Vera Cruz. These ships, however, arrived safe at St. Andero. Having received information of the situation of affairs in Europe, instead of coming by the *Madeiras* for Calais, as usual, they sailed by the *Bahamas*, and went north about; then steering westward, and doubling the *Lizard*, they made *Ushant*, and thence creeping along shore, crossed the bay of *Biscay*, and so to St. Andero.

On the 23d day of October, Great-Britain declared war against Spain, and in the same month intelligence was received that admiral Haddock had taken two rich ships from the *Caracas*, having on board 2,000,000 pieces of eight. He was soon after joined by admiral Balchen, with six ships of the line.

Vice-admiral Vernon arrived at Jamaica the 23d of October, the day on which war was proclaimed in England. On his arrival off Port-Royal in that island, he had the satisfaction to see the *Diamond* man of war standing into the harbour with two Spanish vessels in tow, one of which was a register ship with 120,000 pieces of eight, and clothing for 6000 men, on board. The admiral sailed from Jamaica on the 5th of November, with six ships of war. Having met with contrary winds, he did not come in sight of Porto-Bello till the 20th in the evening. He was apprehensive of driving to the eastward during the night; he therefore anchored about six leagues from shore.

On the 21st, in the morning, the admiral weighed and plied to windward in line of battle. The ships entered the bay in the following order, *viz.* The *Hampton-Court*, *Norwich*, *Worcester*, *Burford*, *Strafford*, *Louisa*. Orders had been given for a general attack; but the wind coming to the eastward, the admiral

was obliged to confine his attack to the Iron Fort, close to which the Squadron was piloted by captain Rentone. When the Hampton-Court came within about a cable's length, of the fort, she was suddenly becalmed by the high land to windward, and, before she could bring her guns to bear, was exposed to a smart fire from the enemy. But as soon as she was in a situation to return the salute, after having dropped her anchor, she seemed, in a moment, a cloud of perpetual thunder. She appeared to the rest of the fleet to be all on fire. In the space of twenty-five minutes she is said to have fired 400 balls. The Norwich and the Worcester were not long before they came up, and fired upon the fort with vast alacrity. These were followed by the Burford, on board of which was the admiral, who perceiving that the Spaniards began to fly from several parts of the fort, made a signal for landing. Meanwhile he luffed up as near the fort as possible, and, by means of his small arms, drove the garrison from the lower battery. As the boats full of sailors and marines passed the admiral, he called to them to land immediately under the walls of the fort, though there was no breach made. The sailors were no sooner on shore than they scaled the wall, and, pulling up the soldiers after them, struck the Spanish colours in the lower battery, and hoisted an English ensign. This was no sooner perceived by the garrison in the upper part of the fort, than they hoisted a white flag, a signal for capitulation, and surrendered at discretion. The garrison of this fort consisted of 300 men, out of which, at the time of surrender, there remained only thirty-five privates and five officers.

The ships which failed in before the admiral, were now fallen to leeward; but the Burford being exposed to the Gloria-castle, it continued firing at her till night, without however doing her any other damage than wounding her fore-top-mast a little above the rigging. The admiral then pointed some of the lower deck guns at this castle, and sent several shot over it into the town, one of which went through the governor's house.

On the morning of the 22d the admiral called a council of war, and, it being thought not advisable to attack the Gloria-castle by day, orders were issued for warping the ships up the following night. This circumspection proved unnecessary. The Spaniards hoisted a white flag, and immediately sent a boat with a flag of truce, with terms on which they wished to capitulate: in answer to these the admiral returned other articles, and allowed them a few hours for deliberation. They accepted his terms, and the British troops took immediate possession of the Gloria and St. Jeronimo forts.

There were in the harbour of Porto-Bello two Spanish guard-coastas of twenty guns each, and an armed snow. The crews of these vessels, chusing to anticipate the British sailors, plundered the town in the night, and committed great outrages on the inhabitants. The English seamen and soldiers, on the contrary,

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behaved with great decency and humanity, after they became possessed of the town; and, as a reward for their moderation and gallantry, the admiral distributed among them 10,000 dollars, which were just arrived in order to pay the Spanish troops. The admiral, having taken on board his fleet all the brass cannon and ammunition found in the several forts, he proceeded to demolish the fortifications; which was completely effected in three weeks, at the expence of 122 barrels of Spanish gun-powder. On the 27th of November the *Diamond*, captain Knowles, and on the 29th the *Windfor*, captain Berkley, and the *Anglesea*, captain Reddish, arrived at Porto-Bello, in consequence of orders, left by the admiral at the Leeward islands, for these ships to follow him. On the 13th of December the admiral, with his squadron, sailed for Jamaica, and on the 28th, being then off Carthagena, he dispatched captain Rentone, in the *Spanish Snow*, with the news to England.

The taking of Porto-Bello, whilst it did honour to the British navy, reflected at the same time no inconsiderable degree of praise on the English ministry. There was an evident propriety in punishing the insolence of the Spaniards in the offending part. Porto-Bello was an asylum for the guarda-costas, two of which were found in the harbour, and carried off by the admiral. But this was not the only service he rendered to his country in the destruction of Porto-Bello. His success enabled him to extend his influence to Panama, where some of the factors and servants of the South-sea company were confined. He wrote to the president of that place in the language of a conqueror, and the factors and servants were immediately sent to Porto-Bello.

Captain Rentone, in the *Triumph* sloop, arrived in England on the 12th of March, 1740, with the news of this expedition. The whole nation became frantic with joy. Congratulatory addresses were presented by parliament, by the cities of London, Bristol, &c. The commons granted every demand of the crown. They voted 28,000 land forces, besides 6000 marines; they provided for a powerful navy, and several men of war were added to those already in commission.

There were at this time two considerable squadrons of English men of war in the Mediterranean; one at Gibraltar, commanded by Sir Chaloner Ogle, consisting of twelve sail, and the other on the Minorca station, commanded by rear-admiral Haddock. But these fleets were only employed in cruising on the coast of Spain and Italy, without any attempt to attack or annoy the enemy, except by now and then seizing a few unarmed trading vessels by ships of war.

We now return to admiral Vernon, the hero of this period. I have related above, that in the last month of the year 1739, he sailed with his squadron from Porto-Bello to Jamaica. He continued at Port Royal, in that island, till the 25th of February (1740) following, on which day he sailed for Carthagena, which

which he bombarded at intervals during three days, with no other effect than that of terrifying the inhabitants, and injuring some of their churches and convents. What was intended by this bombardment is not very evident. On the 10th of March the squadron weighed anchor, and sailed in line of battle westward along the coast. In passing by Boca Chica, they were saluted with a few shot from three small forts near the mouth of the harbour; but they fell short of the ships. The admiral, having ordered the Windsor and the Greenwich to cruise off Carthagena, proceeded with the rest of his fleet to Porto-Bello, in order to repair the damages sustained by the small craft in the late bombardment. This business being compleated, and the fleet watered in about eight days, he sailed on the 22d, and steering south-west along shore, entered the river Chegre, which is but a few leagues distant from Porto-Bello. At the mouth of this river there was a castle, or fort, called St. Lorenzo, under whose protection the guarda-costas used to ride secure. The only two of these Spanish pirates (for they were little better) which now remained on this coast, were at this time in the river. The admiral, in going in, had the misfortune to be retarded by an accident which happened to his fore-topfail-yard. He was on board the Strafford. This accident obliged him to make a signal for the Norwich to sail in before him, with the bomb-ketches, fire-ships, and tenders. The Norwich was then commanded by captain Herbert, and the bomb-ketches, &c. were conducted by captain Knowles, who came to an anchor at three in the afternoon, and began to bombard the fort that evening. The admiral's ship did not come to an anchor till ten o'clock at night. Far be it from me to insinuate that there was any want of personal courage in admiral Vernon. But I beg leave to advise all future admirals, to whom such an accident in the fore-topfail-yard may happen, immediately to hoist their flag on board the leading ship. This, however, does not appear to have been a service of much danger. The castle mounted only eleven brass cannon, and as many pattereroes. Nevertheless it sustained a furious bombardment, and a continued cannonade from three of the largest ships in the fleet, till the morning of the 24th, when the garrison surrendered, and the fort was immediately possessed by the British troops.

There were found in the custom-house, on the opposite side of the river, 4,300 bags of Peruvian bark, and other merchandize, which were shipped on board the fleet, together with the brass ordnance above-mentioned. The custom-house was then set on fire, the two guarda costas destroyed, and the fort entirely demolished; after which the admiral returned to Porto-Bello, where he arrived on the first of April.

Whilst Vernon was thus employed in the West-Indies, our fleets in Europe were unemployed. I mean to say, that they achieved nothing against the enemy; for as to employment, they had

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had enough of sailing and counter sailing, and of fighting too, with adverse winds. On the 23d of July a fleet of 21 ships of the line, commanded by Sir John Norris, with two other admirals, *viz.* Sir Chaloner Ogle, and Philip Cavendish, sailed from St. Helen's with a fair wind, the duke of Cumberland serving on board as a volunteer. But the wind shifting, they were obliged, after being three days at sea, to put back into Torbay. On the 4th of August they sailed again, with the wind at north-east, on the following day were within a few leagues of the Lizard; but on the 6th it blew so violently from the west, that they were obliged once more to return to Torbay. On the 22d they made a third attempt, and after five days obstinate contention with tempestuous contrary winds, were a third time obliged to return to the same place. What was the destination of this fleet remains a matter of doubt. Probably the Spanish Squadron, at this time at Ferrol, was the object. But, be the design whatsoever it might, it was now relinquished, and the admiral, with the duke of Cumberland, returned to London. Thus began, and thus ended the naval history of his royal highness, who probably concluded, from this inauspicious essay, that he had mistaken his element.

In this year the celebrated commodore Anson began his voyage to the South-Seas. He sailed from St. Helen's with five men of war on the 18th of September. About two months after, Sir Chaloner Ogle sailed for the West-Indies with twenty-one ships of the line, and a considerable body of land forces, commanded by lord Cathcart. This formidable fleet, which consisted of a hundred and seventy sail, had scarce taken its departure from the Land's-end, before it was scattered and dispersed by a violent tempest. The admiral nevertheless pursued his voyage, and came to an anchor in the neutral island of Dominica, in order to take in wood and water. In this island the expedition sustained an irreparable loss in the death of Lord Cathcart, a brave and experienced officer, who died of a dysentery. The command of the land forces now devolved upon general Wentworth, an officer of no experience, and of very moderate abilities. The admiral, in his voyage from Dominica to Jamaica, sailing near the island of Hispaniola, discovered four large ships of war. He made signal for an equal number of his Squadron to give them chase. The chase refused to bring to, and Lord Augustus Fitzroy, who commanded the English detachment, gave one of them a broad-side, and an engagement ensued, which continued during part of the night. In the morning they hoisted French colours, and consequently the firing ceased, there being at this time no declaration of war between the two nations. The commanders apologized to each other for the mistake, and parted, but with loss of men on both sides.

Sir

Sir Chaloner Ogle arrived off Jamaica on the 9th of January, 1741, where he joined admiral Vernon, who now commanded a fleet of thirty ships of the line, with a considerable number of frigates, bomb-ketches, fire ships, &c. The number of seamen was about 15,000, and that of the land forces at least 12,000, including four battalions raised in America, and 500 negroes from Jamaica. This very formidable armament, doubtless the most tremendous that ever appeared in those seas, was certainly equal to any attempt against the Spanish settlements. Their treasure might have been intercepted, and their colonies easily reduced. But the compleat humiliation of Spain was prevented by the concurrence of a variety of circumstances. The British ministry, for reasons best known to themselves, detained the fleet at Spithead much too long. For the credit of human nature, I am willing to believe, that the prime minister was not so exceedingly wicked as to endeavour, by retarding the fleet, to frustrate the expedition: and yet, to the disgrace of human nature, I fear there have been instances of ministers so diabolical as to be influenced by very ignoble passions, in opposition to the interest and dignity of the nation, with whose weal they were entrusted. It seems however a safe maxim in politics, not to commit the management of a war to a minister who shall have repeatedly declared his disapprobation of the measure. But be the designs of the minister what they might, it is scarce possible to suppose that the admiral was not hearty in the cause; and yet it was near the end of January before he sailed from Jamaica, though he certainly was not ignorant that the season was already too far advanced, in a climate where the rains, which begin about the end of April, render it impossible for troops to keep the field.

The admiral's orders were discretionary: he might therefore have made his attack on any of the Spanish settlements. The Havannah, which was certainly an object of the greatest importance, lay to leeward, and might easily have been reached in less than three days. Nevertheless, Mr. Vernon thought fit to beat the wind to Hispaniola, with an intention, as it was said, to observe the French fleet. On the 15th of February he learnt, that this fleet had sailed for Europe, having previously sent an advice boat to Carthagen, to inform the Spaniards of Vernon's being in those seas. The admiral called a council of war, and it was determined to land on the continent of New Spain. Accordingly, after spending some days in taking in wood and water at Hispaniola, the fleet sailed, and, on the 4th of March, came to an anchor in a bay called Playa Granda, to windward of Carthagen. This fleet consisted of one hundred and twenty-four sail, the sight of which must have struck such terror into the Spaniards, that nothing but want of resolution and dispatch could have prevented its success. There cannot be a truer maxim in the art of war, than, that hesitation in the assailant

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inspires the defendant with courage, which augments progressively in proportion to the delay. But the commanders of this fleet and army, as if determined to give the enemy time to recover from their surprize, remained inactive in the bay till the 9th. On that day the first division of the fleet, commanded by Sir Chaloner Ogle, followed by admiral Vernon with all the transports, moved forward towards the entrance of the harbour called Boca Chica, which was defended by several formidable batteries. The third division, commanded by Mr. Lestock, remained at anchor. The Norfolk, the Russel, and the Shrewsbury, anchored very near two forts called St. Jago and St. Philip, which being silenced in less than an hour, were immediately possessed by a detachment of British grenadiers.

On the 10th, the two regiments of Harrison and Wentworth, with six regiments of marines, landed on the island of Tierra Bomba, where, having pitched their tents, they began to erect a battery against the castle of Boca Chica. Five days more were employed in landing the artillery and necessary stores. But general Wentworth's want of knowledge in the art of war, soon discovered itself in the choice of his ground; for the tents were no sooner pitched than the soldiers found themselves exposed to the fire of a fascine battery from the opposite side of the harbour, on the island of Varu. To remedy this evil, the admiral immediately detached a considerable number of sailors under the command of captain Boscawen, who landed about a mile to leeward of the battery, which mounted fifteen twenty-four pounders, under a raised battery of five guns. These intrepid sons of Neptune soon gained possession of both batteries, and, having spiked the cannon, returned to their ships.

On the 22d, general Wentworth opened a battery of twenty twenty-four pounders against the castle of Boca Chica, and the next day commodore Lestock with five ships was ordered to attack it by sea. He renewed his attack on the 24th, and on that day fell Lord Aubrey Beauclerc, captain of the Prince Frederic, a very brave and experienced officer. Mean while the Spaniards had remounted their fascine battery, which was a second time destroyed by a detachment of sailors. A small breach being now made on the land-side of Boca-Chica castle, the general acquainted the admiral with his resolution to storm it, who, in order to divert the attention of the enemy, manned his boats under the command of captain Knowles. The sailors landed near the castle, and there waited for the general assault. The grenadiers, on the other side, marched up in good order; but they no sooner began to mount the breach, than the garrison fled without firing a single musket. The garrison of another fort, called St. Joseph, followed their example, and our sailors took immediate possession of it. Emboldened by this success, and perceiving the enemy preparing to sink their ships, they boarded the Spanish admiral's ship, the Galicia, on board of which

which they found the captain and sixty men. There were in the harbour, when the attack of Boca Chica began, six Spanish men of war, two of which were now sunk, and one burnt by the Spaniards themselves. The sailors then proceeded to cut the boom, and thus opened a free passage for our ships into the lake. Next morning the fleet entered without molestation, but the wind blowing fresh and contrary, it was several days before they reached the narrow entrance into the harbour near the town. This entrance was defended by a considerable fortress, called Castillo Grande, mounting fifty-nine guns, which the enemy abandoned as soon as the ships approached.

Thus far all went well. The castles, forts, and batteries, which commanded the lake, were now in possession of the English. The entrance into this lake was doubtless an enterprize of no small danger and difficulty, the channel being commanded by two hundred cannon, those from the enemy's ships included. So far the admiral seems to have done every thing necessary on his part, by removing all the obstacles in the way to conquest; and he was so confident of succeeding, that, on the *first of April*, he sent an express to the duke of Newcastle, with an account of his progress; on the receipt of which his grace, with the rest of the people of England, became frantic with joy and exultation. But with pain I proceed to record, that here our success ended. The next express brought a tale as humble as the former was triumphant. On this luckless *first of April*, the sailors having opened a channel through the sunken wrecks of the enemy, the bomb-ketches, covered by two frigates, entered the harbour, and were, on the succeeding day, followed by the three fire ships, which were so posted as to cover the intended landing of the troops. The Weymouth, captain Knowles, got into the harbour on the third, and on the fifth, early in the morning, the troops began to land at a place called la Quinta, from whence general Wentworth, at the head of 1500 men, pushed forward, through a narrow defile, to an open ground about a mile from fort St. Lazar, which commanded the town of Carthagená. He met with some interruption on his march from a body of six or seven hundred Spaniards, and lost a few of his men; but the enemy soon retired, and, in the evening of the sixth, the remainder of the English army were disembarked, and, having joined their general, the whole encamped on the plain above-mentioned.

Fort St. Lazar was well fortified, and defended by a numerous garrison. The general was of opinion, that any attempt to take it without regular approaches would be attended with much danger and difficulty. The admiral, on the contrary, was positive that it was practicable by escalade. From this time the demon of discord presided in their councils, and they began to entertain a sovereign contempt for each other's opinions. The general upbraided the admiral for not cannonading the town,

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and the latter reproached the former for not storming the fort. It was at length resolved in a council of war to attack St. Lazar by storm, the season being now too far advanced to allow time for erecting a battery of cannon in order to open a breach. In consequence of this resolution, on the ninth, before break of day, brigadier-general Guise, with 1200 men, marched to the attack. Unfortunately his guides were slain before he reached the walls. His scaling-ladders, being applied at random, proved too short. The officers were disconcerted for want of orders. A general confusion ensued, and the troops were obliged to retire with the loss of 600 men killed or wounded. By this time the rains began to fall very heavily, and disease became so universal in the camp, that it was determined in a general council of war to relinquish every idea of a farther attempt. The remnant of the army retired to their ships, and were re-embarked on the 16th. The admiral, in order to clear himself from any imputation of neglect, and to demonstrate the impracticability of taking the place with ships after the successful attack on St. Lazar, having previously converted the Spanish admiral's ship, into a floating battery, warped her into the harbour as near the town as possible. In this station she fired upon the town for some hours; but it appearing that she was at too great a distance to injure the walls, she was suffered to drive, and soon struck upon the sand. This experiment, how plausible soever it might seem, was by no means allowed to be satisfactory. An historian, who was present, affirms, that in another part of the harbour there was space and water sufficient for four or five men of war to lye within pistol-shot of the walls of Carthagena. If this be true, the admiral was certainly inexcusable for not bringing his ships to bear upon the town during the attack upon St. Lazar.

The shattered remnant of this ill-fated army having returned to their ships, diseases, peculiar to the climate, raged with inconceivable malignity, and many brave men who had escaped the enemy died in their hammocks. The jarring chieftains were unanimous as to the expediency of retiring from this scene of destruction and disgrace. A few days were spent in destroying the forts already taken, and then the fleet sailed for Jamaica.

This fleet arrived at Jamaica on the 19th of May. The climate of this island did not contribute much towards the recovery of the sick, many of whom died after their arrival: among the rest Lord Augustus Fitzroy, captain of the Orford. Vernon, on his arrival at Jamaica, having received orders from England to retain in the West-Indies no more ships than were necessary, sent home several men of war under the command of commodore Lestock. The remainder of his fleet were deemed quite sufficient; there being, at this time, but one Spanish squadron at the Havannah, and a small French fleet at Hispaniola. It is very certain that the admiral was so exceedingly dissatisfied with

with his colleague Wentworth, that he ardently wished to return to England; but the king had conceived so high an opinion of his abilities, and the letters which the admiral received from the duke of Newcastle were so extremely flattering, that he determined to continue in his station. On the 26th of May, he called a general council of war, the members of which were himself, Sir Chaloner Ogle, general Wentworth, general Guise, and governor Trelawny. The four first of these gentlemen were unanimous in opinion, that St. Jago on the island of Cuba was the proper object of attack. Governor Trelawny, on the contrary, thought Cuba of little importance, and strenuously advised an expedition against Panama on the isthmus of Darien. The governor, however, acquiesced, and raised a corps of a thousand negroes, which were put on board the fleet with all possible expedition.

This armament, which sailed from Jamaica on the first of July, consisted of eight ships of the line, one of 50 guns, 12 frigates, &c. and about 40 transports, on board of which, including blacks, were 3400 land forces. The fleet came to an anchor, on the 18th, in Walthenham harbour, on the south side of the isle of Cuba. The admiral, fully determining to annex for ever this fine island to the dominions of his Britannic majesty, began by changing the name of *Walthenham* into that of *Cumberland* harbour, in compliment to his royal highness the duke. This harbour was a very capacious and secure asylum against the hurricanes so frequent in the West-Indies at this season of the year: it was therefore a desirable possession, particularly as it was acquired without molestation. The island of Cuba is not only the largest of the Antilles, but it is also said to be the most fruitful and healthy of any in the West-Indies.

There were, at this time, twelve Spanish ships of the line at the Havannah, a populous city on the west side of the island, where the governor resides, and where there were strong fortifications, and a numerous garrison. For these reasons it was thought advisable to begin with St. Jago, a less considerable city on the eastern coast. Walthenham harbour lies about eleven leagues south-west from St. Jago, and distant by land about sixty miles, on which side the city is almost entirely defenceless. Its fortifications to the sea were not formidable, but the entrance into the harbour is so extremely narrow, and the navigation so dangerous, that nature has sufficiently secured it from a naval attack. On these considerations it was resolved, in a general council of war, held on board the admiral, on the 20th of July, to land the troops immediately, and take the city of St. Jago by surprise.

The troops were accordingly disembarked, and meeting with no opposition, marched some miles up the country, and encamped on the banks of a navigable river. From this encampment

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general Wentworth detached several reconnoitring parties, which falling in with small bodies of the enemy, repulsed them with very little loss on either side. One of these reconnoitring parties, consisting of 150 Americans and negroes, commanded by major Dunster, penetrated as far as the village of Elleguava, where he continued some time; but not being supported by the main army, he returned to the camp. Mean while admiral Vernon dispatched part of his fleet to block up the port of St. Jagó, and to watch the motions of the Spanish admiral at the Havannah, expecting with the utmost impatience the progress of the army. But, on the 5th of October, he had the mortification to receive a letter from general Wentworth, expressing his doubts of being able either to advance farther, or even to subsist his army much longer in the part which they then possessed. On the 9th the general called a council of war, the members of which were unanimously of opinion, that it was impossible to march farther into the country, without exposing the troops to certain ruin. The army nevertheless continued in its encampment till the 7th of November, when another council of war, consisting of the land forces only, resolved, that the troops ought to be re-embarked with all possible expedition; and they were accordingly put on board their transports on the 20th, without the least molestation from the enemy.

On the 25th it was resolved in a general council of war, that the general, with the troops under his command, should return to Jamaica, and that the fleet should continue to cruize off Hispaniola in search of the expected reinforcement from England. The transports sailed on the 28th, and the admiral on the 6th of December, with the remaining squadron, consisting of eight ships of the line, a fire ship, an hospital ship, and two tenders. But before we take an entire leave of Cuba, it is necessary, in justice to the navy, to inform the reader, that, whilst the troops were on shore, the fleet was not quite inactive. The Worcester took a Spanish man of war of 24 guns; the Defiance took a register ship laden with provisions for Carthagena, and the Shoreham took another vessel with 70,000 pieces of eight on board.

Having closed the naval transactions of the year 1741, in the West-Indies, I must recal the reader's attention to the progress of Mr. Anson, who, I before mentioned, had sailed from St. Helen's on the 18th of September, 1740, with a squadron of five men of war, a small sloop, and two victuallers. This expedition was originally planned prior to the declaration of war with Spain, and was rationally founded on a design of seizing the wealth of that kingdom at its source, and thereby depriving the enemy of the means of executing their hostile intentions. On the 10th of January Mr. Anson received his commission as commodore. The king's instructions were dated the 31st of the same month, which, nevertheless, Mr. Anson did not receive before the 28th of June following. He then went

down to Portsmouth, where his squadron lay, in full expectation of sailing with the first fair wind; for though he knew that he was at least 300 men short of his complement, he had been assured that the deficiency would be supplied from Sir John Norris's fleet then at Spithead. But Sir John did not chuse to part with any of his sailors. This disappointment was another cause of delay, and all that Mr. Anson could at last obtain was 170 men, ninety-eight of which were marines, and thirty-two from the hospitals. On the 18th of September he set sail, and in four days got clear of the channel.

Mr. Anson steered for the island of Madeira; but, as if all nature as well as art had conspired to retard his progress, he was forty days on a passage which is frequently made in ten. However, at last, after this tedious contention with adverse winds, he arrived at Madeira on the 25th of October. He immediately visited the governor, who informed him, that for several days past there had appeared to the westward of the island seven or eight men of war, which he supposed to be Spanish. Mr. Anson dispatched a sloop to reconnoitre this squadron, and the sloop returned without any intelligence. This was in truth a Spanish squadron of seven ships of the line and a Patache, which were sent for the sole purpose of counteracting Mr. Anson's operations in the South Seas. They had on board a regiment of foot, intended to strengthen some of their garrisons, and two of their ships were destined for the West-Indies. Their commodore was Don Joseph Pizarro. Of the five ships that sailed for the South Seas, but one returned to Europe, the rest having either foundered at sea, or were wrecked or broken up in the course of the voyage.

On the 3d of November Mr. Anson left Madeira, and crossed the line on the 28th. He arrived at the island of St. Catherine, on the coast of Brazil, on the 21st of December, where he repaired such of his ships as had suffered in the voyage, took in wood and water, regaled his people with fresh provisions, and recovered some of his sick. But he neither found the climate so healthy, nor the Portuguese so hospitable, as represented by former voyagers. The governor of the island perfidiously dispatched a vessel to the Spanish admiral, then at Buenos Ayres, with an account of Mr. Anson's strength and condition, during his continuance in this neutral port.

The squadron sailed from St. Catherine's on the 18th of January, steering southward along the coast of America, towards Cape Horn. In so hazardous a voyage, at this season of the year, it was more than probable that the fleet would be separated, the commodore therefore appointed three several places of rendezvous: the first at St. Julian, on the coast of Patagonia, the second at the island of Socoro in the South Seas, and the third at Juan Fernandez. Soon after their departure from St. Catherine's

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Catherine's the Pearl was separated, and did not rejoin the squadron till near a month after. On her return, lieutenant Salt informed Mr. Anson, that captain Kidd died on the 31st of January; that he had fallen in with the Spanish fleet above mentioned, and that mistaking one of their ships for the Centurion, he very narrowly escaped being taken. The English squadron anchored in the harbour of St. Julian on the 18th of February, principally with a design to repair the Tryal sloop, which had lost her main-mast in a squall. This business being finished, they sailed again on the 27th, and passed the Streights Le Maire on the 7th of March.

At this time their ships were in good condition, and their crews in tolerable health and spirits. They flattered themselves that as they were now entering into the Pacific Ocean, their dangers and difficulties would gradually vanish, and that Spanish treasures would soon reward their labour. But delusive were these expectations. They did not even clear the Streights without great danger, and they no sooner quitted the land than they found themselves exposed to all the horrors of impetuous winds, and waves turbulent and mountainous beyond all conception. They now began emphatically to execrate the causes of their late departure from Europe. This formidable squadron soon separated never more to unite! After struggling with infinite variety of distress during two long months, the Centurion, Mr. Anson's ship, on the last day of April, found herself to the northward of the Streights of Magellan, and therefore concluded that she had secured her passage round Cape Horn. On the 8th of May she arrived off Socoro, the first rendezvous in the Pacific Ocean. She cruized there, in extreme bad weather, above a fortnight, in hopes of rejoining some of the squadron; but being disappointed in this expectation, stood for the island of Juan Fernandez, where she arrived on the 9th of June; but in so feeble a condition, that at this time not above twenty hands, officers included, were left capable of assisting in working the ship. The scurvy had made such terrible havock among the crew, that out of 450, their complement when they passed Streight Le Maire, scarce half that number were now living, and most of these were sick in their hammocks. The Tryal sloop reached the island about the same time, in the same distressful situation, and they were joined by the Gloucester on the 23d of July, which ship had lost three fourths of her crew, and would certainly never have been able to reach the island, but for the assistance sent her by the commodore after she was in sight. The Anna Pink, their victualler, came in about the middle of August, and this was the last ship of the squadron they ever saw.

The missing ships were the Severn, the Pearl, and the Wager store-ship. The two first parted company off Cape Noir, and put back to the Brazils. The latter pursued her voyage towards

the island of Socoro, the first rendezvous in the Pacific Ocean. She made the land on the western coast of South America, on the 14th of May, in latitude 47, and the next morning struck upon a sunken rock, and soon after bulged. Most of the crew were landed on this desolate island, where they remained five months, and then about eighty of the sailors, in a schooner built by lengthening the long-boat, sailed back for the Brazils, leaving captain Cheap and nineteen other persons on shore. These were by various accidents at last reduced to four, who were landed by an Indian on the coast of Chiloe, thence conveyed to St. Jago, where they continued a year, and three of them were finally sent to Europe on board a French ship, viz. captain Cheap, Mr. Byron, and Mr. Hamilton.

We now return to Mr. Anson's squadron at Juan Fernandez, consisting of the Centurion, the Gloucester, the Tryal sloop, and the Anna Pink. The last of these being found totally unfit for service, was broken up. By the beginning of September the crews were pretty well recovered, though the whole number was, by this time, reduced to 335, boys included.

On the 19th of September, Mr. Anson with his small squadron sailed from the island of Juan Fernandez, with a design to cruize near the continent of Spanish America. On this cruize he took three trading vessels of no great value; but from the passengers on board he had received such intelligence as determined him to surprize the town of Païta, in latitude 50° 12' south. It consisted of about 200 houses, and was defended by a small fort mounting eight guns. Fearful of alarming the inhabitants by the approach of his ships, he resolved to make the attempt by means of his boats only. Whilst the squadron was yet at too great a distance to be perceived by the enemy, about ten at night he detached fifty-eight men, commanded by lieutenant Brett, and conducted by two Spanish pilots. They landed without opposition, and soon took entire possession of the place. The governor, with most of the inhabitants, having had some previous notice from the ships in the harbour, fled into the country at their approach, and continued parading on the hills. The English remained three days on shore; during which time they sent all the treasure they could find, on board their ships. They then set fire to the town and re-embarked, having lost only two men in the enterprize. The booty they carried off amounted to about 30,000*l*. The loss sustained by the Spaniards was estimated at a million and a half of dollars.

Whilst Mr. Anson was thus engaged, the Gloucester, which had been sent on a cruize, took two Spanish prizes with specie on board amounting to 19,000*l*. sterling. She joined the squadron two days after their departure from Païta, and they stood to the northward with a design to water at the island of Quibo, near the bay of Panama. At this island they arrived on the 4th of December. The commodore had indeed entertained some hopes

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hopes of being reinforced from admiral Vernon's Squadron across the isthmus of Darien; but he learnt, from the papers found on board one of his prizes, that the attack upon Carthagera had failed. These hopes therefore immediately vanished, and he now determined to steer for the coast of Mexico, in expectation of falling in with the galleon which he supposed to be on her passage from Manilla to Acapulco. The Squadron sailed from Quibo on the 12th of December, and did not make the coast of Mexico till the 29th of January. But as this brings us to the transactions of the year 1742, we must now return to Europe, in order to take a view of the British navy nearer home to the end of the year 1741.

Whilst Vernon and Anson were thus employed in America, the admirals Sir John Norris and Haddock commanded two formidable fleets in Europe. The first of these commanders sailed from Spithead on the 27th of July with sixteen ships of the line, and, steering for the bay of Biscay, began to cruize upon the coast of Spain. With this formidable fleet he might with the utmost facility have injured the enemy most essentially, by ravaging their coast and destroying their maritime towns, which were almost totally defenceless. Not only the British nation in general, but the Spaniards themselves, and every person on board, except the admiral, were confident that so powerful a fleet had some capital object in view. But, to the astonishment of all the world, except those who were admitted behind the curtain, in less than a month, Sir John Norris returned to Spithead with half his fleet, without having executed, or even attempted, any thing worth relating. Part of the Squadron continued cruizing on the Spanish coast, and the Nassau and Lennox were sent to join admiral Haddock, who, with thirteen men of war, spent the whole summer cruizing in the Mediterranean, without achieving any thing sufficient to furnish a tolerable Gazette. The causes assigned for his being stationed in that sea were, to prevent the junction of the Spanish fleet at Cadiz with that of France at Toulon, and to intercept the troops which were intended to be transported from Barcelona to Italy in order to act against the queen of Hungary. But unfortunately neither of these purposes were answered.

On the 12th of October Sir John Norris sailed again for the coast of Spain with a fleet of ten men of war. The inhabitants of the towns along the shore were at first a little alarmed at his re-appearance; but finding him now no less harmless than before, they beheld the English fleet as an agreeable spectacle, and were at length fully persuaded that he was sent to parade along their coast merely for their amusement.

Sir Robert Walpole, though extremely unpopular, had hitherto stood secure under the shelter of the throne. But the people of England were now so dissatisfied with this unsuccessful war with Spain, and particularly with his total neglect of

the queen of Hungary in her distress, that, at the general election of a new parliament, a considerable majority of the independent voters, throughout the kingdom opposed the court; many of Sir Robert's members were thrown out, and when the parliament met, the complexion of the house of commons was such, that a change of ministry became unavoidable. Sir Robert Walpole was created earl of Orford; he resigned all his employments, and found an asylum in the house of lords. The leading patriots of both houses were either taken into the new administration, or silenced by titles, so that all inquiry into the conduct of the late minister fell to the ground. Mr. Sandys was appointed chancellor of the exchequer, the duke of Newcastle and lord Carteret secretaries of state, and Mr. Pultney was created earl of Bath.

These incidental matters being premised, we now return to the proper object of our history. Forty thousand seamen were voted for the service of the current year. The fleet in the Mediterranean, under admiral Haddock, consisted of twenty-nine men of war. He resigned to Lestock on account of his declining health; but the new ministry gave the command to admiral Mathews, who sailed from Spithead on the 16th of April, with the *Namur*, *Caroline*, *Russel*, and *Norfolk*. This admiral was also invested with the character of minister plenipotentiary to the king of Sardinia and the states of Italy. As soon as he had assumed the command, being informed that five Spanish gallies lay at anchor in the bay of St. Tropez, he ordered captain Norris to attack and destroy them, which service was immediately and effectually performed. The united fleet of France and Spain was at this time in the harbour of Toulon: it consisted of thirty-six ships of the line. The British fleet, being joined by rear-admiral Rowley, was somewhat superior in number of ships. Mr. Mathews's instructions were to block up the Toulon fleet, and by cruising on the coast to prevent any supplies being sent to the army in Provence. For this purpose, on the 2d of June, he stationed his two rear-admirals, Lestock and Rowley, with twenty-four ships, off the islands of Hieres, with orders to cruise for six weeks. Whilst Mathews continued at Villa Franca, a French man of war, passing by that port, in sight of the fleet, neglected to pay a proper compliment to the British flag. The admiral fired a gun as a signal for her to bring to. The Frenchman continued obstinate. Upon which Mr. Mathews ordered one of his ships to pursue and sink him; which was immediately executed by the first broad-side. Mean while a part of the British fleet, cruising on the coast of Catalonia, bombarded the towns of Mataro and Palamos, in both which they destroyed many houses and many of their inhabitants. What had these wretched inhabitants done to offend the king of England? But such are the laws of war. If Christian princes believed in the religion they profess, surely they would not wantonly

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only involve their innocent subjects in such calamities. But if they must needs quarrel and fight, it were devoutly to be wished, that, by some general law of nations, the inoffensive part of their subjects might be secured from insult and devastation.

In the beginning of August, admiral Mathews detached commodore Martin with a squadron to the bay of Naples, with orders to compel his Sicilian majesty to recall his troops from the Spanish army in Italy. The Neapolitans were thrown into the utmost consternation at the appearance of the English fleet; expecting every moment a more dreadful thunder than that of Vesuvius. The king, however, to save his capital, signed a paper delivered to him by Mr. Martin, by which he engaged immediately to recall his troops, and to observe a strict neutrality during the war. Having performed this service, the commodore rejoined the admiral in the road of Hieres, which was now the general rendezvous of the British fleet. Towards the end of August Mr. Mathews, being informed that the Spaniards had collected a considerable magazine at St. Remo, in the Genoese territories, caused a party of soldiers to be landed near that town in order to destroy it; and they executed their commission without any danger or difficulty. He likewise sent two ships with orders to take or destroy a Spanish man of war, of the line, which lay at anchor at Ajaccio in the island of Corsica; but the Spaniard saved them the trouble, by first setting his men on shore and then blowing up the ship.

Let us now take a temporary leave of Europe, in order to review the British fleet and army in the West Indies. We are to recollect, that, after the retreat from Carthage, the troops under general Wentworth returned to Jamaica, and admiral Vernon with his squadron continued cruising off Hispaniola in expectation of a reinforcement from England. But not meeting with the convoy, he returned to Jamaica on the 5th of January, where on the 15th, arrived also the Greenwich, St. Albans, and the Fox, with the expected reinforcements from England of 2000 marines. The principal officers, both of the army and navy, ruminating, with regret, on their two last unsuccessful expeditions, were unanimously of opinion, that they could not, with any degree of credit return to England without some farther attempt against the enemy. General councils of war were frequently held, and it was at last determined to land at Porto-Bello, march across the isthmus of Darien, and take the rich town of Panama. But, though this resolution was taken early in January, it was upwards of two months before the troops and transports were ready for embarkation. However, they embarked at last, and the whole fleet came to an anchor in the harbour of Porto-Bello in the evening of the 28th of March. This fleet consisted of eight sail of the line, three fire-ships, and two hospital ships, with forty transports, on board of which were

3000 land forces, and 500 negroes raised by governor Trelawney, who himself attended the expedition. As soon as the fleet came to an anchor, the governor of Porto Bello marched directly to Panama with three companies of Spaniards and two companies of Mulattoes. There being nothing to oppose the landing of the troops, the admiral imagined that they would proceed without delay; but, to his great surprize, a council of the land officers resolved that the scheme was impracticable, and that it was therefore necessary to return to Jamaica. The reasons assigned for this resolution were, the season being too far advanced, their numbers being diminished by sickness and the separation of some of the transports, and their having received intelligence that the garrison of Panama had been lately reinforced. These reasons did not appear quite satisfactory to Mr. Vernon; nevertheless, as, in their general councils of war, there was a majority of land officers, his opinion was of no importance. That their number was somewhat reduced is most certain; but there remained yet 2000 effective men; an army more than sufficient under a general of spirit and abilities, to have secured the treasure of Panama. Nothing can be more contemptible than this prudent timidity, when we consider that the attempt might have been made without the least risk, as there was no army in the whole country capable of meeting them in the field, and consequently, in case of a repulse, they might have returned without the least danger of being harrassed in their retreat. Possibly these land officers would have had more resolution in a colder climate. The animal mercury in the human barometer seems to fall in proportion to its approximation to the sun. Be this as it may, the whole fleet sailed from Porto-Bello in the beginning of April, and arrived at Jamaica on the 15th of May. On the 23d of September the Gibraltar man of war arrived at Port Royal in that island, with a letter from the duke of Newcastle, ordering vice-admiral Vernon and general Wentworth to return immediately to England, and they returned accordingly.

Thus ended this vast enterprize against the Spanish settlements in America! in which enormous sums were expended, and ten thousand lives sacrificed, without the least benefit to the nation, or glory to the commanders. To inquire into the cause, or causes, of such a series of disappointments cannot, at this distance of time, be attributed to partiality or malevolence; and to neglect such inquiry were to frustrate the only rational design of history. The death of Lord Cathcart was the first misfortune, and probably the foundation of all that followed. Though this could neither be foreseen nor prevented, yet it may teach future ministers of state, that it is not sufficient to attend solely to the abilities of the commander in chief; the second, and even the third in command, should also be men equal to the command of an army. That general Wentworth wanted that determined

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terminated intrepid alacrity so necessary in the execution of such enterprizes is self-evident. As to Vernon, he certainly did not want resolution; but it is pretty certain that his contempt for Wentworth prevented him from acting so cordially and vigorously as he ought to have done. He wished to have had the sole direction of every operation, and I must do him the justice to believe, that, if that had been the case, he would generally have succeeded.

I must now recal the reader's attention to Mr. Anson, whom we left in the Pacific Ocean, cruising on the coast of Mexico, in hourly expectation of falling in with the annual Spanish galleon in her passage from Manilla and Acapulco. In these hopes he was disappointed; for he was informed by three negroes whom he surprized in a canoe, off the harbour of Acapulco, that the galleon arrived on the 9th of January, about twenty days before the squadron fell in with the coast. But he had the satisfaction to learn also, that her return was fixed for the 3d of March. This information was joyfully received, as the specie for which she had sold her cargo would render her a much more valuable prize than she would have been before her arrival at Acapulco.

All hands were now employed in preparing for the reception of the galleon, not doubting but this immense reward of their former sufferings would soon be in their possession; for though the crews of five ships amounted in all to no more than 330, boys included, and the hands on board the galleon were generally almost double the number; yet there was not a person on board the squadron who had any other doubt, or fear, than that of her not sailing at the time appointed. Mr. Anson's fleet consisted of the Centurion, the Gloucester, the Carmelo, the Carmin, the Tryal's prize, and two cutters. With these five ships he formed a chain, commanding an extent of about twenty leagues, at such a distance from the harbour of Acapulco as not to be seen from the shore, and sent the two cutters every night nearer to the shore, with orders to stand off again at the approach of day. In this disposition they expected the appointed day with the utmost impatience. The important day dawned at last, and every eye in the fleet gazed perpetually towards the land. The sun sunk beneath the horizon, and no ship appeared. Another day passed; and then a third, in fruitless expectation. In short, after waiting to no purpose till the 23d, the commodore rationally concluded, that the galleon was detained till the year following; and this was really the case, in consequence of his barge having been seen by the enemy when she was sent to discover the harbour of Acapulco.

Having now remained on this station as long as his stores of wood and water would allow, Mr. Anson thought it expedient to prepare for his voyage to China, and it being determined to recruit his stores at Chequetan, about 30 leagues west of Acapulco,

pusco, he steered directly for that harbour, where he arrived on the 7th of April. The first business here, after a vain attempt to open an intercourse with the natives, was to unload and destroy the Carmelo, the Carmin, and the Tryal's prize, in order to strengthen the crews of the men of war, so as to enable them to undertake, with any degree of safety, the voyage across the Pacific Ocean. The business of watering, &c. being now finished, the Centurion and the Gloucester weighed anchor on the 28th of April, and proceeded on their voyage to China. They lost sight of the American mountains on the 8th of May. After contending with repeated gales of contrary winds, the Gloucester, having lost most of her masts, became so leaky that, on the 15th of August, it was found impossible to keep her any longer above water. The crew was therefore removed to the Centurion, and the Gloucester was set on fire. On the 28th the Centurion arrived at Tinian, one of the Ladrone islands, in latitude 15° north, and 115° west of Acapulco. At this time, so many of their people had perished, or were sick of the scurvy, that not quite a hundred men remained fit for duty. The number of the sick amounted to 128, most of which recovered soon after landing on this fertile, healthy, and beautiful island. Here they remained till the 21st of October, on which day, the crew being now in good health, the Centurion stood out to sea, steering directly for the island of Macao, a Portuguese settlement near the mouth of the river Canton in China. She made the land on the 5th of November, and came to an anchor, on the 12th, in the road near the city of Macao.

After many provoking delays and difficulties, Mr. Anson at last obtained permission from the Chinese government to repair his ship and replenish his store of provisions. This business being at length effected to his satisfaction, he put to sea on the 19th of April, 1743, and, though he had given out that he was bound for Batavia, he had resolved once more to try to intercept the Acapulco ship in her passage to Manilla. With this intention he returned to the Philippine islands, and cruized off Cape Espiritu Santo on the island of Samuel, that being the first land generally made by the galleons. He continued cruizing on this station till the 20th of June, when, early in the morning, to the inexpressible joy of the whole crew, they discovered the long-expected galleon. The engagement soon began, and continued about two hours; after which the Spaniard struck, having sixty-seven killed and eighty-four wounded. The Centurion had only two killed and seventeen wounded, who all recovered except one man. The treasure on board this galleon consisted of 1,313,843 pieces of eight, and 35,682 ounces of virgin silver, besides some cochineal and other merchandise, amounting in the whole to 313,000l. sterling.

The commodore being now in possession of the reward of his toil, dangers, perseverance and resolution, with a crew on board whose

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whose felicity cannot be easily imagined, returned to the river of Canton, where he came to anchor on the 14th of July. His sole intention being to lay in the stores necessary for his voyage to England, he applied immediately to the Chinese government for leave to victual his ship; but such is the suspicious folly and absurd policy of that people, that after five months delay he was at last obliged to insist on an audience of the viceroy of Canton, before he could be supplied. Immediately after this audience his stores were sent on board, and on the 7th of December the Centurion and her prize unmoored and fell down the river. On the 12th they anchored before the town of Macao, where Mr. Anson sold the Spanish galleon for 6000 dollars, and on the 15th proceeded on his voyage. He arrived at the Cape of Good Hope on the 11th of March, and sailing from thence on the 3d of April, came to an anchor at Spithead on the 15th of June, 1744.

Having thus brought the fortunate Centurion safe to England, let us inquire into the exploits of our fleet in the West-Indies. When admiral Vernon returned home, the command of the fleet devolved on Sir Chaloner Ogle, who in the month of February detached Captain Knowles with eight men of war, having 400 land forces on board, with orders to make an attack on the town of La Guira on the coast of Caraccas. Mr. Knowles accordingly proceeded; he began his attack on the 18th about noon, and continued firing upon the town till night, without any other effect than that of destroying some houses and churches. His ships were so shattered that he was obliged to desist, and to sail for Curacoa in order to refit. It was said that the Spaniards lost 700 men on this occasion; it is however certain that the English squadron had near a hundred men killed, and three times that number wounded.

Mr. Knowles having miscarried in this attack, was unwilling to return without a farther attempt to revive the faded laurels of his country. His ships being repaired, he resolved to make an attack upon Porto Cavallo. The Spaniards were apprized of his design, and had taken effectual measures for their defence. The garrison, consisting of sailors, Indians, Mulattoes and Blacks, amounted to about 2000 men; and the entrance into the harbour was secured by sunken vessels, and commanded by several fascine batteries. The squadron sailed from Curacoa on the 20th of March, but did not arrive off Porto Cavallo before the 15th of April. It was resolved to send in two men of war to cannonade the batteries, and the Lively and Eltham being immediately ordered upon this service, silenced the guns of the enemy before night. As soon as it was dark, the firing on both sides having ceased, Major Lucas with 1200 men, sailors and soldiers, landed on the beach, and, marching along shore, took possession of one of the fascine batteries. The Spaniards being now alarmed, two guns were fired from another battery upon the assailants, which

which throwing them into confusion, they began to fire upon each other, and with great precipitation retired to their ships. The British spirit being not yet quite subdued by this miscarriage, it was resolved in a council of war to make a general attack upon the castle and batteries at the same time : accordingly, on the 24th this general attack was begun by seven men of war ; the Assistance, Burford, Suffolk and Norwich battered the castle ; and the Scarborough, Lively and Eltham fired upon the fascine batteries. The cannonading continued with great fury till nine at night, at which time the commodore made a signal to cut. It was indeed high time, for he had now lost 200 men, and most of his ships had sustained considerable damage. His disgrace being now complete, commodore Knowles made the best of his way to Jamaica, where he remained inactive during the remainder of the year.

Such were the achievements of the British navy in the West-Indies during the year 1743. We were indeed peculiarly unsuccessful in that part of the world, every attempt against the enemy, since the taking of Porto-Bello, having miscarried. Our commanders probably were not deficient in point of personal courage ; but personal courage without abilities is frequently productive of disappointment and disgrace. In the Mediterranean the fleet under the command of admiral Mathews continued still on its station at Hieres, without performing any signal service, except preventing the French and Spanish fleets from sailing out of the harbour of Toulon.

The Spaniards in the course of this year took 262 British prizes, valued at 567,000*l.* sterling ; and we took from them 146 ships, worth about 754,000*l.* including the Acapulco ship taken by Mr. Anson.

The naval promotions in this year were these : Sir John Norris made admiral of the red ; John Balchen, Esq; admiral of the white ; Thomas Mathews, Esq; vice-admiral of the red ; Nicholas Haddock, Esq; vice admiral of the white ; Sir Chaloner Ogle, vice-admiral of the blue ; James Steuart, Esq; rear-admiral of the red ; Richard Lestock, Esq; rear-admiral of the white ; Sir Charles Hardy, rear-admiral of the blue.

Though, in the preceding year, the French army was defeated by the king of Great-Britain in person ; though the French and Spanish fleets were united in the Mediterranean, yet between England and France there was no war. However, in the beginning of the year 1744, both nations threw off the mask. The dissensions in the British parliament at this time ran high, and the people in general were discontented. The Popish emissaries and Jacobites, in different parts of the kingdom, persuaded the French ministry, that a revolution in favour of the Pretender might easily be effected, and cardinal Tencin gave ear to their project, fully persuaded that the attempt would, at least, cause a considerable diversion from the continent. Charles, the second

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son of the chevalier de St. George, was accordingly invited to Paris, where he arrived some time in the month of January. In the same month a fleet of twenty French men of war sailed up the English channel, and 7000 men were actually embarked at Dunkirk with a design to invade England. These proceedings being immediately known in this kingdom, Sir John Norris was ordered to take the command of the fleet at Spithead, which being joined by several ships from Chatham, became superior to that of France. The fleets of the two nations came within sight of each other; but the French admiral, conscious of his inferiority, thought fit to decline an engagement, and taking the advantage of a hard gale of wind, returned to the port from whence he sailed.

The French and Spanish fleet, in the harbour of Toulon, consisted of twenty-eight sail of the line, and six frigates; that of England of twenty-eight ships of the line, ten frigates and two fire-ships, all moored in the bay of Hieres. The number of guns in the conjunct fleet was 1820, and of men 16,500; the guns on board the British fleet were 2490, and the number of men 15,000. But the number of ships of the line was equal, and these were equally manned. However, on a comparative view of the whole force of each squadron, there was an evident superiority in favour of the English, in justice to whom we must nevertheless remember, that, having been long at sea, their ships were foul, while those of the enemy were clean, and in fine sailing condition.

The courts of France and Spain, no longer able to support the disgrace of having their fleets blocked up in the harbour of Toulon, sent positive orders for them to proceed to sea at all events. On the 8th of February they were perceived to be under sail, the French admiral, De Court, having hoisted his flag on board the *Terrible*. Admiral Mathews immediately made a signal for unmooring, and the British fleet got under way on the 9th, with all possible expedition. During this and the following day, these two tremendous fleets continued manœuvring in sight of each other, apparently endeavouring, like two land armies, to gain the advantage of situation. It was very evident that the French admiral had no great inclination to fight, and his ships sailed so well that he might easily have escaped; but the Spaniards, either from want of skill or want of hands, proceeded so tardily, that it was impossible to bring them off.

On the 11th, at break of day, the two fleets were at a greater distance than on the preceding day, and admiral Mathews had the mortification to find Mr. Lestock's division considerably astern. He now imagined that De Court's intention was to draw him towards the Streights, in expectation of a reinforcement from Brest; he therefore determined to engage the enemy as soon as possible, notwithstanding the irregularity of his line, his van and rear being at too great a distance from the centre.

Accordingly,

Accordingly, at half past eleven, admiral Mathews made the signal to engage; which signal Lestock did not think proper to repeat. Indeed he was, at this time, so far astern, that he had no enemy to engage. Admiral Mathews, with the centre of the English, was opposite to the enemy's rear, consisting of the Spanish Squadron; and rear-admiral Rowley, who commanded the van, was abreast of the enemy's centre. Thus were the two fleets situated when admiral Mathews hoisted the signal for engaging. Himself in the *Namur*, and captain Cornwall in the *Marlborough*, bore down upon the Spanish admiral and the *Isabella*, and began the attack about half past one o'clock. At the same time captain Forbes in the *Norfolk* engaged the *Constant*, and the *Princessa*, *Somerfet*, *Bedford*, *Dragon* and *Kingston* fired at the *Poder*. About two o'clock, rear-admiral Rowley in the *Barfleur*, and captain Osborne in the *Caroline*, came up with the French admiral and the *Ferme*, and engaged them some time. The brave captain Cornwall lost both his legs by one shot, and was afterwards killed by the fall of a mast which was shot by the board. The *Norfolk* obliged the *Constant* to quit the line. Meanwhile the *Princessa* and *Somerfet* were disabled by the *Poder*; but she being afterwards engaged by captain Hawke, in the *Berwick*, was dismasted and obliged to strike.

This irregular and partial conflict continued till night, when the French admiral, having collected his scattered fleet, bore away. The British fleet pursued them all the next day; but on the 13th, though they were yet in sight, admiral Mathews, being apprehensive that they intended to decoy him from the coast of Italy, made a signal to discontinue the chase. The French Squadron put into Alicant on the 16th, and the Spaniards into Carthagea on the day following. The British fleet, having spent some days, to no purpose, in looking out for the enemy, and afterwards in vainly attempting to regain their former station off Toulon, were at length obliged, by contrary winds, to bear away for the island of Minorca.

Thus ended, chiefly in smoke, this memorable battle, which seemed to threaten a most tremendous conflict, and which, from the superiority of the British fleet, ought to have annihilated the naval power of France and Spain. How it happened that so many of our captains were on that day *fascinated*, I know not; it is however very certain, that few of them were fairly engaged. Admiral Mathews was so dissatisfied with Lestock's conduct, that he suspended him from his command and sent him to England. That Lestock did not fight is most certain. He said in his defence, that he could not have engaged without breaking the line, which he was not authorised to do, because, though the signal for engaging was made, yet that for the line of battle was still aboard. That Mathews might be guilty of inattention in this particular without any impeachment of his abilities as a naval commander

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commander may surely be admitted, when we consider him bearing down upon the enemy and preparing to engage ; but it was an excuse for declining an attack which an honest and brave man would never have pleaded. The misfortune originated in a continued misunderstanding between Mathews and Lestock ; the latter of whom sacrificed his own reputation to the hope of ruining the former. In that hope he was but too successful ; for, by the sentence of a court-martial in England, admiral Mathews was dismissed, and rendered incapable of serving the king ; Lestock was honourably acquitted. The people of England were however of a very different opinion from the court, and posterity will do justice to both commanders. Mathews was doubtless a brave and an honest man ; Lestock was an artful, vindictive disciplinarian. Whether he was really a coward, cannot be positively determined ; but if he was not deficient in courage, he apparently wanted both honour and honesty.

The few naval commanders who distinguished themselves in this skirmish were, the admirals Mathews and Rowley, the captains Cornwall, Forbes, Osborne and Hawke. Few of the rest were much engaged. The Spaniards lost but one ship, the *Poder*, and about a thousand men killed and wounded. The British fleet lost a fire-ship, and in killed and wounded about four hundred.

Notwithstanding this naval engagement in the Mediterranean with the combined fleets of France and Spain, there was yet no declaration of war between Great-Britain and France. This ceremony, however, was at last performed. On the 20th of March, war was declared at Paris, and on the 31st of the same month, at London. The navy of France consisted, at this time, of forty-five ships of the line, sixty-seven frigates and fifty-five galleys : that of England of ninety ships of the line, eighty-four frigates and fifty other vessels ; in all two hundred and twenty-four ships of war. On the 23d of June the following promotions were made in the navy : Nicholas Haddock, Esq; and Sir Chaloner Ogle, appointed admirals of the blue ; James Stuart, Esq; and Sir Charles Hardy, vice-admirals of the red ; Thomas Davers, Esq; and the honourable George Clinton, vice-admirals of the white ; William Rowley and William Martin, Esqrs. vice-admirals of the blue ; Isaac Townsend, Esq; rear-admiral of the red ; Henry Medley, Esq; rear-admiral of the white ; George Anson, Esq; rear-admiral of the blue.

The first fleet which sailed from England after the declaration of war with France, was commanded by Sir Charles Hardy ; it consisted of eleven ships of the line. He sailed from St. Helen's on the 18th of April, with a number of store-ships under his convoy for the relief of the Mediterranean fleet, which was in great want of stores and provisions. Having put into the port of Lisbon, and being there detained by contrary winds, the French ministry, acquainted with his destination, sent immediate orders

orders for the Brest squadron, of fourteen sail of the line, to block him up. This service was effectually performed, and Sir Charles remained in the Tagus.

On the 6th of July the British navy was reinforced by the arrival of twenty Dutch men of war at Portsmouth, under the command of admiral Balchereft. On the 15th they were joined by admiral Balchen with fourteen sail of the line. This united fleet sailed from Spithead on the 7th of August, to the relief of Sir Charles Hardy, and on the 9th of September came to an anchor off the rock of Lisbon. The French admiral having had previous intelligence of Balchen's approach, quitted his station. Sir Charles Hardy, with his convoy, joined the fleet, which immediately proceeded to Gibraltar, and, having reinforced the garrison, returned in search of the Brest squadron. But Mr. Rochambault, the French admiral, was, by this time, safe in the harbour of Cadiz. Sir John Balchen entered the bay of Biscay, in his return to England, on the 30th of September, and, on the 3d of October, his whole fleet was dispersed by a violent storm. Several of the ships suffered considerably, particularly the Exeter and the Duke, the first of which lost her main and mizen masts, and was under the necessity of throwing twelve of her guns overboard; and the latter had all her sails torn to pieces, and ten feet water in her hold. The whole fleet, however, except the admiral, arrived at St. Helen's on the 10th of October. The Victory was separated from the rest of the fleet on the 4th, after which she was never seen or heard of more. It is generally supposed that she struck upon a ridge of rocks, called the Calkets, near Alderney, as repeated signals of distress were heard by the inhabitants of that island; but it blew so violently that it was impossible to give her any assistance.

Having now concluded the naval transactions in Europe during the year 1744, we direct our inquiries towards America, where were left Sir Chaloner Ogle with the British fleet in the harbour of Port Royal in Jamaica, and admiral de Torres, with that of Spain, at the Havannah. In these respective situations they both remained, not otherwise employed than in sending out cruisers to interrupt the trade of each nation; till, on the fourth of November, de Torres, with five men of war and as many galleons, richly laden, sailed for Europe, and arrived safe at Corunna on the 29th of December. These galleons brought a treasure of fifteen millions of piasters.

During this year the navy of England sustained some considerable losses. I have before mentioned the fate of the unfortunate Victory. On the 4th of June the Northumberland, a new ship of 70 guns, and 480 men, commanded by captain Watson, cruising in the channel, fell in with three French men of war, *viz.* the Mars of 68 guns, and 550 men, commanded by Mons. de Perrier; the Constant of 60 guns, and 580 men, commanded

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commanded by *Monf. Conflans*; and the *Venus* of 26 guns, and 250 men, commanded by *Monf. de Dacher*. The *Northumberland* sustained this very unequal conflict for three hours, with amazing activity and resolution; till, unfortunately, captain *Watson* was mortally wounded: she then struck her colours by order of the master, who was therefore afterwards sentenced by a court martial, to spend the remainder of his life in the *Mars-halse* prison. The French ships lost 130 men in the engagement, and their rigging was so shattered, that they intended to sheer off as soon as it was dark. They carried the *Northumberland* in great triumph into *Brest*, where captain *Watson* died. The *Seaford*, captain *Pie*, the *Solebay*, captain *Bury*, both of 50 guns, and the *Grampus* sloop, were likewise taken by part of the *Brest* squadron in the course of this year.

Before I conclude the naval history of the year 1744, it is necessary to turn our eyes, for a moment, towards the *East-Indies*. In consequence of an application to the lords of the admiralty, from the *East-India* company, commodore *Barnet*, with four men of war, sailed from *Portsmouth* on the 5th of May, and, after his arrival in the *East-Indies*, took a French fifty gun ship, and three rich prizes.

At the close of this year it appeared, that, since the commencement of the war, the Spaniards had taken 786 British vessels, which were valued at 2,751,000*l*; and the British effects seized in Spain on the declaration of war, were estimated at 50,000*l*. On the other hand, the number of Spanish ships taken by our men of war and privateers amounted to 850, supposed to be worth 2,550,000*l*. To this if we add 2,181,000*l*. the supposed amount of the prizes taken, fortifications destroyed, &c. by admiral *Vernon* and Mr. *Anson*, the loss sustained by Spain will exceed that of Great-Britain 1,930,000*l*. By a similar estimate of the account with France, there appeared above half a million sterling in our favour.

Notwithstanding this balance, the reader has doubtless been disappointed to find our naval history of 1734 so unimportant, and in the only engagement of consequence, so disgraceful. The fatal disagreement between *Mathews* and *Lestock* cannot be remembered without indignation; but the ministry, who knew their enmity, must have foreseen, and were therefore answerable for the consequence. The ministry was now changed. Lord *Carteret* resigned his place of secretary of state to the earl of *Harrington*, and the duke of *Bedford* was appointed first lord of the admiralty. Orders were immediately issued for every man of war in the several ports to be fitted for service. Admiral *Davers* was sent to protect *Jamaica*, the Mediterranean fleet was reinforced by admiral *Medley*, and the coast of Great-Britain was secured by cruisers properly stationed.

Mean while a project was formed in the general assembly of
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Massachusetts in New-England, to surprize the city of Louisbourg, the capital of Cape Breton, and to drive the French entirely from that island. The ministry being made sensible of the importance of the enterprize, ordered commodore Warren to quit his station at the Leeward Islands, and join the American expedition. This armament was raised with so much secrecy and dispatch, that an army of 3850 volunteers, under the command of William Pepperel, Esq; was ready to embark at Boston before the French government were apprized of their intention. They arrived at Canso in Nova Scotia, under the convoy of ten American privateers, on the 2d of April, and on the 25th were joined by commodore Warren in the *Superbe* of 60 guns, attended by the *Lanceston*, the *Eltham*, and the *Mermaid*, of 40 guns each. Canso is within sight of Cape Breton, and yet the inhabitants of that island were hitherto totally ignorant of their danger, till, on the 30th of April, they beheld this hostile fleet come to an anchor in Gabarus bay, about a league from Louisbourg. The governor immediately sent a detachment of a hundred men to oppose the landing of the American troops; but the French were soon obliged to retire in confusion, and the invaders disembarked without the loss of a single man. General Pepperel immediately invested Louisbourg, whilst Mr. Warren blocked up the harbour, convoyed several vessels with stores and provisions for Boston, and intercepted a French man of war of 44 guns, and other ships intended to relieve the city. Mean while he was joined by the *Canterbury*, the *Sunderland*, and the *Chester*; the two first of sixty guns, and the last a fifty gun ship, and on the 11th of June the *Princess Mary*, the *Hector*, and the *Lark*, were also added to his fleet. On the 15th of June Mons. Chambon, the governor of Louisbourg, sent a flag of truce to the British camp, and the island of Cape Breton was surrendered to his Britannic majesty.

After the departure of commodore Warren for North-America, the West-India islands were left in a great measure defenceless, Sir Chaloner Ogle having returned to England with six men of war. For this reason, vice-admiral Townsend was ordered from the Mediterranean to the West-Indies, with a squadron of eight ships. He sailed from Gibraltar on the 2d of August, and arrived off Martinico on the 3d of October, when he was joined by the *Pembroke* of 60 guns, and the *Woolwich* of 50. Admiral Townsend having had information that the inhabitants of Martinico were in great distress for provisions, determined to remain upon this station in order to prevent their receiving any supplies from France: for though it be a maxim of honourable war, among Christian princes, not to murder such of each other's subjects as do not bear arms, it is nevertheless universally allowable to destroy by hunger as many peaceable men, women and children as they can. Gospel and Christianity are very different religions.

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On the 31st of October admiral Townsend discovered a fleet of forty sail of French ships turning the southern extremity of Martinico. It proved to be a fleet of merchantmen and store ships sent to the relief of the French West-India islands, under convoy of four men of war, commanded by commodore M'Namarra; who, perceiving the superiority of his enemy, saved himself by running under the guns of Fort Royal. The other three men of war also escaped; but near thirty of the other vessels were either taken, burnt, sunk, or drove on shore. The admiral likewise took a large privateer and three Dutch vessels bound from St. Eustatia to Martinico with provisions, by which he had the *happinefs* of compleating the famine on that island so entirely, that many thousand negroes and other inhabitants perished of hunger. Exploits of this nature must afford infinite satisfaction on reflection; especially when they contribute nothing either to the glory or emolument of the state!

Such were our naval exploits in the West-Indies in the year 1745; exclusive of some valuable prizes taken by our men of war and privateers; the most considerable of which were, the Marquis d'Antin and the Lewis Erasmus, worth 70,000*l.* taken by the Prince Frederic and the Duke privateers. In the course of this year the British navy suffered the loss of one sloop only, which was taken and carried into Martinico; whilst the British cruizers, in that part of the world, made captures of five French and two Spanish men of war.

In Europe nothing material happened to grace our annals. Admiral Martin commanded a squadron in the Channel, attending the motions of the French fleet. Rear-admiral Medley sailed from Spithead, with seven men of war, in order to reinforce admiral Rowley, who now commanded in the Mediterranean, and arrived at Minorca on the 10th of April. Thus strengthened, the vice-admiral proceeded, with twenty-four ships of the line, to block up the Spanish fleet at Carthagea, which he thereby prevented either from transporting troops to Italy or from joining the French squadron at Brest. The republic of Genoa having declared against the queen of Hungary, admiral Rowley detached a part of his fleet, under the command of commodore Cooper, to bombard the towns upon their coast; several of these towns suffered considerably, particularly St. Remo, which he reduced almost to ashes.

The year 1746 affords not a single example of the naval superiority of Great-Britain. It is nevertheless necessary, in order to preserve the thread of our history, to inform the reader where and how our several fleets were employed. Commodore Barnet, who died in the East-Indies, was succeeded in the command of the squadron by captain Peyton. This squadron consisted of six men of war, which were now stationed at Fort St. David. At Pondicherry the French had eight ships of force, under the command of Monsi. Bourdonnais. Commo-

dore Peyton, cruising between the coast of Coromandel and the island of Ceylon, on the 25th of June, fell in with Bourdonnais, whose squadron was somewhat reduced by the loss of the *Insulaire*. Both squadrons prepared to engage, and about four in the afternoon they began to fire upon each other. The battle lasted till seven, it being then almost dark. The English had 14 men killed, and 46 wounded; the French 27 killed, and 53 wounded. Next morning the two fleets appeared at no great distance from each other; but neither of the commanders chose to renew the engagement. At four in the evening Mr. Peyton called a council of war, which determined, as councils of war generally do, not to fight. When a commander in chief, invested with full power to act by his sole authority, calls a council of war, it creates a strong suspicion, that he wants to divide the blame of an unjustifiable action. The history of mankind affords innumerable examples of cowardice in collective bodies, of which every individual would have been horribly ashamed. The English squadron proceeded to the island of Ceylon, and the French to Pondicherry.

Our principal historian of these times asserts, that the British squadron was superior to that of the enemy. This, however, was not evidently the case: therefore the imputation of cowardice seems to fall more particularly on the French commodore. But *Monf. Bourdonnais* had a greater object in view. The reduction of Madras promised a better harvest than disabling a few men of war. He appeared before that settlement on the 18th of August, and fired upon one of the ships belonging to the English East-India company, chiefly with a design to try whether Mr. Peyton meant to defend the place. Our brave commodore, for reasons best known to himself, as soon as he was informed of this insult, and consequently of the danger of Madras, immediately disappeared, and sailed the Lord knows whither. *Monf. Bourdonnais*, with his whole squadron, returned to Madras on the 3d of September, and in a short time made himself master of that important place. He would probably have succeeded in the reduction of every other British settlement on that coast, if he had not been prevented by a violent storm, which disabled a considerable part of his fleet.

In Europe, great designs were formed in the respective cabinets of England and France against each other's settlements in North-America. The French determined to retake *Louisbourg*, and also to surprize *Annapolis-Royal* in *Nova-Scotia*. The English, on the other hand, planned the reduction of *Quebec*. Both kingdoms were disappointed in their expectations. The French fleet, consisting of eleven ships of the line, three frigates, three fire-ships, and two bombs, came out of *Brest* on the 7th of May, but was prevented, by contrary winds, from proceeding on the voyage till the 22d of June. This fleet, which, with privateers and transports, made in all ninety-seven sail,

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fail, was commanded by the Duke d'Anville. He had on board 3500 land forces, under the command of brigadier-general Jonquiere. They did not make the coast of Acadia till the 10th of September, and on the 13th a storm arose, which, continuing some days, dispersed the fleet, and destroyed several of the transports; so that, on the 27th, they mustered at Chibouctou, their place of rendezvous, no more than seven ships of the line, two frigates, one fire ship, one bomb vessel, twelve privateers, and eighteen transports; in all fifty-six sail. Whilst they lay in the harbour of Chibouctou, the mortality was so great, that, in a short space of time, they buried their commander-in-chief, their second in command, 1500 of the land forces, and 800 sailors. The number of their ships and of their men being thus reduced, they gave up every idea of conquest, and sailed for Europe on the 12th of October, where they arrived without farther accident.

Mean while the British ministry, as I have said above, had planned an expedition for the reduction of Quebec. For this purpose a considerable fleet was assembled at Portsmouth, in the month of April, and several regiments were actually embarked under the command of general Sinclair. The duke of Newcastle having previously communicated his intention of invading Canada to the northern provinces of America, requiring their assistance; ten thousand men were immediately raised, and waited impatiently for the arrival of the British fleet. But such was the irresolution of the ministry at this period of our history, that the French were not only informed of their design, but had time to equip a squadron sufficient to counteract the entire project. This squadron, as we have seen above, sailed from France on the 22d of June.

The British ministry, having now relinquished their design against Canada, resolved to make a descent on the coast of Brittany, in France, and particularly to destroy *Port l'Orient*, in order to ruin the French East-India company. Lieutenant-general Sinclair commanded the land forces, and the command of the fleet was given to admiral Lestock, that very Lestock with whose conduct in the Mediterranean the reader is sufficiently acquainted. This armament consisted of sixteen ships of the line, eight frigates, and two bomb vessels, besides store-ships and transports, on board of which were 5800 regular troops, including matrosses and bombardiers. After various unaccountable delays, during which the French were perfectly acquainted with their destination, they sailed at last from Plymouth on the 14th of September, and steering directly for the coast of Brittany, came to an anchor in Quimperlay-bay on the 18th. General Sinclair, with the troops under his command, landed on the 20th in the evening, without the least molestation, and the next morning took possession of a small town called Plemure, about half a league from l'Orient, and there fixed his head.

head-quarters. On the 22d, the British army having advanced to a rising ground about half a league from the city, general Sinclair summoned it to surrender; but the governor, not liking the conditions, determined to defend it. On the 25th the besiegers opened a battery of twelve cannon and a mortar, and the next day began to throw red hot balls into the town, which took fire in several parts. During this time the besieged continued to fire from the ramparts with great alacrity: nevertheless, their fortifications were in such bad condition, that on the 27th they had resolved to beat a parley; when, to their infinite surprise and joy, the firing of the besiegers ceased. General Sinclair and his army retreated to their camp, leaving behind them four pieces of cannon, the mortar, and a considerable quantity of ammunition, and on the 28th reembarked without molestation. Their loss during the siege amounted, in killed and wounded, to eighty men. Why the British general fled, with so much precipitation, from the arms of victory, is difficult to imagine, unless he was discouraged on finding the enterprize not seconded by the admiral, who, according to the original plan, was to have brought his ships to bear upon the town. Mr. Lestock said, in his defence, that the enemy had rendered his entrance into the harbour of Port l'Orient impracticable. Probably, the signals for advancing, as with Mathews in the Mediterranean, were not made in due form. But the cause of their miscarriage seems to have originated in not landing the troops immediately, and storming the town without the loss of a moment. When the British fleet came to an anchor, the garrison of Port l'Orient was very weak, and few of their guns were mounted on the ramparts. Some of our subsequent attempts on the coast of France have been frustrated by the same cause. The principal damage done to the enemy in this expedition was the destruction of the Ardent, a sixty-four gun ship, by the Exeter, who, after an obstinate engagement, ran her on shore, and afterwards set her on fire. Admiral Lestock, with his entire squadron, left the coast of France on the 8th of October, and returned to England, without having in any degree fulfilled the intentions of the ministry, which were, to ruin the French East-India company, by destroying l'Orient, and, by dividing of the French troops, to facilitate the invasion of Provence by the Austrian army.

In the West-Indies nothing of importance was attempted by any of the belligerent powers. We find however upon record one naval transaction, which though it will not add much to our national renown, ought nevertheless to be remembered in *terrorem*. Vice-admiral Davers, who commanded on the Jamaica station, having received intelligence that Mons. Conflans, with four men of war and ninety merchantmen, from France, was hourly expected at Martinico, detached commodore Mitchell with five men of war and a sloop to intercept him. He

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fell in with the French fleet on the 3d of August, and at seven in the evening was about a league to windward of them, when, instead of engaging the enemy, he made a signal to speak with the captains of his squadron, a majority of whom were of opinion, that it were best to defer the battle till next morning. These councils of war, as I have before observed, seldom forebode much heroism. When a man calls his friends about him, to ask them whether he shall fight to-day or to-morrow, there is great reason to believe that he had rather not fight at all. However, general orders were given to keep the enemy in sight, and to engage as soon as day-light should appear. But the French merchant vessels, being so unpolite as not to wait to be taken by the English, all escaped; and Mons. Conflans, after exchanging a few shot with the British squadron, followed his convoy. Mr. Mitchel's caution was so great, that when night came on he ordered his ships to carry no lights, lest the French should be so rude as to give him chase. Mons. Conflans, in his return to Europe, fell in with an English fleet from the Leeward Islands, under the convoy of the Woolwich and Severn, of 50 guns each, the latter of which, after two hours engagement, he took and carried into Brest. Mitchel, being afterwards tried by a court-martial, was fined five years pay, and rendered incapable of future service.

The British fleet in the Mediterranean was this year commanded by vice admiral Medley, whose principal transaction was the assistance which he gave to the Austrian general at the siege of Antibes. Admiral Martin, who commanded in the Channel, was in the month of July succeeded by admiral Anson, who was appointed vice admiral of the blue.

The French, in the course of this year, took from the English one man of war of 60 guns, two sloops, nine privateers, one East-Indiaman, and 466 merchant vessels. The Spaniards took 183 British ships. The British men of war and privateers took from the Spaniards twenty-two privateers, ten register ships, and eighty-eight merchantmen. From the French we took seven men of war, ninety-one privateers, and 312 merchant vessels.

The French ministry, notwithstanding their late disappointment in North-America, were determined to increase their force in Canada, and, with the assistance of Canadians and Indians, to extend their territories by incroachments on the neighbouring provinces belonging to Great-Britain. At the same time they formed a design against some of our settlements in the East-Indies. For these purposes, in the beginning of the year 1747, a considerable armament was prepared at Brest; the squadron destined for America, under the command of Mons. Jonquiere, and that for the East-Indies commanded by Mons. de St. George. For greater security, these two fleets were to sail at the same time.

The British ministry being informed of the strength and destination of this squadron, sent a superior fleet to the coast of France,

France, commanded by vice admiral Anson. He sailed from Plymouth on the 9th of April, and, cruizing off Finisterre, on the 3d of May, fell in with the French fleet, consisting of thirty-eight sail, nine of which shortened sail and prepared to engage, whilst the rest bore away with all the sail they could make. Admiral Anson first formed his squadron in line of battle; but perceiving the enemy begin to sheer off, he made a signal for his whole fleet to give chase, and engage promiscuously. The *Centurion* came up with the sternmost ship of the enemy about four in the afternoon. She was followed by the *Namur*, *Defiance*, and *Windfor*, who were soon warmly engaged with five of the French squadron. The *Centurion* had her main-top-mast shot away early in the action, which obliged her to drop astern; but she was soon repaired. The battle now became general, and the French maintained this very unequal conflict with great spirit and gallantry, till about seven in the evening, when the whole fleet struck their colours. The *Diamant* was the last French ship that submitted, after fighting the *Bristol* near three hours. In justice to our enemy it is necessary to remember, that the squadron commanded by admiral Anson consisted of fourteen ships of the line, a frigate, a sloop, and a fire ship; with 922 guns, and 9260 men on board; and that *Monf. de la Jonquiere* had no more than five line of battle ships, and as many frigates, 442 guns, and 3171 men. Admiral Anson in the mean time detached the *Monmouth*, the *Yarmouth*, and the *Nottingham* in pursuit of the convoy, and they returned with the *Vigilant* and *Modeste*, both of twenty-two guns, the rest having made their escape. But though we acknowledge the great superiority of the British squadron, it is necessary to inform the reader, that no more than eight English ships were engaged. Captain Grenville of the *Defiance*, a very gallant officer, lost his life in this engagement. Our number of killed and wounded amounted to 520; that of the enemy to 700. Captain Boscawen was wounded in the shoulder by a musket-ball. *Monf. de la Jonquiere* was also wounded in the same part; one French captain was killed, and another lost a leg.

Admiral Anson returned to England, and brought the captive squadron safe to an anchor at Spithead. He set out immediately for London, where he was graciously received by the king, and afterwards created a peer. Rear admiral Warren was made knight of the Bath. The money taken on board of the French fleet, was brought through the city of London in twenty waggons, and lodged in the bank.

About the middle of April, Captain Fox in the *Kent*, with the *Hampton-Court*, the *Eagle*, the *Lion*, the *Chester* and the *Hector*, with two fire ships, sailed on a cruize, designing to intercept a fleet of *St. Domingo*-men under the convoy of four French men of war. After cruizing a month between Ushant and Cape Finisterre, captain Fox fell in with this French fleet of

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170 sail. They were immediately deserted by their men of war, and forty-six of them were taken.

The British ministry having received intelligence, that nine French men of war of the line had sailed from Brest, in order to convoy a large fleet of merchantmen to the West-Indies, ordered rear admiral Hawke, with fourteen men of war, to sail immediately in quest of them. The admiral, with the fleet under his command, left Plymouth on the 9th of August. The French fleet, consisting of the above-mentioned men of war, and 252 merchant vessels, sailed from the isle of Aix on the 6th of October, and on the 14th they had the misfortune to fall in with the British squadron. As soon as the French admiral became sensible of his situation, he made a signal for the trade to make the best of their way, with the *Covent* and frigates, and for the rest of his squadron to prepare for battle. Admiral Hawke first made a signal to form the line; but finding the French begin to sheer off, he ordered his whole fleet to give chase, and engage as they came up with the enemy. The *Lion* and the *Louisa* began the conflict about noon, and were soon followed by the *Tilbury*, the *Eagle*, the *Yarmouth*, the *Windsor*, and the *Devonshire*, which ships particularly shared the danger, and consequently the glory of the day.

About four o'clock four of the French squadron struck, viz. *le Neptune*, *le Monarque*, *le Foudreux*, and the *Severn*; at five *le Trident* followed their example, and *le Terrible* surrendered about seven. Be it however remembered, to the credit of their several commanders, that they maintained this unequal conflict with great spirit and resolution, and that they did not submit until they were entirely disabled. Their number of killed and wounded was about 800, and of prisoners 3300 men. *M. Fromentierre*, who commanded *le Neptune*, was among the slain, and their commander in chief was wounded in the leg and in the shoulder. The English had 154 killed, and 558 wounded. Capt. Saumarez, of the *Nottingham*, was among the former. We lost no other officer of distinction. On the last day of October admiral Hawke brought these six French men of war to Portsmouth in triumph, and, in reward for his services, was soon after honoured with the order of the Bath. He was dissatisfied with the behaviour of captain Fox in the engagement, who was tried by a court-martial and deprived of his command; but he was restored about two years after.

Vice admiral Medley, who commanded a fleet of fifteen ships of the line in the Mediterranean, died there on the 5th of August, and was succeeded by rear admiral Byng, who continued to block up the Spanish squadron in Carthage, and to act in concert with the Austrian general on the coast of Italy. Rear-admiral Chambers commanded nine men of war in the channel, and on the 1st of November rear admiral Boscawen sailed for the East-Indies with six ships of the line.

During

During this year the English took from the French and Spaniards 644 prizes, among which were seventeen French and one Spanish men of war. The English vessels, including one man of war and a fire ship, taken by the French and Spaniards, amounted to 551. The royal navy of Spain was now reduced to twenty-two ships of the line, and that of France to thirty-one; whilst the navy of Britain amounted to 126 sail of the line, besides seventy-five frigates.

Being arrived at the last year of this general war, I shall begin with the history of our naval transactions in the West-Indies, where the British fleet was now commanded by rear-admiral Knowles. He sailed from Jamaica, on the 13th of February, with eight ships of the line, on an expedition against St. Jago de Cuba; but being prevented by contrary winds from approaching that island, Port Louis, in Hispaniola, became the object of his hostile intentions, before which place he arrived on the 8th of March. Port Louis was defended by a strong fort, mounting seventy-eight guns, with a garrison of 600 men, commanded by M. de Chaleaunoye. The admiral began his attack immediately on his arrival, and after three hours violent cannonading silenced the fort, which surrendered on the following terms, *viz.* The garrison not to serve against the king of Great-Britain, or his allies during a year; that they should march out with their arms, but without cannon, mortars, or ammunition; that the officers should retain their private baggage and servants; that the town should be spared on certain conditions to be settled next morning. The garrison lost 160 men killed and wounded, and the fleet seventy. Among the slain were the captains Ratone and Cust, the last of whom was a volunteer in the expedition.

Admiral Knowles having entirely destroyed the fort, resumed his former design against St. Jago de Cuba, where he arrived on the 5th of April. The Plymouth and the Cornwall were ordered to enter the harbour; but finding a boom across, and four vessels filled with combustibles, after firing a few broadsides at the castle, they judged it prudent to desist, and the squadron returned to Jamaica. Captain Dent of the Plymouth was afterwards, at the request of the admiral, tried by a court-martial for not forcing the boom, and was honourably acquitted.

From this time the British and Spanish fleets were solély employed in cruizing in detachments against the trade of each nation. Towards the latter end of August admiral Knowles, having received intelligence that the annual fleet from Vera Cruz was daily expected at the Havanna, began to cruize off the banks of Tortuga. The Spanish admiral Reggio, being informed of the vicinity of the English squadron, and of the consequent danger of the expected fleet, sailed from the Havannah, determined to give admiral Knowles battle. On the 29th of September,

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tember, admiral Reggio saw, at a distance, fourteen sail of English merchant-men, under convoy of two men of war; he gave them chase, but they had the good fortune to escape, and the Lennox, having made a signal for his convoy to save themselves by flight, joined admiral Knowles, who, on the first of October, fell in with the Spanish Squadron near the Havanna.

By a comparison of the two squadrons, it appears that in number of ships they were equal; that in number of guns the Spaniards were somewhat superior, and that in number of men they exceeded us by 1250. The English admiral, though he had the advantage of the wind, did not at first seem over anxious to engage. About two o'clock the Spaniards began to fire at a distance. Admiral Knowles then made a signal for his Squadron to bear down upon the enemy, and in less than half an hour most of the ships were engaged. The two admirals fought each other about half an hour, when admiral Knowles, having received some damage, fell astern and quitted the line. The *Conquistadore*, being likewise injured in her rigging, was also obliged to quit the line of battle, and before she had time to repair the damage she had sustained, she had the misfortune to be attacked by the British admiral, who had now replaced the yard and main-top-mast which he had lost in his engagement with the *Africa*. They fought for some time with great obstinacy. The Spanish captain was killed, and the *Conquistadore* finally struck to the Cornwall. The general action continued till eight in the evening, when the Spaniards began to edge away towards the Havanna, and got safe into port, except the *Conquistadore* and the *Africa*, which last, being entirely dismasted, was run on shore and blown up by the Spanish admiral. The Spaniards had in this action three captains and eighty-six men killed, and 197 wounded; among the latter were admiral Reggio and fourteen other officers. The English, though they had fifty-nine killed and 120 wounded, were so fortunate as not to lose a single officer.

After this action the English captains were by no means satisfied with each other's conduct. The admiral himself was accused by some of them, and he was afterwards tried by a court-martial, and reprimanded for not hoisting his flag on board another ship after his own was disabled. It seems indeed very probable, notwithstanding the superiority of the enemy, that if the English fleet had been commanded by a Hawke, not a single Spaniard would have escaped.

This was the last naval action of importance previous to the general peace, which was finally concluded in the month of October, 1748. The English, during this year, took three French and one Spanish men of war. The whole number of vessels taken from the Spaniards since the commencement of the war amounted to 1249; from the French to 2185: in all 3434. The entire loss of the English amounted to 3248 ships.

When

When we consider the immense value of these captures ; when we reflect that most of this wealth was private property ; when we count the number of lives that have been sacrificed during the war, and recollect that all the people sacrificed were neither consulted nor concerned in the contest : when we farther reflect, that all the princes who caused this horrible destruction of life and property, professed the religion of peace, charity, philanthropy and concord, we are disgusted with human nature, and laugh at the pretension of kings to Christianity. But what will the reader think of these mighty potentates, when he is told, that, after all this waste of blood and treasure, the war ended just where it began ? None of the contending powers retained any part of their acquisitions, the 5th article of the treaty of peace having stipulated, that all conquests whatsoever should be restored : consequently Capt Breton was restored to the French, and Madras to the English. Great Britain had now increased her national debt to eighty millions, and her sole consolation was her having reduced the navy of France to a state of contemptible insignificance. As to that nation, the terms of peace were easily settled, because we fought with her without any previous cause of quarrel or dispute ; she began the war merely in consequence of her alliance with Spain : but against that nation we commenced hostilities, solely with a design to secure an uninterrupted navigation to our own settlements ; nevertheless, strange as it may seem, this important article was entirely neglected, forgotten, by our plenipotentiaries at Aix-la-Chapelle. Our right to cut logwood in Campeachy and Honduras, an article of equal consequence to this nation, was also left undetermined. But these were not the only examples of inattention (I cannot suppose it ignorance) in the British ministry at this very important period. The French, in consequence of possessing Canada, had, for many years past, been gradually extending the limits of that province, and, in open violation of the treaty of Utrecht, their incroachments were now flagrant and oppressive to our North-American colonies : yet the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was concluded without this notorious cause of complaint being mentioned by the British plenipotentiaries. The limits of Nova Scotia, another doubtful point, were also left undetermined.

From this precarious state of affairs it was easy to foresee, that the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle would be of no long duration ; and, from the conduct of the French immediately after, their latent intentions were obvious. But before we proceed to develop the *principia* of the succeeding war, it is necessary to record certain transactions in the British parliament, which are immediately connected with our naval history.

The ministry, for very wise reasons no doubt, brought a bill into parliament, under the title of, " A bill for reducing into " one act the laws relating to the navy ; " by which the half-pay officers were to be rendered subject to martial law. The sea-officers

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officers took the alarm : they assembled, and presented a petition to the house, requesting to be heard by their counsel, and though the minister mustered sufficient strength to reject the petition, he thought proper to relinquish his unconstitutional attempt. Another plan, relative to the navy, was also offered to the consideration of parliament, viz. to register a certain number of seamen, who, for an annual stipend, should be liable to serve when called upon. This project, being calculated to supersede the illegal necessity of pressing, appeared rational ; nevertheless Mr. Pelham found it to be an unpopular measure, and therefore gave it up.

In the course of this year, 1748, the Earl of Halifax, who presided at the board of trade, formed a design of establishing a colony in Nova Scotia. His project was approved, and four thousand adventurers, under the protection of colonel Cornwallis, sailed from England, and landed in the harbour of Chebuctou, in the neighbourhood of which they built a town and called it Halifax. The French were displeased with this exertion of our right, and, by way of counterbalance, attempted to make a settlement on the island of Tobago in the West-Indies ; but, in consequence of a spirited remonstrance to the court of Versailles, they thought proper to desist. They continued nevertheless to assert their title to St. Lucia, Tobago, and other neutral islands ; and in North America their daily encroachments were so daring, that the subjects of Great-Britain bordering on the French settlements, became very loud in their complaints to our ministry. The French ministry, according to custom, endeavoured to exculpate themselves by throwing the blame on the governor of Canada. After several ineffectual memorials and remonstrances delivered by our ambassador at Paris, commissaries, of each nation, were appointed, in the year 1750, to settle the limits of Acadia or Nova Scotia. These commissaries met at Paris, and proceeded with all that deliberate circumspection which is generally observed by servants of the public whose stipends must end with their commission. The French commissaries, in order to gain time by evading the main question, drew their antagonists into a discussion concerning the island of St. Lucia. Meanwhile the Indians bordering on the British dominions in North America, were instigated by the French to commence their barbarous hostilities against the defenceless inhabitants of our back-settlements. The Spaniards, in 1752, began again their former practice, of insolently interrupting our navigation in the West-Indies by their Guarda Costas, and in Europe the navy both of France and Spain were daily augmenting. In 1753 the conference at Paris, concerning the limits of Nova Scotia, ended without effect ; and the French continued to extend their dominions in North America, by erecting a chain of forts along the lakes of Erie and Ontario, so as to connect their settlements on the Mississippi with Canada. At length, presuming on the amazing supineness of the British ministry,

nistry, they crossed Lake Champlain, and built a fort at Crown-Point, in the province of New-York.

The French ministry, notwithstanding such flagrant acts of hostility in America, continued to amuse the court of London with repeated assurances of friendship. But early in the year 1755, certain intelligence was received, that a considerable fleet of men of war was preparing to sail from different ports in France, to America, with a formidable number of land forces on board. The British ministry, roused at this intelligence, gave immediate orders to equip a squadron of men of war, and, towards the latter end of April, admiral Boscawen, with eleven ships of the line, sailed for America. He was soon after followed by admiral Holbourne with six line of battle ships and one frigate, the ministry having received subsequent intelligence that the French fleet, intended for America, consisted of twenty-five ships of the line, &c. This fleet sailed from Brest in the beginning of May; but, after sailing a few leagues beyond the mouth of the English channel, Monsi. Macnamara, the commander in chief, returned to Brest, with nine of the capital ships, and the rest proceeded to North America under the command of Monsi. Bois de la Mothe. Admiral Boscawen's orders were, to attack the French fleet wheresoever he should meet with it. Being joined by admiral Holbourne, he continued cruizing off the banks of Newfoundland, in hopes of intercepting the French squadron in their attempt to enter the gulf of St. Lawrence. But the thick fog, so frequent on that coast, favoured their enterprize, and Monsi. de la Mothe arrived safe at Quebec with his whole squadron, except the Alcide and the Lys, the first of sixty-four guns and 480 men; the second of twenty-two, though pierced for sixty-four, with eight companies of land forces on board. These two unfortunate ships fell in with the Dunkirk, captain Howe, and the Defiance, captain Andrews, both sixty-gun ships. After a resolute engagement of five hours, the French ships struck. On board the Lys were several officers of distinction, and about 80000*l.* sterling.

From the capture of these two ships the commencement of the war may properly be dated. As soon as it was known in Europe, the French ambassador left London, and the British ministry issued general orders for making reprisals in every part of the globe. In consequence of this resolution, three hundred French merchantmen were taken and brought into England before the expiration of this year. On the 21st of July, Sir Edward Hawke sailed on a cruize to the westward, with eighteen ships of the line, and, on the 14th of October, admiral Byng proceeded to sea with twenty-two ships. Both these fleets returned without meeting with any thing worth their attention. The French nevertheless bore these insults with a degree of patience which astonished all Europe. But they were not yet prepared for war: their alliances were yet unformed, and their fleet was inferior to that of

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Great-Britain, which, at this time, consisted of 213 men of war; that of France, including ships upon the stocks, amounted to no more than 113.

In the beginning of this year major-general Braddock sailed from Corke, with two regiments of foot, for Virginia, with orders to dispossess the French of the lands they had unjustly usurped. That general was totally defeated, and slain, by an ambuscade of Indians. I have before observed, that three hundred French merchantmen were brought into the ports of England; and all this without a declaration of war. The British ministry intended, by this extraordinary conduct, to validate their defensive alliances, and that the private property of the subjects of France might not suffer, the several cargoes of the ships taken were ordered not to be touched. But this appearance of strict justice was a mere chimera, because many of these cargoes consisted of perishable commodities, and consequently proved a loss to the owners, without producing any profit to those by whom they were taken. The French had evidently, and flagrantly, broken the bonds of peace by their audacious incroachments in America, so palpably contradictory to the tenour of treaties between the two nations. For the credit of England, I wish that a formal declaration of war had preceded the first act of hostility on our part. Previous to such declaration, every act of hostility is a piracy against the subjects of either nation.

About the close of the preceding year, overtures of accommodation were made on the part of France by Mons. Rouille, secretary of state, in a private letter to Mr. Fox, secretary of state to his Britannic majesty. But as this application was calculated only to amuse the English ministry, in order to gain time, it produced no other effect. The French, having now augmented their navy very considerably, ordered all the British subjects in France to depart the kingdom, published an edict for the encouragement of privateers, seized every English in their ports, and sent their crews to prison. They then began to threaten us with an invasion, and, in order to give this project an air of probability, were extremely busy in their military preparations on the coast of the British Channel. But the design of these preparations was merely to divert our attention from their armaments in the Mediterranean, where the blow was really intended. The king, the ministry, and their adherents in parliament, were, however, so completely duped by this French manoeuvre, that Hessian and Hanoverian troops were sent for to protect us, and the repeated authentic information concerning the equipment and destination of the Toulon fleet totally disregarded. There never was a more flagrant example of obstinate insatiation.

At length the destination of the armament at Toulon was so certainly and universally known, that the British ministry started suddenly

suddenly from their apathy, and, like men just awoke from a sound slumber, began to act before they had recovered their senses. It was known to all Europe, that the French Squadron at Toulon consisted of thirteen ships of the line, and that 15,000 land forces were there ready for embarkation : nevertheless, only ten British ships were ordered for the Mediterranean, and the command was given to admiral Byng, a man whose courage and abilities were yet untried. With this Squadron, not completely manned, without either hospital or fire-ship, he sailed from Spithead on the 7th of April. He had on board major-general Stuart, lord Edlingham, colonel Cornwallis, and about forty inferior officers, whose regiments were in garrison at Minorca ; also a regiment of soldiers to be landed at Gibraltar, and about a hundred recruits.

Admiral Byng arrived at Gibraltar on the 2d of May, where he found the *Louisa*, captain Edgecombe, who informed him, that he had been driven from Minorca by a French Squadron of thirteen ships of the line, commanded by Monsi. Galissoniere, who had landed 15,000 men on that island. Admiral Byng gave immediate orders for the ships to complete their provisions and water with all possible expedition. On the third day after his arrival he went on shore to confer with general Fowke, the governor of Gibraltar, concerning a battalion to be transported to Minorca. When the admiral demanded this battalion, the governor produced three several letters of instruction from the war-office, which he could neither reconcile with each other, nor with the order given by the admiralty to admiral Byng. These several orders, were then compared and considered by a council of war at Gibraltar.

Who, after mature deliberation, determined not to part with the battalion required ; first, because it appeared by lord Barrington's first letter, that the Fuzileers were to remain at Gibraltar ; and, secondly, because it was the opinion of the engineers who were well acquainted with Minorca, that to throw succours into St. Philip's would be extremely difficult, if not impossible. But this resolution of the council of war was certainly wrong : for though it appeared by lord Barrington's first letter, that the Fuzileers were to remain at Gibraltar, that order was evidently contradicted by admiral Byng's instructions of a later date, and the order for sending a battalion to Minorca was repeated and confirmed. However, the council of war consented that one captain, six subalterns, five drums, and 235 private, should be embarked, to supply the deficiency of those left at Minorca by captain Edgecombe, and without which his ships would have been of little service in case of an engagement. With regard to admiral Byng's orders, though they were in many respects conditional, his orders to save Minorca, at all events, were positive and explicit, and that he ought to have effected, even at the risk of sacrificing his whole fleet. Be this as it may, he sailed from Gibraltar

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Gibraltar on the 8th of May, and on the 16th arrived at Majorca, where he was joined by the *Phoenix*, captain Harvey, who confirmed the intelligence relative to the French fleet and the siege of St. Philip's. He then steered for Minorca, but having contrary winds, did not make that island until the morning of the 19th, when he saw the English flag still flying at the castle of St. Philip's; and several bomb-batteries playing upon it from the enemy's works. There have been British admirals who, at such a prospect, would have sworn to relieve the garrison, or perish in the attempt! Early in the morning the admiral dispatched captain Harvey, in the *Phoenix*, with the *Chesterfield* and *Dolphin*, with orders to reconnoitre the entrance into the harbour, and, if possible, to convey a letter to general Blakeney. Captain Harvey got round the *Laire* before nine o'clock in the morning: he made signals to the garrison for a boat to come off; but without effect, and the admiral, about this time, discovering the French fleet, ordered him to return.

Admiral Byng now stood towards the enemy, and about two in the afternoon made a signal for the line of battle a-head. He then distributed as many seamen as could be spared from the frigates, on board such ships as were most in want of hands, and converted the *Phoenix* into a fire-ship. At seven in the evening the French squadron, being then about two leagues distant, tacked, in order to gain the weather-gage; and the English admiral, not chusing to relinquish that advantage, also put his ships about.

On the 20th, in the morning, the weather being hazy, the French fleet could not be discovered; but it became visible before noon, and at two o'clock admiral Byng made a signal to bear away two points from the wind and engage. Rear-admiral West was then at too great a distance to comply with both these orders; he therefore bore away seven points from the wind, and with his whole division attacked the enemy with such impetuosity, that several of their ships were soon obliged to quit the line. Had admiral Byng been equally alert and eager to engage, it is most probable that the French fleet would have been defeated and Minorca saved; but the enemy's centre keeping their station, and Byng's division not advancing, admiral West was prevented from pursuing his advantage, by the apprehension of being separated from the rest of the fleet.

After engaging about a quarter of an hour, the *Intrepid*, the sternmost ship of the van, lost her fore-top-mast, which, according to Byng's account of the action, obliged his whole division to back their sails, to prevent their falling foul of each other. But when this matter came to be examined by the court-martial, it appeared, that immediately after the signal for engaging, whilst the van were down upon the enemy, admiral Byng, in the *Ramillies*, edged away some points, by which means the *Trident* and *Louisa* got to windward of him, and that, in order

to bring them again into their stations, he backed his mizen-topails, and endeavoured to back his main-topfail. This manœuvre necessarily retarded all the ships in his division, and gave the enemy time to escape. M. Galissoniere seized the opportunity, and, his ships being clean, was soon out of danger: But admiral Byng, before the engagement, ordered the Deptford to quit the line, in order to reduce his line of battle to the same number of ships as that of the enemy. For this apparent generosity he was censured by the court-martial: nevertheless, there does not appear to have been any great impropriety in reserving one or more supernumerary ships in readiness to supply the place of those which might happen to be disabled.

The English had in this engagement 42 men killed, and 168 wounded; the French 145 wounded, and 26 killed. Captain Andrews, of the *Defiance*, was the only officer of distinction, on board the English fleet, who lost his life on this occasion. The French fleet soon disappeared, and at eight in the evening admiral Byng made a signal for his squadron to bring to, at which time the *Intrepid* and the *Chesterfield* were missing; the former, being disabled, had been left to the care of the latter. They joined the fleet next morning, and the admiral then finding that three of his squadron were damaged in their masts, called a council of war, at which general Stuart, lord Effingham, lord Robert Bertie, and colonel Cornwallis were requested to assist.

The council of war being assembled on board the Ramillies, the following questions were proposed by admiral Byng :

1. Whether an attack upon the French fleet gives any prospect of relieving Minorca? *Answer.* It would not.
2. If there was no French fleet cruising off Minorca, whether the English fleet could raise the siege? *Answer.* It could not.
3. Whether Gibraltar would not be in danger by any accident that may befall this fleet? *Answer.* It would be in danger.
4. Whether an attack with our fleet, in the present state of it, upon that of the French, will not endanger the safety of Gibraltar, and expose the trade of the Mediterranean to great hazard? *Answer.* It would.
5. Whether it is not for his Majesty's service that the fleet should immediately proceed for Gibraltar? *Answer.* It should proceed for Gibraltar.

Here I must beg leave to retard the progress of our history a few moments, for the sake of the naval reader, to whom the consideration of these five resolutions may prove of infinite importance; these volumes being written with an intention, not only to record the heroic virtues of our naval commanders in times past; not only to amuse the gentlemen who in the present age have the honour to serve on board the British fleet;

fleet ; but to animate, to inform, to warn them, by example. I have, more than once, observed, and the truth of my observation hath been frequently confirmed, that councils of war seldom forebode much heroism. When a commander in chief, whose power is absolute, condescends to ask advice of his inferiors, it is a tacit acknowledgment, that his abilities are inadequate to his power ; or, that he is inclined to do that for which he dares not to be responsible. I do not believe there was one member of this council of war, who, if the five resolutions had depended upon his single voice, would not have answered them all in the negative. I am also of opinion, that if admiral Byng had been positively ordered to call no councils of war, but to relieve Minorca at all events, he would have returned triumphant to Britain ; unless we are to suppose him constitutionally a coward ; for, on such beings, the *present*, though *least*, danger always acts most powerfully.

How this council of war could determine, that it was impossible to relieve Minorca, without ever making the least attempt for that purpose, is incredibly astonishing ; and indeed it afterwards appeared that the troops on board might have been landed at the Sally-port with little danger ; for Mr. Boyd, commissary of the stores, actually went out to sea in a small boat in search of the English fleet, and returned safe to the garrison. As to their concern for the safety of Gibraltar, their apprehensions were in the highest degree ridiculous. According, however, to the fifth resolution of the council, admiral Byng returned with his fleet to Gibraltar, and Galissoniere to his former station off Cape Mola. How the garrison of St. Philip's must have been affected, when they beheld the French squadron returned triumphant, and afterwards heard a *feu de joie* in the enemy's camp, may be easily conceived. The besiegers had doubtless cause to rejoice at the safe return of their fleet, though not on account of any victory obtained by their admiral ; for the two admirals evidently ran from each other. But though the garrison were not a little disappointed at Byng's disappearance, they nevertheless defended the castle till the 28th of June, when, despairing of relief from England, and rationally supposing that, in the greater system of politics, they were intended to be sacrificed, after a gallant defence of ten weeks, the venerable Blakeney, on very honourable terms, surrendered Minorca to the *Duc de Richlieu*.

Admiral Byng arrived at Gibraltar on the 19th of June, where commodore Broderick had come to an anchor four days before, with a reinforcement of five ships of the line, which were sent from England in consequence of certain intelligence that the French were fitting out more ships at Toulon. Thus enforced, admiral Byng determined to return to Minorca, in hopes of being yet in time to relieve the garrison ; but whilst he was with great activity preparing for his second enterprize,

the *Antelope* of 50 guns arrived at Gibraltar. On board of this ship were admiral Hawke, admiral Saunders, and lord Tyrwally, who were commissioned to supersede and arrest admiral Byng, admiral West, and governor Fowke. The three delinquents were accordingly sent on board the *Antelope*, and returned prisoners to England. Sir Edward Hawke, with the fleet under his command, sailed immediately up the Mediterranean; but, upon his arrival off Minorca, he had the mortification to see the French flag flying on St. Philip's castle. As soon as the garrison surrendered, Galissoniere prudently retired to Toulon, where he remained in security, whilst Sir Edward Hawke asserted the naval empire of Great Britain, in sight of an enemy elated with the conquest of a small island, which they were afterwards obliged to relinquish. This conquest, though really insignificant, caused such extravagant exultation in France, such an universal *Te Deum laudamus*, that one might rationally have supposed the British empire totally annihilated.

The people of England, on the contrary, received the intelligence of Byng's retreat with general dissatisfaction, and, without the least inquiry into the conduct of the ministry, pointed all their resentment against that unfortunate admiral. The ministry joined in the cry, doing every thing in their power to divert the resentment of the people from themselves. That Mr. Byng's conduct was, in many respects, extremely reprehensible, is most certain; but it is not less certain, that the ministry were equally inexcusable, for not sending troops to Minorca much sooner, and for not giving Byng a superior fleet. If the five ships, which afterwards failed to his assistance, had made part of his squadron, Galissoniere must have fled at his approach, and Minorca would infallibly have been saved. But these reflections, whilst they fix eternal obloquy on the administration, do not exculpate the admiral. The exigency and importance of the service on which he was sent, required a sacrifice of prudence to necessity. Our history affords many examples of English fleets obtaining a complete victory over an enemy far superior in number of guns and men; but these victories were gained by admirals who disdained to calculate the exact weight of metal in each squadron.

Admiral Byng, admiral West, and General Fowke, arrived at Portsmouth on the 3d of July. The two latter were ordered to London, where admiral West was graciously received by the king. The general was tried for disobedience of orders in not sending a battalion to the relief of Minorca, and sentenced to be suspended for a year. The king confirmed the sentence, and afterwards dismissed him his service. Admiral Byng, after continuing some time in arrest at Portsmouth, was escorted to Greenwich-hospital, where he remained close prisoner till December, the time appointed for his trial, which began on the 28th of that month, on board the *St. George* in Portsmouth-harbour.

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The court-martial consisted of four admirals, and nine captains of the navy. They sat a month, daily examining evidence for and against the prisoner. Admiral West deposed, that he saw no reason why the rear-division might not have engaged the enemy as close as did the van, and that there was no signal made for giving chase when the French sheered off. General Blakeney deposed, that, on the 20th of May, boats might have passed between the fleet and the garrison with great security, and that if the troops ordered for his relief had been landed, he could have held out till the arrival of Sir Edward Hawke. Captain Young, of the *Intrepid*, declared, that the loss of his fore-topmast did not appear to prevent the rear division from bearing down upon the enemy. Captain Gardiner deposed, that he advised the admiral to bear down, but without effect, and that, on the day of the action, the admiral took the command of the Ramillies entirely upon himself.—These cogent depositions were corroborated by other witnesses, and not in the least degree invalidated by any counter-evidence in favour of the delinquent. But some of the officers who were on board his ship, and near him during the engagement, deposed, that he discovered no signs of confusion, or want of personal courage, but that he gave his orders distinctly and with apparent coolness. The admiral's speech, in his defence, was inadequate to the great purpose of effacing the impression which the powerful evidence against him had made upon the court; they therefore found him guilty of a breach of that part of the 12th article of war, which says,—“or shall not do his utmost to take or destroy every ship which it shall be his duty to engage; and to assist and relieve all and every of his Majesty's ships which it shall be his duty to assist and relieve.” He was therefore sentenced to be shot, that being the punishment positively ordained for a breach of that article. The court, however, being of opinion, that admiral Byng's misconduct did not proceed from want of courage or disaffection, added to their report of their proceedings to the lords of the admiralty, a petition, requesting their lordships most earnestly to recommend him to his majesty's clemency.

The lords of the admiralty, having compared the sentence of the court-martial with the words of the twelfth article of war, which are, “Every person in the fleet, who through cowardice, negligence, or disaffection, shall,” &c. and not finding the crime of *negligence* (he being acquitted of the other two) imputed by the court; were in doubt concerning the legality of the sentence; they therefore presented a memorial to the king, requesting that the opinion of the twelve judges might be taken. This was accordingly done, and the judges pronounced it a legal sentence. After the lords of the admiralty had signed a warrant for Admiral Byng's execution, some of the members of the court-martial expressed a wish to be released, by act of parliament, from their oath of secrecy. A bill for this purpose accordingly

cordingly passed the house of commons; but when it came to a second reading in the house of lords, each member of the court-martial was separately asked, whether he had any thing to reveal which might incline the king to pardon the delinquent. Strange as it may seem, they all answered in the negative! and, on the 14th of March, admiral John Byng was shot on board the *Monarque*, in the harbour of Portsmouth.

The pursuit of this tragedy to its catastrophe having carried us somewhat beyond the limits of the year 1756, it is necessary that we should now resume the thread of our relation of such public transactions as were connected with the naval history of this kingdom. Hitherto we have seen Great-Britain and France actually at war, without the ceremony of an open declaration. Why this formality was so long deferred, must be ascribed to political considerations, by which the ministers of both countries were influenced; but how cogent soever these considerations might seem to a cabinet-council, a piratical war between two polished nations is unjust to the subjects of both: the reason is obvious. However, in the beginning of May, the British ministry being no longer in doubt concerning the invasion of Minorca by the French, determined to throw off the mask; accordingly a declaration of war with that nation was published in London on the 18th, and on the 9th of June war with England was proclaimed at Paris.

One principal design of this history being to perpetuate the names of such naval commanders, as, by their gallant actions, deserve to be recorded in the annals of Britain, I cannot omit an engagement which happened on the 17th of May off Rochfort, between the Colchester of 50 guns, commanded by captain Obrien, and the Lime of 20 guns, with the Aquilon of 48 guns, M. de Maurville, and the Fidelle of 36 guns, M. de Ligtardais. They were within gun-shot about six in the evening, and soon came to so close an engagement, that the foremast of the Lime was set on fire by the wads of the Fidelle, against whom, notwithstanding the great inequality of strength, she maintained a glorious contest upwards of five hours; when the Fidelle retreated firing signals of distress, and the Lime was so shattered as to be totally incapable of making any sail a-head. The Colchester and the Aquilon fought with equal intrepidity till past midnight, and then parted with mutual honour and satisfaction. Previous to this action, the Warwick of sixty guns, Captain Shulldham, off Martinico, falling in with three French men of war, was taken after an obstinate running fight, in which she lost her captain and a considerable number of men.

Our fleet in North America was, during this year, not totally inactive. A French man of war of 50 guns, called *L'Arc-en-ciel*, with troops and military stores for Louisbourg, was taken off that port by the Norwich and Litchfield, both 50 gun ships, belonging

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belonging to admiral Spry's squadron. On the 26th of July, off the harbour of Louisbourg, commodore Holmes on board the *Grafton*, with the *Nottingham*, and the *Hornet* and Jamaica sloops, fell in with two French men of war, *Le Hero*, *L'Illuminate*, and two frigates, which were returning from Canada. The enemy being to windward, commodore Holmes stood towards them, as near the wind as he could lye. The French squadron bore down upon him till within about two leagues distance, when the English tacked with a design to cut the enemy off from the port of Louisbourg; but they hauled in for it, and came to an anchor about noon. Commodore Holmes pursued them to within a league of the harbour, where he laid to till four in the afternoon, and then made sail to the eastward. As soon as it was dark, he dispatched the *Hornet* sloop to Halifax, to request a reinforcement, being much inferior to the enemy. At eight next morning, the four French ships, above mentioned, weighed anchor, sailed out of the harbour, and gave him chase. The English ships stood from the enemy at first, and fought them for some time with their stern chase only; but the *Grafton* at length hauled up her coursers, bunted her main-sail, and bore down upon the French commodore, who was also attacked by the *Nottingham*. *L'Illuminate* was prevented from assisting his partner, by a sudden calm; but a breeze springing up soon after, the French were again united about seven in the evening. At dusk the battle ended, and the two squadrons separated. According to the French accounts of this engagement, the two English ships sheered off when they saw the *L'Illuminate* coming up; and next morning Mons. Beausier, the commodore, finding the English at too great a distance, returned to Louisbourg, with the loss of eighteen men killed and forty-eight wounded. The English account, on the contrary, assures us, that, before it grew dark, the French sheered off, and next morning prevented a renewal of the action, by bearing away right before the wind for Louisbourg. The *Hero* was considerably injured. The *Grafton* had six men killed and twenty-one wounded.

Spain, at this time, affected to entertain sentiments of sincere friendship towards England, and declared herself determined to maintain the strictest neutrality: nevertheless, she had so continued to augment her navy, that she had now forty-six ships of the line and twenty-two frigates almost fit for service. Notwithstanding the pacific declarations of the Spanish ministry, they were certainly determined, as soon as they were ready, if not to break with England, at least to try her patience to the utmost. Their guarda costas began again to insult our trade in the West Indies, and private orders were sent to prevent our cutting logwood in the bay of Honduras. But these insults being insufficient to provoke the British ministry, the haughty Spaniards resolved to seize the first opportunity of insulting us nearer

nearer home. A French privateer, having taken an English vessel on the coast of France, brought her to an anchor under the guns of Algezire, a Spanish fort in the bay of Gibraltar. Sir Edward Hawke, whose squadron was at this time riding in the bay, and lord Trawley governor of Gibraltar, immediately sent to demand the restitution of the prize, which the governor of Algezire positively refused. The English officer who carried this demand, being attended with a number of armed boats, with orders to cut the ship out and to bring her off at all events, proceeded to execute his orders, and carried his point; but the castle gave him so warm a reception, that above a hundred of his men were either killed or wounded. The court of Spain approved of the governor's conduct, and pretended to be violently offended with that of Sir Edward Hawke. England bore this outrage with Christian patience; and the impression it made was soon obliterated by a greater.

Human nature, collected into states and kingdoms, is influenced by the follies, passions, and vices, by which individuals are generally governed. The man who wants spirit to resent the first affront, must soon expect a second: so it is with nations. The Antigallican, an English private ship of war, of thirty carriage and sixteen swivel guns, commanded by captain William Foster, cruising in the bay of Biscay, fell in with *Le Duc de Penthièvre*, a French East-Indiaman, on the 26th of December, about seven leagues from Ferrol. The Indiaman, mounting fifty guns, being to windward, bore down upon the Antigallican, and fired a gun to bring her to. She then hoisted her colours. The Frenchman fired a broad-side, and half another, with considerable effect, before the Antigallican returned the compliment. A close engagement ensued, and continued three hours, when the Indiaman struck, her captain and twelve men being killed, and her second captain and twenty-seven men wounded. They were, at this time, five leagues and a half distant from the light-house at Corunna. Captain Foster attempted to carry his prize into Lisbon; but, finding it impossible to make that port, he bore away for Cadiz, where, as soon as he came to an anchor, the officers of the Indiaman deposed upon oath, that their ship was in all respects a legal prize. Nevertheless, incredible as it may seem, it was not long before orders were sent from Madrid, to the governor of Cadiz, to detain both the ships, under pretence that the Indiaman was taken so near a Spanish fort, as to be within the distance prescribed by the law of nations: a palpable falsehood! The Spaniards pretended to institute a legal inquiry; but their proceedings were a disgrace to all law and equity. Sir Benjamin Keene at Madrid, and Mr. Goldsworth, the English consul at Cadiz, in vain remonstrated. The court of Spain sent a positive order for the prize to be delivered to the French consul, and the governor of Cadiz,

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Cadiz, on captain Foster's refusing to strike the English colours, sent a sixty-gun ship and a thirty-gun frigate to reduce the Pen-thievre to obedience by force. They continued firing upon her near two hours without a single shot being returned. They shot away his ensign, killed the sailor who was sent to strike his pendant, and wounded seven of his men. When the Spanish commodore had thus amused himself as long as he thought fit, captain Foster was told that he was not a prisoner, and suffered to go on shore, and was afterwards told by the governor, that he had no farther commands for him: nevertheless, he was next morning dragged to prison, and his crew, after being robbed and abused by the Spanish soldiers, were thrown into a loathsome dungeon, where they must inevitably have perished of hunger, but for the humanity of the British consul. These unhappy men were not released till the 5th of March.

It is as painful to the British historian as to the British reader to contemplate the insolent cruelty and injustice of Spain, in this and the preceding example. In some periods of our history, not a nation under heaven would have dared thus to provoke the growling lion. If this had happened in the reign of Elisabeth, or during Cromwell's usurpation, Cadiz would have been laid in ashes in less than a month. But the political system of the British ministry prompted them rather to submit to any insult, than risk a Spanish war. The people of England grew dissatisfied, Braddock's defeat, the reduction of Oswego and other forts in America; the loss of Minorca, and the absurd disposition and employment of the navy, convinced them, that the ministry were unequal to the importance of their several offices. The nation became clamorous, and the king at last consented to a partial change in the administration. Mr. Pitt was appointed secretary of state for the southern department, and Mr. Legge nominated chancellor of the Exchequer.

The people in general were extremely delighted with this change of men, in full confidence that a change of measures would follow; but too much of the old leaven still remained, to suffer the full exertion of heroic patriotism. These new ministers began to act upon principles so diametrically opposite to those of their colleagues in administration, that they were hardly seated in their places before it was determined to remove them. They were represented to the king as too obstinate, wayward servants of the people, rather than of the crown, and totally ignorant of that political system by which Hanover could possibly be preserved. This artful appeal to his majesty's natural affections produced the desired effect. On the 5th of April Mr. Pitt, by the king's command, was dismissed the office of secretary of state, and Mr. Legge, having also resigned, was succeeded by Lord Mansfield in the office of chancellor of the exchequer. This sudden dismissal of the two popular ministers surprized and alarmed the nation, and, instead of disgracing them with
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the people, added infinitely to their popularity. Many of the principal cities in England complimented them with their freedom in gold boxes, and the whole nation became at last so clamorous, that it was soon thought adviseable to solicit their re-acceptance of the places from which they had been so lately dismissed. Mr. Pitt resumed his office of secretary of state for the southern department on the 29th of June, and Mr. Legge that of chancellor of the exchequer a few days after. From this time Mr. Pitt became prime minister, though the principal persons who composed the late administration remained in office. The duke of Newcastle was appointed first lord of the treasury, Mr. Fox paymaster-general of the army, and lord Anson first lord of the admiralty.

The first expedition in which the navy bore a part, after Mr. Pitt's restoration, was that against Rochfort on the coast of France. This minister conceived, that the most effectual means of stopping the progress of the French armies in Germany, was, by ravaging their coasts, to call their attention to the security of their own dominions. Rochfort became the first object of his attention in consequence of certain intelligence which he had received from a captain Clerk, who informed him, that, returning from Gibraltar in the year 1744, he visited Rochfort with a design to make himself acquainted with its strength, in case of a war with France, and that he found its fortifications in so ruinous a state, that the town might be easily taken by a *coup-de-main*; presuming that it remained in the same situation, because the fortifications had not been repaired during the two last wars with England. Captain Clerk's information was afterwards laid before the cabinet, and Tierry, a French pilot, was closely examined, concerning the practicability of landing and protecting the troops.

The ministry being now perfectly satisfied, as to the feasibility and importance of the enterprize, a formidable fleet was immediately ordered to Spithead, and ten regiments of foot encamped on the Isle of Wight. Sir John Mordaunt, knight of the Bath, commanded the troops, and Sir Edward Hawke the fleet of men of war ordered for this service. The destination of this formidable armament remained a profound secret for some time; it was, however, at last, generally understood to be intended against some part of the coast of France. Mr. Pitt, perfectly sensible of the necessity of proceeding with all possible expedition, repeatedly urged the departure of the fleet; but, either by some unaccountable fatality, or by the malignant influence of men who would damn their country to thwart the measures of an envied minister, the transports did not arrive at St. Helen's till the 4th of September. The troops were embarked with all possible expedition, and the fleet got under sail on the 8th. This entire armament consisted of sixteen ships of the line, seven frigates, two bomb-ketches, two fire-ships, two busses,

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one horse-ship, and fifty-five transports, besides the Jason, a forty-gun ship, in the capacity of a transport, and the Chesterfield man of war for the purpose of repeating signals. On board of this fleet were ten regiments of foot, two regiments of marines, sixty light-horse, and a formidable train of artillery. The admirals under Sir Edward Hawke were Knowles and Broderick, and under Sir John Mordaunt were the generals Conway and Cornwallis.

This fleet sailed from St. Helen's with a fair wind, and bore away to the westward. The troops on board were totally ignorant of their destination till the 15th, when the orders issued by Sir John Mordaunt relative to the nature of the service on which they were sent, put the matter out of doubt. They stood into the bay of Biscay, and on the 20th made the isle of Oleron. Sir Edward Hawke sent immediate orders for admiral Knowles to proceed with his division to Basque road, and to attack the fort on the isle of Aix; but the execution of this order, though positive, was suspended by a very extraordinary accident. Admiral Knowles, as soon as he received these orders, made sail with his division, and prepared his ships for action; but he had scarce taken leave of Sir Edward Hawke, before a French man of war was observed standing in towards the centre of the English fleet. When this singular phenomenon appeared, admiral Knowles was so deeply engaged in the important occupation of exhibiting the entertaining spectacle of a clear ship between decks to general Conway, that he could not possibly attend to the first information brought by his lieutenant. However, in consequence of a second message, the admiral came upon deck, and, with his spy-glass, discovered this strange sail to be a two-decked ship. Admiral Knowles recollecting that he was sent on a different service, but not recollecting the comparative importance of that service, was in doubt whether he should make a signal for any of his division to chase. During this hesitation the French ship discovered her mistake, tacked and bore away with all the sail she could crowd. The admiral continued still to doubt, and doubted so long, that all possibility of coming up with her before night vanished. At last, however, admiral Knowles ordered the Magnanime and the Torbay to give chase. They chased as long as they could see their object, and next morning rejoined the fleet.

On the 21st admiral Knowles, with the division under his command, made sail towards the land; but the weather proving hazy, the pilots refused to carry the fleet in. The evening the troops were in full expectation of landing; but about seven o'clock the ships tacked, and came to an anchor near the isle of Rhée. On the 22d the fleet entered the bay called the Road of Basque, between the islands of Rhée and Oleron, and there remained at anchor during the night. About eight next morning, admiral Knowles in the Neptune, with the Magnanime, the

the *Barfleur*, *America*, *Alcide*, *Burford*, and *Royal William*, made sail towards Aix, a small island in the mouth of the river leading up to Rochfort. Captain Howe in the *Magnanime* led the van. At half past twelve, the fort upon the island began to fire upon him, and his people soon grew impatient to return the compliment. But he continued to advance with the utmost composure, without firing a single shot, continually urging his pilot to lay the ship as close to the fort as possible. The moment he came abreast of the battery, he let go his anchors, and fired a broadside, which drove most of the Frenchmen from their guns. From this time the fire from the battery gradually ceased. It was, however, near an hour before she struck her colours. That this island should prove so easy a conquest will not appear surprising, when the reader is informed, that the battery so furiously attacked by the *Magnanime* consisted of no more than six iron cannons, mounted *en barbet*: so that the gunners were so entirely exposed, that captain (now lord) Howe might have taken the fort in his long-boat. There were indeed near thirty pieces of cannon upon the island; but the six above-mentioned were all that were brought to bear upon the ships. The fortifications of Aix were planned by the great Vauban; but the execution of that plan had been so totally neglected, that the island was, at this time, entirely defenceless.

As soon as the French colours were struck, an English regiment landed and took possession of the *important* conquest. Aix is an island about five or six miles in circumference, entirely covered with vines, which yield a meagre wine, the common beverage of the country. The garrison consisted of about five hundred men, part soldiers and part sailors, most of which had been landed from the continent on the day preceding the attack, and were now made prisoners of war.

The conquest of the isle of Aix, though of little importance, considered as an omen of success, gave vast spirits to the whole fleet, and inspired the troops with such ardour, that, if they had been immediately landed on the continent, they would probably have succeeded in any possible attempt. Five days from this period were spent in sounding the depth of water, in prudential deliberations and sage councils of war; so that eight days were now elapsed since the first appearance of the fleet on the coast of France, during which time, we may rationally suppose, that the enemy had made no inconsiderable progress in preparing for a vigorous defence. But before we proceed to the conclusion of this grand expedition, it is necessary to relate, more particularly, the transactions of the five days from the taking of the isle of Aix.

On the 23d, in the afternoon, immediately after the *glorious* conquest of that *important* fortress, Sir Edward Hawke sent admiral Broderick, with captains Dennis, Douglas, and Buckle,

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to reconnoitre and found the coast, in order to find a proper place for landing the troops which were intended to destroy the shipping, docks, and naval stores at Rochfort. These gentlemen, having spent the remainder of that day, and the following night, in the laborious execution of their commission, returned to the fleet about four in the afternoon of the 24th, and reported, that from Angolin to Chataillon there was a hard sandy beach; also a small bay farther to the eastward, at either of which places troops might be conveniently landed, and that there was sufficient depth of water and clear ground for the transports to anchor at the distance of a mile and a half from the shore. They also reported, that on the south side of the bay there was a square fort, on the north-west side of which were nine embrasures, and two on the north-east. This fort had been previously reconnoitred by colonel Wolfe, who was of opinion, that it might be easily silenced by a single ship, or, at least, so engaged, that the troops might land on each side of it with very little interruption. The pilot of the *Magnanime* made no doubt of carrying his ship near enough to batter the fort. From these several reports Sir Edward Hawke and Sir John Mordaunt seemed determined to proceed to the execution of colonel Wolfe's plan. But this resolution was afterwards staggered by general Conway, who, after a tedious examination of several prisoners from the isle of Aix, reported that, according to the information of these prisoners, the attempt against Rochfort would be attended with danger and difficulty. This suspicious information determined the two commanders to have recourse to that bane of our national glory, a council of war. If Wolfe had commanded these brave troops, would he, on this occasion, have called a council of war? The report of prisoners ought not to be entirely disregarded; but a wise general, or admiral, will listen to their information with the utmost suspicion. Be this as it may, if these prisoners produced the council of war, they ought to have been amply rewarded by the king of France as the saviours of Rochfort.

The members of this memorable council were, Sir Edward Hawke, Sir John Mordaunt, admiral Knowles, general Conway, admiral Broderick, general Cornwallis, captain Rodney, colonel Howard. They met on the 25th, on board the *Neptune*, and, after mature deliberation, determined, unanimously, that an attempt upon Rochfort was neither *advisable* or *practicable*. That it was unadvisable, if impracticable, no body will presume to doubt. Nevertheless, admiral Knowles was sent next morning with two bomb-ketches and other small vessels to bombard the fort, and to sound the entrance into the river Charante; who on his return reported, that one of the bombs ran a-ground, and that the *Coventry* touched five times in attempting to protect her from two French row-gallies. This report by admiral Knowles can no otherwise be reconciled with that of the officers

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first employed in founding, and with the evidence of the pilot of the *Magnanime*, than by supposing that the French pilots now employed, chose to sacrifice their reputation as pilots to the safety of their country. But notwithstanding this report, orders were issued that night for the troops to hold themselves in readiness to land next morning; yet that day passed in perfect inactivity. However, another council of war consisting of the same members, being called, it was now unanimously resolved, that it was advisable to land the troops.

In consequence of this resolution, on the 28th in the afternoon, the *Ramillies* hoisted a signal for the commanders of regiments to come on board, and at eight the same evening orders were issued for the troops to prepare for landing in the night. Twelve hundred men were accordingly crowded into boats, in full expectation of a signal at midnight to put off. Indeed such was the alacrity of the troops on this occasion, and such their eagerness to land, that the boats were filled an hour before the time. In this situation they remained, the boats beating against each other, for it blew rather fresh, till about three in the morning; when, instead of a signal to put off, a laconic order came for the troops to return to their respective transports. This order was obeyed, but not without a general murmur of dissatisfaction.

Sir Edward Hawke, at length disgusted with the irresolute proceedings of the army, on the 29th of September, informed Sir John Mordaunt, by letter, that if he had nothing farther to propose, he intended to proceed with the fleet to England. The land officers approved his resolution, and, on the first of October, the fleet sailed with a fair wind for England, and came to an anchor at Spithead on the sixth of the same month.

The people of England were exceedingly disappointed and dissatisfied at this inglorious return of such a fleet and such an army. But no man in the kingdom had so much reason to be displeased as the minister himself. He now plainly perceived that he had mistaken his generals, and, to satisfy the people, consented to an inquiry into their conduct. Accordingly, a board of inquiry was appointed, consisting of the duke of Marlborough, lord George Sackville, and general Waldegrave. These gentlemen, after much examination, deliberation, and reflection, presented to the king so vague, so unsatisfactory, so silly a report, that it was afterwards thought necessary to bring Sir John Mordaunt to a formal trial by a court-martial, where he was honourably acquitted. The minister and the admiral were also acquitted by the general voice of the people; so that this grand expedition miscarried without a cause.

Having, I hope, satisfied the reader concerning the employment of the British navy in Europe, let us now follow our fleets and armies to other parts of the world. In the East-Indies we behold a scene extremely different from that which we have just

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quitted ; unanimity, resolution, and the genuine spirit of enterprise in our commanders ; intuitive military genius, and victory its natural attendant. Admiral Watson sailed from Bombay on the 30th of April, 1756. He arrived at St. David's on the 29th of May ; sailed from thence on the 20th of June, and anchored in Madras road the day following. Here he first learnt the dreadful fate of Calcutta. Having taken colonel Clive and his small army on board his squadron, he sailed on the 6th of October, determined to revenge the horrid murder of his countrymen. They anchored in Balasore road on the 5th of December, reached Futta on the 15th, and on the 28th proceeded to Calcutta, with the Kent, Tyger, Salisbury, Bridgewater, and King-fisher sloop. Next day colonel Clive, with a small body of men, landed, in order to attack a fort called Busbudgia, which, being at the same time cannonaded by the ships, was soon abandoned by the garrison. Other forts and batteries were likewise deserted as the ships proceeded up the river, and, on the 2d of January, 1757, after a smart cannonade from the Kent and Tyger, the enemy were driven from their guns, and the town of Calcutta restored to the East-India Company. No more than nine seamen and three soldiers were killed, and about thirty men wounded. Ninety-one pieces of cannon were found in the place, with a considerable quantity of ammunition and military stores.

This important conquest being finished, the British commanders resolved to attempt Hugly, a city of great trade, higher up the Ganges. The Bridgewater of twenty guns, and a sloop, with a detachment of troops under the command of captain Kirkpatrick, were destined for this service. This armament proceeded up the river on the 5th of January, and reduced the place without much difficulty. Twenty pieces of cannon were found on the ramparts, besides a considerable quantity of saltpetre and magazines of grain, which were immediately destroyed by the conquerors. The nabob of Bengal, enraged at being thus rapidly driven from his most important possessions, assembled an army of ten thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot, and, on the 2d of February, encamped about a mile from Calcutta. Colonel Clive, though very inferior in number, resolved to attack the nabob in his camp, and requested the admiral to assist him with all the sailors he could spare. Six hundred seamen were landed, under the command of captain Warwick, on the 5th, at one in the morning ; at three colonel Clive marched his little army, and about five the attack began. The nabob, after a feeble resistance, retreated, with the loss of a thousand men killed, wounded and taken. This action, though not decisive, obliged the nabob to sign articles of capitulation, very advantageous to the East-India company.

Having thus humbled this insolent nabob, the conquerors turned their attention towards Chandanagore, a capital French set-

settlement above Calcutta, on the same river. Colonel Clive with seven hundred Europeans, and about sixteen hundred Indians, marched towards the place, and, after gaining possession of the principal outposts, waited for the arrival of the fleet. On the 18th of March, the admirals Watson and Pocock, with the Kent, Tyger, and Salisbury men of war, came to an anchor two miles below Chandenagore. They found their passage obstructed by booms and chains across the river. These obstacles being removed, on the 24th in the morning they began to batter the fort, whilst colonel Clive continued his approaches by land, and after three hours cannonading the enemy hoisted a flag of truce, and surrendered by capitulation. The garrison consisted of five hundred Europeans and twelve hundred Indians, well provided with ammunition and subsistence, and a hundred and twenty-three pieces of cannon mounted on the ramparts. This important conquest cost the victors no more than forty men. Colonel Clive's subsequent achievements are foreign to the purpose of this history. It is sufficient to say, that he totally defeated the nabob Sulajud Dowla at the head of twenty thousand men, caused him to be solemnly deposed, and his prime minister Ali Khan to be proclaimed in his stead.

We now take our leave of the East in order to inquire how our fleets in the West-Indies and in North-America were employed. We are to remember that Mr. Pitt's first administration, which commenced with the year 1757, was of short duration. It continued however long enough to convince the nation of his spirit and political sagacity. Astonished at the negligence of his predecessors in administration, he immediately conceived, and in part executed, a plan of operation wisely calculated to revive the faded laurels of Britain. He sent a squadron of men of war under the command of commodore Stevens to the East Indies, another to Jamaica under admiral Cotes, and a third was ordered to be equipped for North-America, the command of which was to be given to Sir Edward Hawke. This third squadron was destined, with a body of troops under lord Loudoun then in America, for the reduction of Louisbourg; but the design was scarce revealed to the privy-council, before it was known in the French cabinet, and the preparations at Portsmouth so flagrantly retarded, that the enemy had sufficient time to render the expedition abortive. One French fleet of nine ships sailed from Brest in January, a second, of five men of war, sailed from Toulon in April, and a third, of fourteen sail, left France on the third of May. The last of these squadrons arrived at Louisbourg in June. The English fleet, intended for Sir Edward Hawke, was given to admiral Holbourne, who sailed from Corke a week after the departure of the last French squadron from Brest, and arrived at Halifax in North America on the 9th of July. Admiral Holbourne being joined by lord Loudoun with the troops from New-York, councils of war were frequently

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frequently held, and, according to the general issue of such councils, it was resolved to postpone the attack upon Louisbourg to a more favourable opportunity. Thus ended the naval expedition of admiral Holbourne. The troops under the command of lord Loudoun were 12,000 effective men, and the fleet consisted of fifteen ships of the line, and eighteen frigates, &c.

We have seen above, that early in this year a squadron sailed to the West-Indies, under the command of admiral Cotes. Soon after his arrival on the Jamaica station, he detached captain Forest with three frigates to cruize off Cape François, in order to intercept the trade from the French islands. Captain Forest had scarce made his appearance on that coast before he fell in with four French men of war commanded by Monsr. Kerfaint. An engagement immediately ensued, which was sustained with mutual courage and obstinate resolution for two hours and a half; after which the enemy retreated to Cape François, and the English frigates to Jamaica. Thus ends our naval history of the year 1757. Let us now hasten to the year 1758, where we may expect to find the patriotic zeal, political abilities, and heroic spirit of enterprize, so conspicuous in the character of the new minister, in full exertion of their influence. This intrepid minister was so extremely disgusted at the behaviour of some of our commanders, that, in one of his speeches in the house of commons, he did not scruple to declare, that, though the king would readily embrace any rational measure for the honour of his crown, he doubted whether a man could be found, who might safely be trusted with the execution of any enterprize of danger or difficulty.

The parliament voted, for the service of the year 1758, sixty thousand seamen, fifteen thousand marines included; and for the land service, near fifty-four thousand men. Our fleet, at this period, consisted of three hundred and twenty ships of war, one hundred and fifty-six of which were of the line. Besides these, there were on the stocks, four ships of 74, two of 70, four of 64, six of 36, and ten of 28 guns. The supplies were raised with the utmost facility, and at a moderate interest. The languid, latent spirit of the nation, inflamed by that of the new minister, was suddenly roused from the disgraceful apathy which, except in the East-Indies, characterised the operations of the preceding year. The navy of France, at this time, consisted of seventy-seven ships of the line and thirty-nine frigates; that of Spain of fifty-two line of battle ships, twenty-six frigates from 30 to 16 guns, thirteen xebèques of 24, and four packet boats of 16 guns.

The reduction of Louisbourg being a principal object in Mr. Pitt's plan of military operations, a naval armament, adequate to the purpose, was prepared with all possible expedition, and the command given to admiral Boscawen, an officer of approved abilities. The formidable French fleet which had protected

Louisbourg the preceding year, had returned to France in a shattered condition. These ships being repaired, were intended to return to their former station in North America; but their intentions were effectually anticipated and prevented by the vigilant alacrity of the British minister. Admiral Boscawen sailed from St. Helen's on the 19th February, with forty-one men of war. Mean while, a fleet under the command of Sir Edward Hawke blocked up the French ports in the bay of Biscay, and another squadron, commanded by admiral Osborne, was sent to cruize between Cape de Gatte and Carthagea on the coast of Spain. There were, at this time, three small squadrons of French ships of war in the different ports of Toulon, Carthagea and Brest, which squadrons, under the command of Monsi. de Quesne and Monsi. de la Clue, had orders to steal away for Louisbourg, jointly or separately. The former of these commanders, in order to join the latter at Carthagea, sailed from Toulon on the 25th of April, on board the *Foudroyant* of 80 guns, attended by the *Orphée* of 64, the *Oriflamme* of 50, and *Pleiade* of 24 guns. Admiral Osborne, expecting the departure of this squadron from Toulon, had stationed the *Gibraltar* frigate in the offing of that harbour to watch their motions. As soon as du Quesne's squadron appeared, the *Gibraltar* sheered off, and gradually decoyed the enemy so effectually, that on the 27th, about two in the morning, du Quesne found himself in the midst of Osborne's fleet. In this critical situation, the French admiral made a signal for his squadron to disperse: each ship immediately steered a different course, and were as immediately pursued by detachments from Osborne's fleet, who, with the remainder of his fleet, continued to block up the harbour of Carthagea. The *Pleiade*, being a prime sailer, escaped. The *Oriflamme* was chased by the *Monarque* and *Montague*, and escaped destruction by running under the guns of a small Spanish fort. The *Orphée* was pursued by the *Revenge* and *Berwick*, and was taken by the first of these ships, in sight of Carthagea. The *Foudroyant* was chased by the *Monmouth*, *Swiftsure* and *Hampton-Court*. About seven in the morning the *Monmouth* and *Foudroyant* began to fire at each other, the rest of the fleet being then totally out of sight. The disproportion between the two ships was very great. The *Foudroyant* had a thousand men on board, and mounted eighty guns, 42 and 22 pounders; the *Monmouth* mounted only sixty-four 12 and 24 pounders, and her complement of men was no more than four hundred and seventy. This remarkable disparity notwithstanding, captain Gardiner, who commanded the *Monmouth*, resolved, at all events, to vanquish his enemy. Thus determined he brought his ship within pistol-shot of his antagonist, and now the battle raged with infernal fury. About nine o'clock captain Gardiner was shot through the head by a musket-ball. He lingered till the day following, and then died,

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died, universally regretted and lamented, particularly by the officers and crew of his own ship. The death of such a man was a very great loss to his country. Soon after the captain fell, the Monmouth's mizen-mast came by the board; on which the enemy gave three cheers. The crew of the Monmouth returned the compliment a few minutes after, the mizen-mast of the Foudroyant being also shot away. This disaster was soon followed by the fall of her main-mast, which giving fresh spirits to the English, their fire became so incessant and intolerable, that the French sailors could no longer be kept to their guns, and the mighty Foudroyant struck a little after one o'clock. This action, which is one of the most glorious in the naval history of Britain, and which must ever remain an incontestable proof of our naval superiority, I beg leave to recommend to the constant recollection of such of our sea-officers as may be inclined to calculate their comparative weight of metal before they venture to engage.

The Orphée and Foudroyant being taken, and the commander in chief being a prisoner, Mons. de la Clue gave up all thoughts of passing the Straits of Gibraltar, and returned from Carthage to Toulon, where his squadron was laid up. But the French ministry, not depending entirely on their Mediterranean fleet for the protection of Louisbourg and the reinforcement of their army in North America, had prepared a considerable fleet of transports and store-ships at Rochfort, Bourdeaux, and other ports in that neighbourhood. These transports, with three thousand troops on board, were ordered to rendezvous in April, and to sail under convoy of six ships of the line and several frigates. Such however was the intelligence and alacrity of the English ministry, that effectual measures were taken to frustrate the design. Sir Edward Hawke, with seven ships of the line and three frigates, sailed down the bay of Biscay, and on the third of April brought up in Basque-road, where he discovered five French ships of the line and seven frigates at anchor near the isle of Aix. They no sooner saw the English fleet than they began with the utmost precipitation to slip their cables, and fly in great confusion. Some of them escaped to sea; but far the greater number threw their guns and stores overboard, and, running into shoal water, stuck in the mud. Next morning several of their men of war and transports were seen lying on their broad sides; but being out of the reach of his guns, Sir Edward Hawke left them to their fate, perfectly satisfied with having frustrated their intention of sailing to America.

I have before observed, that some of the store ships and transports destined for North America were to sail from Bourdeaux. These transports were twelve in number. They sailed under convoy of the Galathée, a frigate of twenty-two guns, and a letter of marque of twenty guns. In the bay of Biscay they

had the misfortune to fall in with the *Essex* of sixty-four guns, and the *Pluto* and *Proserpine* fire ships, which were on their passage to join Sir Edward Hawke. After a short, but smart conflict, the French frigate, the letter of marque, and one of the transports were taken. But this advantage was dearly purchased with the death of captain James Hume, who commanded the *Pluto*. Two more of these transports were afterwards taken by the *Antelope* and *Speedwell* sloops.

Having seen every attempt of France for the protection of Louisbourg entirely frustrated, we now proceed to projects more directly offensive, planned and executed by Mr. Pitt. But a melancholy event intervenes. On the 13th of April the Prince George of eighty guns, commanded by rear admiral Broderick, in his passage to the Mediterranean, took fire between one and two in the afternoon, and, notwithstanding the utmost exertions of human skill and labour, aided by despair, burnt with such rapidity, that in the space of a few hours she burnt down to the water edge. A little before six in the evening she sunk entirely, and more than two thirds of her crew perished in the ocean. The admiral, after buffetting the waves near an hour, was at length taken up by a boat belonging to one of the merchantmen under his convoy. Captain Peyton and the chaplain were also among the few that were saved.

We now proceed to the circumstantial relation of an expedition to the coast of Africa; an expedition which, extraordinary as it may seem, was planned and executed by a Quaker. Thomas Cuming, the projector of this enterprize, having made a voyage, as a merchant-adventurer, to Portenderrick, on the coast of Africa, became personally acquainted with Amir the Moorish king of Legibelli. This prince, being prejudiced in favour of the English nation, and extremely dissatisfied with the French, wished eagerly for an opportunity to drive them from their settlements on the river Senegal, and promised all the assistance in his power to the arms of Britain. Mr. Cuming, during his residence on the Gum-coast, became perfectly acquainted with the nature, extent, and importance of the trade, and was very assiduous in his inquiry concerning the situation and strength of the French forts. On his return to England he communicated his observations and ideas to the board of trade, by whom his project was approved, and finally adopted by the ministry. This was in the year 1757. A force which was deemed adequate to this expedition, was ordered to be prepared; but before the ships were ready to sail, the season was so far advanced, that it was thought advisable to postpone the design. In the beginning of the following year, Mr. Cuming revived his application; the minister approved his plan, and a small squadron was equipped with all possible expedition. The ships ordered for this expedition were the *Nassau* of sixty-four, the *Harwich* of fifty, and the *Rye* of twenty guns, attended by the *Swan* sloop and

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and two buffes. They had on board two hundred marines, commanded by major Mason, and a detachment of matrosies, under captain Walker; ten pieces of cannon and eight mortars.

This small squadron, commanded by captain Marsh, and conducted by friend Cuming, sailed from Plymouth on the 9th of March, and on the 24th of April came to an anchor in the mouth of the river Senegal, and in sight of fort Louis, which is situated on the island of Senegal, about four leagues within the bar. The French governor of this fort, as soon as he discovered the English squadron, sent down an armed brig and six sloops to dispute the passage of the bar. A brisk but ineffectual cannonading ensued. Mean while the channel being discovered, and the wind blowing up the river, captain Millar of the London bus passed the bar and came to an anchor, where he remained all night exposed to the fire of the enemy. He was followed next morning by the other small vessels, some of which ran aground and bulged. The troops on board these vessels immediately took to their boats, and landed on the east shore of the river. Apprehensive of being attacked by the natives, they threw up an intrenchment and disembarked their stores. Next morning they were reinforced by a detachment of 350 seamen, and now began to meditate an attack upon fort Louis. But the governor, not chusing to wait the event, sent two deputies with offers of surrender. His proposals, after a little deliberation, were accepted by captain Marsh and major Mason. By the articles of capitulation, the natives of France were to be sent home with all their private effects. On the first of May the English took possession of fort Louis, and all the settlements belonging to France on the river Senegal, were at the same time ceded to the king of Great-Britain. Thus this important conquest, which was planned and conducted by a Quaker, was achieved in a manner perfectly consonant with the principles of his religion, namely, without spilling a single drop of human blood. It is also worthy of remark, that it was our first successful expedition since the commencement of the war. There were found in the fort ninety-two pieces of cannon, some treasure, and a considerable quantity of goods. This business being accomplished, and fort Louis garrisoned by English troops, the men of war proceeded to attack the island of Goree, about thirty leagues distant from Senegal; but their force being insufficient, the attempt miscarried.

On the 29th day of May, the Dorsetshire, captain Dennis, of 70 guns, cruizing in the bay of Biscay, fell in with *Raisonable*, a French man of war of 64 guns, and 530 men, commanded by *le Prince de Mombazon*, who defended his ship with great resolution till one hundred and sixty of his men were killed or wounded, and his hull and rigging considerably damaged.

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Mr. Pitt's comprehensive plan of operation was too rational to be disconcerted by such miscarriages as were justly to be attributed to a want of spirit in the execution. The expedition to the coast of France, as the preceding year, having failed, made no alteration in the minister's opinion, that a diversion of the like nature was a proper measure. For this purpose, in the month of May, near fourteen thousand men were encamped on the isle of Wight. This army, commanded by the duke of Marlborough, consisted of sixteen battalions of infantry, four hundred artillery men, and five hundred and forty light horse. One of the regiments of infantry, being destined for another service, did not embark; so that the number employed in this expedition amounted to about thirteen thousand. The subordinate general officers were lord George Sackville, the earl of Ancram, major-generals Waldegrave, Mostyn, Drury, Boscawen and Elliott. Two distinct fleets were assembled at Spithead: the first commanded by lord Anson, of twenty-two sail of the line; the second under commodore Howe, consisting of several frigates, sloops, fire ships, bomb-vessels, tenders, cutters, and transports.

This tremendous fleet sailed from St. Helen's on the first of June. Lord Anson with the line of battle ships stood away to the west, and proceeded to block up the French fleet at Brest; whilst commodore Howe steered athwart the channel with the wind at south-east. The night proved so tempestuous, notwithstanding the season of the year, that one of the store-ships rolled away her masts. About eight next morning they made Capela Hogue, and that night anchored in the race of Alderney. On the third, about noon, one of the transports struck upon a rock, near the island of Sark, and was lost, but the troops on board were saved. On the fourth, Mr. Howe came to an anchor within three leagues of St. Malo. Next morning he weighed before break of day, and stood into the bay of Cancale, so called from a village of that name, where the troops were intended to land. At four in the evening the whole fleet brought up, and in a short time after ten companies of grenadiers landed near the village above mentioned. The only opposition was from a battery of two guns fired by a brave old Frenchman and his son, who maintained their post till the poor old man was wounded by a shot from one of our frigates. If others of his countrymen had behaved with equal resolution, the disembarkation would have been more difficult; for there were at this time seven companies of foot and three troops of dragoons at Cancale: but these troops retired to St. Malo. The British grenadiers landed a little before sunset, attended by five volunteers of distinction, whose names should be recorded and remembered with gratitude. Such spirit in young men of rank and fortune raises the military character of a nation more effectually than a victory over the enemy. Lord Down, Sir John Armitage,

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Amitage, Sir James Lowther, Mr. Francis Blake Delaval, and Mr. Berkley, were the men. The entire disembarkation was completed on the sixth, and the whole army encamped near Cancalle; the grenadiers and the light horse being advanced about a mile in the front of the line.

The duke of Marlborough, sensible of the ravages which are generally committed by the common soldiers on their landing in an enemy's country, issued strict orders to prevent marauding. Nevertheless, some irregularities were committed. The offenders were brought to immediate trial, and two or three of them executed. This rigorous exertion of military law saved the inoffensive peasantry from many acts of brutal licentiousness which they would otherwise have experienced.

On the 7th, at break of day, the army marched towards St. Malo in two columns. The left column, commanded by lord George Sackville, fell into the great road; but the lanes through which lord Ancram's column marched were so narrow, and the country so inclosed and woody, that notwithstanding the previous labour of two hundred pioneers, the men were frequently obliged to pass in single files; so that a small number of the enemy might easily have destroyed this column, or at least have made it impossible for them to advance. But, so far from meeting with any opposition, they found the villages and hamlets through which they passed entirely deserted. The army proceeded in order without beat of drum, and, after a march of six miles, encamped at the distance of little more than a mile from the town of St. Malo. Whilst they were employed in pitching their tents, the light horse, with the piquets of the whole army, marched towards the town, and were saluted by a few shot from the cannon on the ramparts. As soon as it was dark, the piquets marched down to the harbour, where they found a considerable number of privateers and other small vessels, most of which, it being low water, were laid dry. Having set fire to all the shipping they proceeded to communicate the flames to the magazines of pitch, tar, ropes, &c. all which were entirely destroyed, except one small store-house, which, if it had been set on fire, must from its situation have destroyed most of the houses in the suburbs. This building was spared from a noble principle of humanity, worthy the imitation of all future invaders. The number of ships destroyed was about one hundred and twenty. The piquets now rejoined the army, which continued unmolested in its encampment till the 10th, when the tents were struck, and the army in one column marched back to Cancalle. Whilst the main body of the troops were employed as I have related, a battalion of the guards, under the command of colonel Cesar, marched twelve miles up the country, to a town called Dolle, where they were politely entertained by the magistrates. As their design was merely to reconnoitre, they continued one night in the town without committing the least act of hostility, and then

then returned. A party of the English light-horse penetrating a few miles farther, fell in with the *videts* of a French camp, two of which they took, and brought prisoners to Cancele.

The purpose of this invasion being fully accomplished, the troops were re-embarked, and the fleet sailed on the 16th early in the morning, and, after beating against the wind during that whole day, came to an anchor off the harbour of St. Malo. The night proved so tempestuous, that many of the ships drove, and some parted their cables. Next morning, the wind continuing contrary, the fleet returned to Cancele bay, and there remained till the 22d, when they sailed again, and next day passed the islands Jersey and Guernsey. On the 25th they made the isle of Wight, and on the 16th, the wind veering to the northward, they steered again for the coast of France, and ran in with the land near Havre; but towards evening it blew so fresh, that, to avoid the danger of a lee-shore, they stood out to sea. On the 27th, the weather becoming more moderate, they ran in with the land a second time, and the duke of Marlborough and Mr. Howe went out in a cutter to reconnoitre the coast. At their return, orders were given for the troops to prepare for immediate disembarkation: nevertheless, the 28th passed without any attempt to land, and on the 29th the fleet bore away before the wind, and anchored within a league of Cherbourg. Some of the transports which brought up nearer in shore, were fired at from several batteries, but received no damage. A few troops were seen parading on the strand, most of which appeared to be militia.

Soon after the fleet came to an anchor, the duke of Marlborough signified his intention of making an attack upon the town that night, and ordered the first battalion of guards to be in their boats at eleven o'clock. The rest of the troops received orders in what manner, and at what time, they were to proceed, and every necessary preparation was made for immediate disembarkation. But as night approached, the wind off shore gradually increased, and, before the appointed hour, became so violent as to render the attempt impracticable. Next morning, the duke of Marlborough, upon inquiry into the stock of provisions, hay, and water, found these several articles so near exhausted, that it would be dangerous, in so variable a climate, to remain any longer on an hostile coast. He therefore resolved to return to England. The fleet accordingly weighed anchor at ten o'clock, and arrived at St. Helen's the next day in the evening. The troops were encamped on the isle of Wight, that they might recover the effects of so long a confinement, on board of transports by no means sufficient for the accommodation of so numerous an army. These troops were destined for more expeditions of the like nature, the success of which will be seen in due time: but a regular attention to a chronological series of naval events now calls us to North America.

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I am to remind the reader, that admiral Boscawen sailed from England, with a considerable fleet, on the 19th of April. He arrived at Halifax in Nova Scotia on the 9th of May; from whence he sailed on the 28th, with an army of fourteen thousand men, under the command of major-general Amherst. This fleet, consisting of a hundred and fifty-seven sail, anchored, on the second of June, in the bay of Gabarus, about two leagues westward of Louisbourg. The French governor, *le chevalier Drucour*, had taken every possible precaution to prevent a surprise. He had thrown up several intrenchments, erected batteries, and formed a chain of redoubts for two leagues and a half along the coast. There were in the harbour six ships of the line and five frigates, three of which were, during the siege, sunk at the entrance. The fortifications of the town were not in good repair; the garrison consisted of two thousand five hundred regular troops, besides six hundred burghers and Canadians. When the fleet first came to an anchor, and during several succeeding days, the surf ran so high, that it was impossible for the boats to come near the shore. These several obstacles appeared so tremendous to many of the officers, that they advised the admiral to call a general council of war. Fortunately for the service, and for his own reputation, he disregarded such advice, and determined to land the troops at all events.

On the 8th of June, the weather being more moderate, the grenadiers and light-infantry were in the boats before break of day. The frigates and armed sloops began to scour the coast, by an incessant fire upon the enemy; and now the boats rowed briskly towards the shore in three divisions, commanded by the generals Wolfe, Whitmore, and Laurence. When they approached the land they met with a warm reception from the enemy, and the surf ran so high that many of the boats were staved, and some of the soldiers drowned. General Wolfe leapt into the sea, and, being followed by his whole division, formed his people on the beach, and marched intrepidly to the nearest battery. The other two divisions followed his example, and the enemy soon fled in confusion. The remainder of the army, cannon, and stores were landed with all possible speed, and the town was regularly invested. General Amherst having secured his camp by proper redoubts and epaulments, now began his approaches in form. In landing the troops, three officers, four sergeants, one corporal, and thirty-eight private men, were killed or drowned; five lieutenants, two sergeants, one corporal, fifty-one men wounded; and about seventy boats lost. The enemy, when they fled from their entrenchments, left behind them seventeen pieces of cannon, fourteen large swivels, two mortars, a furnace for red-hot balls, small arms, ammunition, stores, tools and provisions in considerable quantity.

The chevalier Drucour, having received his detachments into the town, destroyed his out-posts, and all buildings within two miles

miles of the ramparts, prepared for a vigorous defence. The approaches of the British general were at first slow, owing to the difficulty of landing his stores, the labour of dragging his cannon through a marshy country, and the necessity of fortifying his camp. Meanwhile general Amherst, being not a little incommoded by the fire from the enemy's ships in the harbour, and also from the island battery, detached general Wolfe, with a considerable body of troops, with orders to march round the north-east harbour and take possession of the light-house point. This order was executed with great alacrity and dispatch, and a powerful battery erected, which on the 25th silenced that of the enemy on the island. On the 29th the besieged sunk four ships at the entrance of the harbour. They made several sallies from the town, and were repulsed with loss. The British army continued to approach the town in a regular and scientific manner, and the enemy displayed no less resolution and skill in the science of defence. On the 13th of July the besiegers were about six hundred yards from the covert way.

On the 21st, a shell from our battery on the light-house point set fire to one of the enemy's ships in the harbour. She immediately blew up, and two other men of war having caught the flame were also destroyed. These were the *Entreprenant*, the *Capricieux*, and the *Celebre*: so that the *Prudent* and the *Bien-faisant* were the only ships of force remaining. In the night of the 25th the first of these two was set on fire, and the other towed triumphantly out, by a detachment of seamen under the command of captains Laforey and Balfour. This gallant exploit merits a circumstantial relation. The naval reader will peruse it with pleasure; probably with advantage—By the admiral's orders, a barge and pinnace from every ship in the fleet assembled, about noon, under the stern of the *Namur*. These boats were manned only by their proper crews, armed chiefly with pistols and cutlasses, and each boat commanded by a lieutenant and midshipman. From thence they proceeded, by two or three at a time, to join Sir Charles Hardy's Squadron near the mouth of the harbour. Being there reassembled in two divisions, under the two captains above mentioned, about midnight they paddled into the harbour of Louisbourg unperceived. The night was extremely dark, and the seamen were profoundly silent. They passed very near the island battery undiscovered, the darkness of the night, and a thick fog, preventing their being seen, whilst the perpetual din of bombs, cannon, and musquetry, both of the besieged and besiegers, effectually covered the noise of their oars. As soon as each division came near enough to perceive the devoted object, the two men of war were immediately surrounded by the boats, and were first alarmed by the firing of their own sentinels. All the boats fell a-board at the same instant, and the several crews, following the example of their officers, scrambled up every part of the ships, and, in a few minutes, took possession

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sion of their respective prizes. The resistance was very feeble, and consequently the loss of men on either side inconsiderable.

Day-light and the shouts of our sailors, having at length discovered to the enemy on shore, that their ships were in possession of the English, they immediately pointed every gun that could be brought to bear upon the boats and prizes, and a furious discharge of cannon ensued. Those who were in possession of the *Prudent*, finding her a ground, set her on fire, and then joined the boats which were now employed in towing off the *Bienfaisant*, which, with the assistance of a favourable breeze, was triumphantly carried away and secured.

On the 26th, whilst admiral Boscawen was preparing to send six ships into the harbour, he received a letter from the chevalier Drucour, offering to capitulate on the same terms that were granted to the English at Minorca. The admiral insisted on the garrison remaining prisoners of war, and with these terms the governor finally complied. He could not do otherwise. He yielded to the irresistible necessity. His ships were all destroyed or taken; his cannon were dismounted; his garrison diminished, and the remainder harrassed and dispirited; all his hopes of relief from Europe or from Canada were vanished, and his ramparts in many places battered to pieces. This capitulation being signed, the British troops took possession of Louisbourg on the 27th, and the two islands of Cape Breton and St. John were ceded to his Britannic majesty. The ships of war lost by the French on this occasion were the *Prudent* of 74 guns, *Entreprenant* 74, *Capricieux* 64, *Celebre* 64, *Bienfaisant* 64, *Apollo* 50; *Chevre*, *Biche* and *Fidelle* frigates sunk at the harbour's mouth; *Diana* of 36 taken by the *Boreas*; *Echo* of 26 taken by the *Juno*.

We now return to Europe. The spirited minister who, at this time, held the reins of government; whose successive expeditions were distinct gradations in a regular plan of operation; whose invasions on the coast of France were principally intended to divide the forces of the enemy: this active minister, I say, determined once more to invade the coast of Normandy. Part of the troops which, since the last expedition, had been encamped on the isle of Wight, were sent to Germany. The duke of Marlborough and lord George Sackville were likewise ordered upon the service. The remainder of the troops, now commanded by lieutenant-general Bligh, embarked on board the fleet under commodore Howe, and sailed from St. Helen's on the first day of August. On the 6th, in the evening, the fleet came to an anchor in the bay of Cherburg, and a few shells were thrown into the town that night. Next morning, about seven o'clock, the fleet got under way, and at nine brought up in the bay of Maris, two leagues west of the town, where the general resolved to land his troops. The governor of Cherburg, since

since his late alarm, had thrown up several intrenchments, and planted some batteries along the coast. Behind these works there appeared about two thousand regular troops. On the 7th, at two in the afternoon, the grenadiers and guards, commanded by general Drury, in flat-bottom boats, landed, without opposition, under cover of an incessant fire from the fleet. Having formed his troops on the beach, he marched immediately towards a party of the enemy, received their fire, and then attacked them with such resolution, that they soon fled in the utmost confusion, and with considerable loss. They left behind them two pieces of brass cannon. Of the English, about twenty were killed or wounded.

The remainder of the infantry being disembarked, general Bligh marched to the village of Erville, and there pitched his tents for the night. The ground which he had chosen for his encampment was so inadequate, in point of extent, to the number of troops, that the tents were crowded together as close as they could stand, without order or regularity. If the French commander had not been as ignorant in his profession as his enemy, the British army would, in this situation, have been surrounded and destroyed, or taken : two or three thousand men, judiciously commanded, were sufficient. But, either for want of skill, or strength, or resolution, the English army was suffered to sleep in perfect security, and the succeeding dawn did not discover a single French soldier in sight of the camp. On reconnoitring the nearest fort, called Quirqueville, it was found desolate ; so that the light-horse was now disembarked without the least interruption, and the army proceeded, in two columns, towards Cherburg, which they entered without firing or receiving a single shot, the town and all the forts being entirely abandoned by the troops. The inhabitants, in confidence of a promise of protection, contained in a manifesto published by general Bligh, remained in the town, and received their hostile visitors with politeness and hospitality. I am sorry to record, to the disgrace of English discipline, that their confidence was abused. The proper means of restraining the licentious brutality of the common soldiers were neglected, till the just complaints of the sufferers reminded the general of his duty.

General Bligh now proceeded, according to his instructions, to demolish the harbour and basin, which had been constructed by Lewis XV. at a vast expence, and were intended as an asylum for men of war. It appeared, however, from the unfinished state of the fortifications, that the importance of Cherburg had of late dwindled in the estimation of the French ministry. Whilst the engineers were thus employed, the light-horse were sent to scour the country, and to reconnoitre a French camp at Walloign, about twelve miles from Cherburg. In these excursions they frequently skirmished with the enemy, and in one of these encounters Lindsay, a captain of the British light-horse,

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was unfortunately killed. He was a very active and gallant officer. The great business of demolition being finished, on the 16th of August, at three in the morning, the army evacuated Cherburg, marched down to fort Galet, and there embarked without molestation.

In our estimate of the utility of this enterprize, we are to remember, that the primary object was, by keeping the French coast in perpetual alarm, to oblige them to retain an army for their own security, which would otherwise have marched to Germany. Exclusive of this consideration, the expedition to Cherburg was, by no means, unimportant. Twenty-seven ships were burnt in the harbour. A hundred and seventy-three pieces of iron ordnance and three mortars were rendered useless; and twenty-two brass cannon and two mortars were sent to England. These cannon were afterwards exposed, for some time, in Hyde Park, and then drawn through the city in pompous procession, amidst the joyful acclamations of the people, the oldest of whom had never beheld a similar triumph.

Thus far the operations of this terrific, itinerant army were successful. But the general's commission did not end with the destruction of the forts and harbour of Cherburg. By his secret instructions he was ordered to keep the coast of France in continual alarm; to make descents, and attack any place that might be found practicable, between the east point of Normandy and Morlaix. In compliance with these instructions, the fleet weighed anchor on the 18th of August, and steered towards St. Malo, with a design to make a second attack upon that nest of privateers. But they were obliged, by contrary winds, to run for the English coast. They came to anchor in Weymouth road on the 23d; they sailed from thence on the 25th, but were obliged to put back the same evening. The next attempt proved more successful. The fleet, though not without difficulty, kept the sea, and, standing to the southward, soon made the coast of France, but it was the 4th of September before they came to an anchor in the bay of St. Lunaire, about two leagues west of St. Malo. Whilst the fleet was bringing up, the commodore, with prince Edward, (afterwards duke of York,) who attended Mr. Howe in the capacity of midshipman, went off in their barge to reconnoitre the shore. Seeing no appearance of an enemy, the troops were disembarked, without opposition; but not entirely without misfortune. One of the flat-bottom boats being run down by the Brilliant, was overset, and five soldiers drowned. As soon as the troops were landed, Sir William Boothby, with 300 grenadiers, was detached with orders to destroy a hundred and fifty vessels in the harbour of Briac, near St. Malo. He executed his commission effectually; but the number of vessels in that harbour did not exceed fifteen.

The British army continued in their encampment near St. Lunaire four days, which were spent in deliberations concerning the

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the practicability of an attack upon St. Malo. It was finally determined to be impracticable, and Mr. Howe having declared that it was impossible to re-embark the troops from the place where they had landed, it was resolved that the troops should march over land, and that the fleet should, in the mean time, proceed to the bay of St. Cas, and there remain ready to receive them. The commodore weighed anchor, and stood to the westward. On Friday, the 8th, in the morning, general Bligh struck his tents, and began his march towards the village of Gildau, where he was told the river, which he must necessarily pass, was fordable at low water. The day's march, though short, proved fatiguing to the troops, on account of the heavy rain and bad roads; and, as the army marched in a single column, it was night before the rear came to their ground. When colonel Clark, who marched at the head of the advanced guard, arrived at the village of Gildau, he saw a body of about three hundred peasants on the opposite bank of the river, apparently forming with an intention to oppose his passage. A few shot from two or three field-pieces immediately dispersed them. Orders were issued to prepare for passing the river at six o'clock next morning, and the army went to rest. Next morning, at six o'clock, the troops were ready to plunge into the river, when it appeared that the general had been so totally misinformed as to the time of fording, that it was now *high* instead of *low* water, and that it would be three in the afternoon before the troops could pass. Such a mistake, though apparently of no great importance, as it discovered the fallibility of the general's intelligence, was a bad omen.

The army forded the river in two columns, without any other molestation than a volley or two of musket-shot from the opposite village, by which Lord Frederic Cavendish, and a few grenadiers were slightly wounded. They passed the river, and pitched their tents immediately. Why they marched no farther that night, is difficult to imagine. On Sunday morning the army again decamped, and marched towards Mattignon. When the advanced guard approached the town, they saw a party of French dragoons, and observed that the hedges were lined by foot which seemed to be regulars. This being reported to the general, all the grenadiers were ordered to advance, and they pressed forward with great eagerness; but the enemy did not think fit to wait for them. Having marched about four miles, the army encamped to the southward of Mattignon, after parading through the town by beat of drum. From this circumstance, it is evident that general Bligh had not the least idea that a superior army was this time within a few hours march of his camp.

This evening a French soldier was brought into the camp, who informed the general, that nine battalions of foot, two squadrons of dragoons, with five thousand *gardes de cotes*, were

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on their march from Brest, and that they were not above two leagues distant. He named the general officers, and the regiments. His intelligence, however, produced no other effect than an order to the piquets of the English army to be particularly vigilant. During the night, the advanced guard of the enemy came so near, as to exchange some shot with the outposts. Nevertheless, general Bligh continued so totally unapprehensive, that he ordered the usual drums, preparatory to a march, to beat next morning at three o'clock. The drums beat accordingly, and the army marched, in a single column, towards St. Cas, which is about a league from Mattignon. If the troops had marched in two columns, they would have reached their ships in half the time. When the head of the column reached the eminence, about half a mile from the sea, they had orders to halt, and the regiments formed the line as they advanced in succession; but before the grenadiers in the rear reached the ground, the youngest brigade was ordered to march down to the beach. Meanwhile the frigates which were intended to cover the embarkation, and the boats, were approaching the land. Before the grenadiers quitted the height, they saw the enemy advancing in four columns. The grenadiers marched deliberately down to the beach, and there reited on their arms, whilst the battalions were conveyed to their transports in the flat-bottom boats.

The rear of the English army had scarce quitted the height before it was possessed by the enemy. As soon as they began to descend, Mr. Howe made a signal for his frigates to fire; which order was executed with so much skill and dexterity, that many of the French were killed, and their whole army thrown into confusion. The British troops were now all embarked, except the grenadiers and four companies of the first regiment of guards; in all about fourteen hundred men. The enemy continued to advance, and their cannon destroyed some of our boats. General Drury, who was now the senior officer on shore, formed his little army, and most imprudently advanced up the hill to meet his enemy. By this manœuvre he quitted a parapet of sand banks, and effectually silenced the frigates, which could not now fire without destroying their friends. This inconsiderable body of English troops, with every disadvantage of situation, and commanded by a man of no experience or abilities, maintained their ground against ten times their number, till most of them had entirely spent their ammunition. Thus circumsfanced, after making terrible havoc in the enemies ranks, they yielded to necessity, and retreated to their boats. Unhappily, the boats then in shore were insufficient to receive half the number of men which now crowded to the beach, and the boats were consequently in an instant so overloaded, that most of them were a-ground. In this horrible situation, exposed to the continual fire of a numerous army, they remained for some time;

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till, at last, the commodore himself leapt into his boat, and, rowing to the shore, took one of the flat-boats in tow. The rest of the fleet followed his example, and about seven hundred men were brought on board. The other half were either shot, taken prisoners, or drowned. Among the killed were major-general Drury, lieutenant-colonel Wilkinson, and Sir John Armistage, a volunteer. Lord Frederic Cavendish, lieutenant-colonels Pearson and Lambert, and sixteen officers of inferior rank, were taken prisoners. Four captains of men of war, who went on shore in order to expedite the embarkation of the troops, were also obliged to surrender themselves to the enemy. Eight seamen were killed and seventeen wounded.

We are now to recollect, that, after the reduction of Senegal, an attempt was made upon the island of Goree; but without success, owing to the want of sufficient naval force. The British minister, sensible that his conquest on the coast of Africa was incomplete without the reduction of this island, sent out a small squadron of four ships of the line, two frigates, and two bomb-ketches, commanded by commodore Keppel, with six hundred land forces under colonel Worge. This armament sailed from Cork on the 11th of November, and after a tempestuous voyage, anchored in the road of Goree, about a league from the island, on the 24th of December. Goree is a barren island, not a mile in length, situated near Cape Verde. The Dutch took possession of it in the beginning of the last century. The French took it in 1677, and since that period it has remained in possession of their East-India company. On the south-west side there was a small fort called St. Michael, and another, less considerable, called St. Francis, near the opposite extremity. Besides these forts, there were several slight batteries along the shore, mounting in the whole a hundred cannon. The garrison, commanded by Mons. St. Jean, consisted of three hundred regulars, and about the same number of negro inhabitants.

On the 28th, in the morning, the troops were ordered into the boats, ready for landing, if necessary, and the ships being properly stationed on the west side of the island, a general cannonading began, which was answered by the enemy with great spirit, and with such success, that above a hundred of the English were killed or wounded. Nevertheless, the French garrison, though not one of them was killed, were so terrified by the fire from the ships, that the governor was obliged to surrender at discretion. A detachment of marines were landed, to take possession of the island, and the British flag was hoisted on the castle of St. Michael.

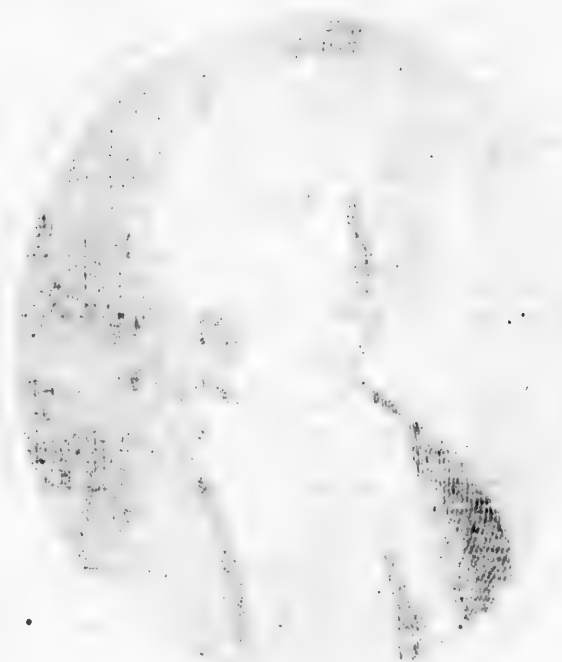
Mr. Keppel having taken his prisoners on board, and left a sufficient garrison under the command of Major Newton, touched at Senegal, and then returned to England. But this expedition, though successful, was not unattended by misfortunes.

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Cap: ARTHUR FORREST.

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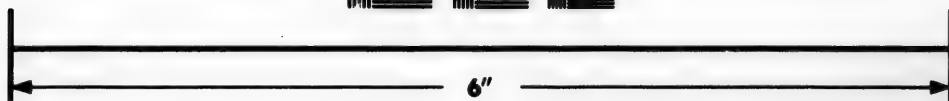
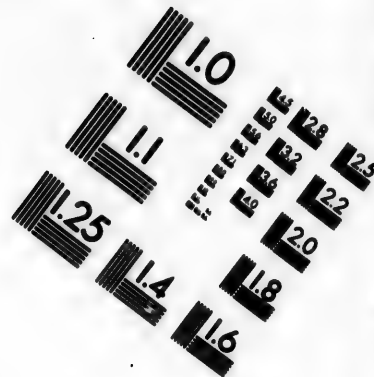
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tunes. The *Litchfield*, of 50 guns, a transport, and a bomb-ketch, were on their outward passage separated from the fleet, and wrecked on the coast of Barbary, about nine leagues to the northward of Saffy. A hundred and thirty people, among which were several officers, were drowned. Captain Barton, with about two hundred and twenty, reached the inhospitable shore. They suffered great hardships, and were enslaved by the emperor of Morocco, our worthy ally, who held them in captivity till they were ransomed by the king of Great Britain. Such is the faith of barbarian princes!

Our naval exploits in the West Indies, in the course of this year, were not attended with any important consequences. There were performed, however, several gallant actions, which ought not to pass unnoticed. Captain Forrest of the *Augusta*, having sailed from Port Royal in Jamaica, cruised off Cape Francis, a harbour in the island of St. Domingo; he was accompanied by the captains Suckling and Langdon, commanding the *Dreadnought* and *Edinburgh*. There lay at that time, at the Cape, a French squadron of four ships of the line and three stout frigates, which the French commodore, piqued at seeing the coast insulted by Forrest's little squadron, reinforced with several store-ships, which he mounted with cannon, and supplied with seamen from the merchant-vessels, and with soldiers from the garrison. Thus prepared, he weighed anchor, and stood out for sea. When Forrest perceived the approach of the French ships, he called his two captains. "Gentlemen," said he, "you know our own strength, and see that of the enemy. Shall we give them battle?" Being answered in the affirmative, he bore down on the French fleet, and between three and four in the afternoon came to action. The French attacked with great impetuosity, and displayed uncommon spirit in the sight of their own coast. But, after an engagement of more than two hours, their commodore found his ship so much shattered, that he was obliged to make a signal for his frigates to tow him out of the line. The rest of the squadron followed his example, and availed themselves of the land breeze to escape in the night from the three British ships, which were too much damaged in their sails and rigging to pursue their victory.

Captain Forrest signalized his courage in this engagement; but he displayed equal courage, and still more uncommon conduct and sagacity in the subsequent adventure near the western coast of Hispaniola. Having received intelligence, that there was a considerable French fleet at *Port au Prince*, a harbour on that coast, ready to sail for Europe, he proceeded from Jamaica to cruise between Hispaniola and the little island *Gaoué*. He disguised his ship with *tarpaulins*, hoisted Dutch colours, and, in order to avoid discovery, allowed several small vessels to pass, without giving them chase. The second day after his arrival in those parts, he perceived a fleet of seven sail steering to the westward.





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He kept from them to prevent suspicion, but, at the approach of night, pursued them with all the sail he could crowd. About ten at night he came up with two vessels of the chase, one of which fired a gun, and the other sheered off. The ship which had fired no sooner discovered her enemy, than she submitted. Forrest manned her with thirty-five of his own crew, and now perceiving eight sail to leeward, near the harbour of *Petit Goave*, ordered them to stand for that place, and intercept any vessel that attempted to reach it. He himself, in the *Augusta*, sailed directly for the French fleet, and, coming up with them by day-break, engaged them all by turns as he could bring his guns to bear. The *Solide*, the *Theodore*, and the *Marguerite*, returned his fire; but, having soon struck their colours, they were immediately secured, and then employed in taking other vessels, of which none had the fortune to escape. The nine sail, which, by this well-conducted stratagem, had fallen into the power of one ship, and that even in the sight of their own harbours, were safely conducted to Jamaica, where the sale of their rich cargoes rewarded the merit of the captors.

While Forrest acquired wealth and glory by protecting the trade of Jamaica, the vigilance of captain Tyrrel secured the English navigation to Antigua. In the month of March, this enterprising and judicious commander demolished a fort on the island of Martinico, and destroyed four privateers riding under its protection. In November of the same year, he, in his own ship the *Buckingham* of sixty-four guns, accompanied by the *Weazle* sloop commanded by captain Boles, discovered, between the islands of Guadeloupe and Montserrat, a fleet of nineteen sail under convoy of the *Florissant*, a French man of war of seventy-four guns, and two frigates, of which the largest carried thirty-eight, and the other twenty-six guns. Captain Tyrrel, regardless of the great inequality of force, immediately gave chase in the *Buckingham*; and the *Weazle*, running close to the enemy, received a whole broadside from the *Florissant*. Though she sustained it without considerable damage, Mr. Tyrrel ordered captain Boles to keep aloof, as his vessel could not be supposed to bear the shock of heavy metal; and he alone prepared for the engagement. The *Florissant*, instead of lying to for him up, made a running fight with her stern chase, while the two frigates annoyed the *Buckingham* in her pursuit. At length, however, she came within pistol-shot of the *Florissant*, and poured in a broadside, which did great execution. The salutation was returned with spirit, and the battle became close and obstinate. Mr. Tyrrel, being wounded, was obliged to leave the deck, the command devolved on the brave Mr. Marshall, his first lieutenant, who fell in the arms of victory. The second lieutenant took the command, and finally silenced the enemy's fire. On board the *Florissant* 180 men were slain, and 300 wounded. She was so much disabled in her hull, that she could hardly

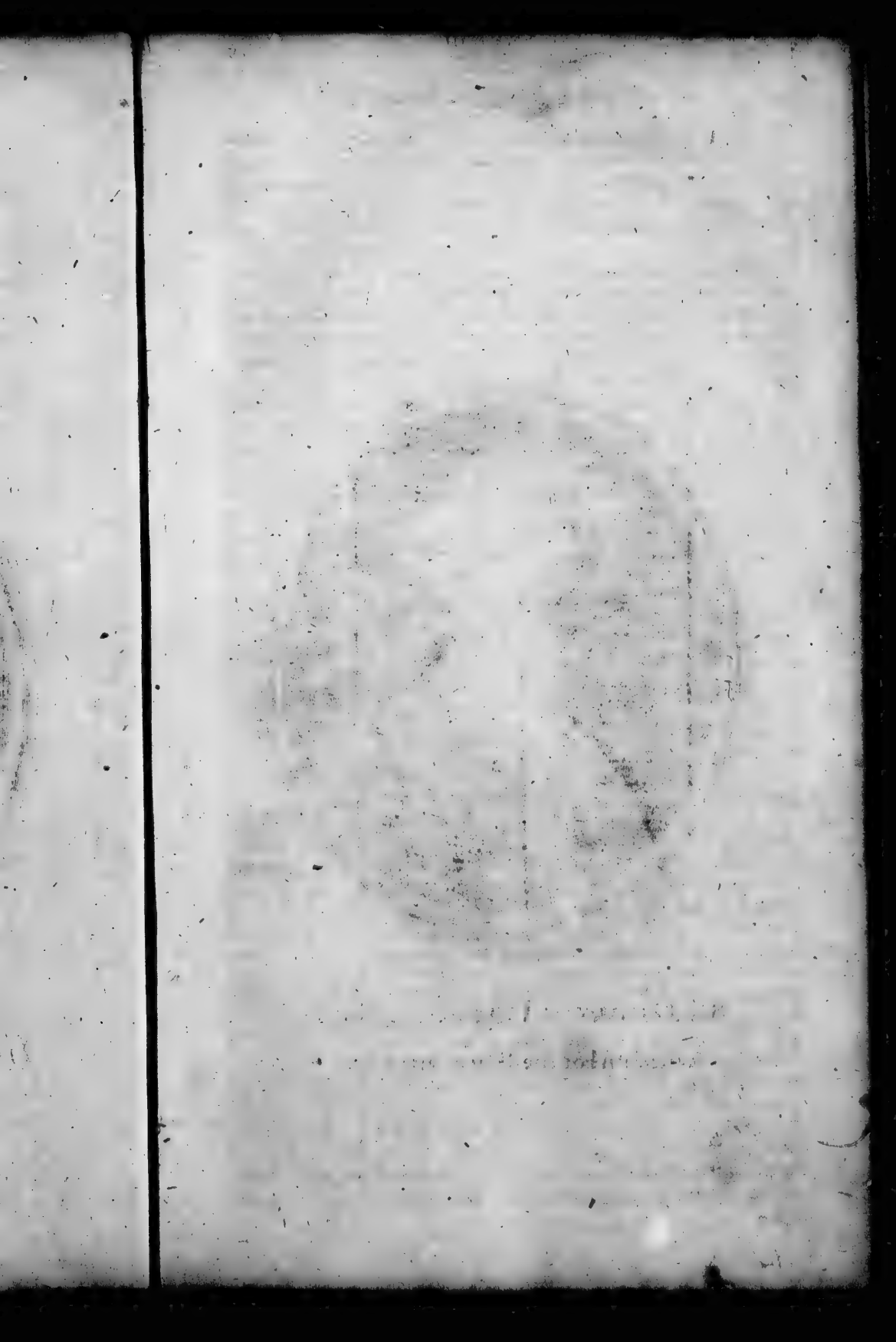
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ADMIRAL TYRRELL.







Sir GEORGE POCO CK, Kn:

Admiral of the Blue Squadron.

hardly be kept afloat. The largest frigate received equal damage. The Buckingham had only seven men killed, and seventeen wounded: she had suffered much, however, in her masts and rigging, which was the only circumstance that prevented her from adding profit to glory, by making prizes of the French fleet under to powerful a convoy.

In the East Indies the French squadron was commanded by M. d'Aché, and the English by admiral Pocock, who had succeeded admiral Watson. The former was reinforced by a considerable armament under the command of general Lally, an adventurer of Irish extraction in the French service. The English admiral was also reinforced on the 24th of March by four ships of the line; and, being soon after apprized of Lally's arrival, he hoisted his flag aboard the Yarmouth, a ship of sixty-four guns, and sailed in quest of the enemy. He made the height of Negapatam the 28th of March, and the day following discovered the enemy's fleet in the road of Fort St. David. It consisted of eight ships of the line, and a frigate, which immediately stood out to sea, and formed the line of battle. Pocock's squadron consisted only of seven ships; with which he formed the line, and, bearing down upon Mr. d'Aché, began the engagement. The French commodore, having sustained a warm action for about two hours, in which one of his largest ships was disabled, sheered off with his whole fleet. Being afterwards joined with two more ships of war, he again formed the line of battle to leeward. Admiral Pocock, though his own ship and several others were considerably damaged, and, though three of his captains had misbehaved in the engagement, prepared again for the attack. But the manœuvres of the French fleet seem to have been intended merely to amuse him; for they neither showed lights, nor gave any signal in the night, and next morning the smallest trace of them could not be observed.

Admiral Pocock made various attempts to bring the French squadron to a second engagement. These, however, proved ineffectual till the third of August, when he perceived the enemy's fleet, consisting of eight ships of the line and a frigate, standing at sea off the road of Pondicherry. They would have gladly eluded his pursuit, but he obtained the weather gage, and sailed down upon them in order of battle. As it was now impossible to escape without coming to action, the French prepared for the engagement, and fired on the Elisabeth, which happened to be within musket-shot of the ship in the van. But this spirited attack was not seconded with equal perseverance. In little more than ten minutes after Admiral Pocock had displayed the signal for battle, Mr. d'Aché let his forefall, and bore away, maintaining a running fight in a very irregular line for near an hour. The whole squadron immediately followed his example; and at two o'clock they cut away their boats, crowded sail, and put before the wind. They escaped by favour of the

night into the road of Pondicherry; but their fleet was so much damaged; that, in the beginning of September, their commodore sailed for the isle of Bourbon in order to refit, thus leaving the English admiral sovereign of the Indian seas.

Having examined the naval successes of Great Britain in the different quarters of the world, we shall, for the reader's satisfaction, exhibit in one view the consequences of these glorious exploits. During the course of this year the French lost sixteen men of war, while the English lost no more than three: the French lost forty-nine privateers and armed merchantmen, carrying 619 guns and 3824 men. The diminution of their commerce, and the dread of falling into the hands of the English, prevented many of their trading vessels from venturing to sea. Of these, however, they lost 104; and not less than 176 neutral vessels, laden with the rich produce of the French colonies, or with military and naval stores, to enable them to continue the war, rewarded the vigilance of the English navy. The loss of ships, on the part of Great Britain, amounted to three hundred and thirteen, a considerable number, but consisting chiefly of empty transports, and coasting or disarmed vessels, of little value or importance.

The capture of so many of the enemy's vessels, though it added much wealth and glory to those concerned in maritime affairs, was not the only, or even the principal, advantage which Great Britain derived from the spirited efforts of her seamen. The conquests acquired to the nation were still more important. Not to mention the taking of fort Du Quesne, on the river Ohio, a place of the utmost consequence, on account both of its strength and situation; the acquisition of the strong fortress of Louisbourg, with the islands of Cape Breton and St. John; the demolition of Frontenac, and the reduction of Senegal, were events not more destructive to the commerce and colonies of France, than advantageous to those of Great Britain: even the British expeditions to the coast of France, though conducted with little prudence, brought glory and renown to the invaders, and taught an ambitious people, that, while they were intent on ravaging the territory of their neighbours, their own dominions were still within the reach of the British thunder.

The operations of the year 1759 began in the West Indies. In the end of the preceding year, a squadron of nine ships of the line, with one frigate and four bomb-ketches, as well as sixty transports, containing six regiments of foot, commanded by general Hopson, sailed thither, with orders to attack and reduce the French Caribbee islands. The fleet was to be under the orders of commodore Moore, who was already in those parts. Martinico, as the seat of government, and the centre of commerce, is the most considerable of these islands. The principal towns are St. Pierre and Port-Royal, places strong by nature and art, and at that time defended by a numerous and well-disciplin-
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ed militia, as well as by a considerable body of regular troops. Port-Royal was the first object of English ambition. The ships of war easily drove the enemy from their batteries and entrenchments, and the troops landed without meeting any considerable opposition: but after they had effected their landing, they found it impossible to convey the cannon to a sufficient vicinity for attacking the town. General Hopson judged the difficulties on the land side unfurmoutable. Commodore Moore thought it impossible to land the cannon nearer the town; and, in consequence of these opinions, the forces were re embarked, in order to proceed to St. Pierre. When they had arrived before that place, and examined its situation, new difficulties arose, which occasioned a council of war. The commodore had no doubt of being able to reduce the town, but, as the troops had suffered greatly by diseases, and the ships might be so much disabled in the attack, as to prevent them from availing themselves of their success, and from undertaking any other expedition during that season, he advised, that the armament should be brought before Gaudaloupe, the reduction of which would tend greatly to the benefit of the English sugar islands. Gaudaloupe falls little short of Martinico in the quantity and richness of its productions. It long continued, however, in a languishing condition, the French having treated Martinico with the predilection of a partial mother for a favourite child, to the great prejudice of all her other colonies. But the situation and natural advantages of Gaudaloupe abundantly justified the opinion of commodore Moore; and if our ministers had understood the value of such a conquest, this island might have still continued a bright gem in the British crown. The fleet arrived, on the 23d of January, before the town of Basseterre, the capital of Gaudaloupe, a place of considerable extent, defended by a strong battery, which, in the opinion of the chief engineer, could not be reduced by the shipping. But commodore Moore entertained very different sentiments, and brought his ships to bear on the town and citadel. The *Lyon*, a ship of 60 guns, commanded by captain Trelawney, began the engagement, against a battery of ninety guns: the rest of the fleet took their stations abreast of the other batteries, and the action, in a little time, became general. The commodore, meanwhile, shifted his flag into the *Woolwich* frigate, and kept aloof without gun-shot, that he might have a more distinct view of the state of the battle; an expedient seldom practised, though the propriety of it cannot admit of the smallest doubt. All the sea commanders behaved with extraordinary spirit and resolution in the attack; particularly captains Leslie, Burnet, Gayton, Jekyl, Trelawney and Shulldham. The action had lasted from nine in the morning till five in the afternoon, when the fire of the citadel was silenced. The *Burford* and *Berwick* being driven to sea, captain Shulldham in the *Panther*, was unsupported, and two batteries played on the *Rippon* cap-
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tain Jekyl, who silenced one of them, but could not prevent his vessel from running a-ground. The enemy, perceiving her disaster, assembled on the kill, lined the trenches, and poured in a severe fire of musquetry: they afterwards brought an eighteen pounder to bear, and, for two hours, raked her fore and aft with great effect: a box, containing nine hundred cartridges, blew up on the poop, and set the ship on fire. The captain hoisted a signal of distress, which brought captain Leslie, in the Bristol, who ran in between the Rippon and the battery, and engaged with such impetuosity, as saved Captain Jekyl from destruction, which otherwise was unavoidable. At seven in the evening, the large ships having silenced the batteries to which they were opposed, the four bombs began to play on the town, with shells and carcasses. In a short time the houses were in flames, the magazines of gunpowder blew up with a terrible explosion, and the sugar, rum, and other combustible materials composing a continued and permanent line of fire, formed a suitable back-ground to this terrible picture.

Notwithstanding the vivacity of the engagement, the loss, on the part of the British was not very considerable. Next day our fleet came to anchor in the road, off Basseterre, having intercepted several ships, which had turned out and endeavoured to escape. They found the hulls of several more vessels, which the enemy had set on fire, to prevent them from falling into their hands. The troops landed in the afternoon, without opposition, took possession of the town and citadel, and displayed the British colours on the walls. The country, however, was still far from being reduced: it abounded in mountains and narrow defiles, of difficult and dangerous access; and although the governor, Monsieur D'Etreuil, possessed neither bravery nor conduct, the inhabitants of Guadaloupe were determined to defend their possessions to the last extremities. It is foreign to our design to enter into any detail of the operations by land, which were drawn out to an extraordinary length. The French were too prudent to hazard a general engagement with regular troops: they determined to weary them out, if possible, by maintaining a kind of petty war, in detached parties, in which the British were harrassed by hard duty, and suffered greatly by diseases in an unhealthy climate, ill-supplied with those conveniencies to which they were accustomed. In this manner the war continued from the 24th of January till the first of May, when the inhabitants of Guadaloupe thought proper to capitulate. Their example was followed, a few days afterwards, by those of Desirade, Santos, and Petite-terre, three small islands in that neighbourhood; and, on the 26th of May, the island of Marie-Galante likewise surrendered, which left the French no footing in the Leeward Islands.

These conquests being happily finished part of the troops were sent in the transports to England. They sailed the 3d of July

July from the harbour of Basseterre; and next day commodore Moore's squadron was joined by two ships of the line, which rendered him greatly superior to Mr. de Bomparr, the French commodore, who lay in the harbour of Martinico. At this time vice-admiral Cotes commanded in the Jamaica station; but neither he nor Moore could bring Mr. de Bomparr to an engagement: so that the naval transactions in the West Indies, during the remainder of the year, consisted solely in the taking of several rich prizes and armed ships of the enemy, by cruisers detached from the English squadrons.

The reduction of Guadaloupe and the neighbouring islands, afforded an auspicious omen for the success of the British operations in North America. These were carried on in the year 1759, on the most extensive scale. The splendor of military triumph, and the display of extraordinary genius in the art of war, eclipsed, in some measure, the glory of the navy. But if we consider the conduct of the war with attention, we shall find, that our admirals had a principal share in the happy consequences which resulted even from our military expeditions. The hearty and powerful co-operation of the navy facilitated every enterprise; but the nation, fond of novelty, and transported with their successes by land, to which they were less accustomed, conferred the most exalted honours on their generals, while they hardly bestowed due praise on their naval commanders. About the middle of February, a squadron of twenty-one sail of the line sailed from England, under the command of the admirals Saunders and Holmes, two gentlemen of approved honour and bravery. By the 21st of April they were in sight of Louisbourg; but, the harbour being blocked up with ice, they were obliged to bear away for Halifax. From hence they detached rear-admiral Durel, with a small squadron, to the isle of Courdres, in the river St. Laurence, in hopes that he might intercept a fleet of French transports and victuallers destined for Quebec. He accordingly took two store-ships; but, before he reached his station, seventeen sail of transports had already got to the capital of Canada. Mean while admiral Saunders arrived at Louisbourg, and took on board eight thousand troops, under the command of general Wolfe, whose name is so illustrious in the memoirs of the present year. With this armament it was intended, that the general should proceed up the river St. Lawrence, and undertake the siege of Quebec. The reduction of this wealthy and populous city, which gave an opening to the possession of all Canada, was the object to which all other operations of the English in North America were subservient, and which they were designed to assist. For this purpose general Amherst, who commanded an army of regulars and provincials, amounting to twelve thousand men, was ordered to reduce Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, cross the lake Champlain,

and proceed along the river Richelieu, to the banks of the St. Lawrence, to effect a junction with the armament under Wolfe and Saunders. For the same purpose, general Prideaux, who commanded the provincials of New-York, with a large body of the Indians of the five nations, collected by the influence of Sir William Johnson, was commissioned to invest the French fort erected near the fall of Niagara, and, having seized that important pass, to embark on the lake Ontario, sail down the river St. Lawrence, and co-operate with the united armies. This scheme, however, was too refined and complicated to be put in execution. The operations began by the taking of Crown-point and Ticonderoga; the English standard was also displayed at Niagara. But these events were not of the smallest importance in effecting the conquest of Quebec; nor did the troops engaged in them afford any assistance to the northern armament. This, of itself, under such commanders as Wolfe and Saunders, seconded by the happy star of Britain, which every where prevailed in the present year, was sufficient to perform far more than had been expected, and to overcome obstacles of art and nature, that, at first sight, appeared unsurmountable.

Admiral Saunders arrived the latter end of June, with his whole embarkation, at the isle of Orleans, a few leagues from Québec. As he had discovered some excellent charts of the river St. Lawrence in vessels taken from the enemy, he experienced none of those difficulties with which the navigation of this immense stream is said to be attended. The island of Orleans extends quite up the basin of Québec, and its most westerly point advances to a high promontory on the continent, called Point Levi. Both these were at present occupied by the French, but not with such powerful guards as their importance required. The first operation of general Wolfe's troops was to dislodge the enemy, and to secure these posts, without the command of which the fleet could not have lain in safety in the harbour of Québec. This city now appeared full to view, at once a tempting and discouraging sight: no place is more favoured by nature, and there is none of which nature seems more to have consulted the defence: it consists of an upper and lower town, the former built on a lofty rock, which runs with a bold and steep front along the western banks of the river St. Lawrence: at the termination of this ridge, the River St. Charles, from the north-west, and the St. Lawrence join their waves, which renders the ground on which Québec stands a sort of peninsula. On the side of St. Lawrence is a bank of sand, which prevents the approach of large vessels to the town; an enemy, therefore, who attacks it, must either traverse the precipice which I have mentioned, or cross the river St. Charles. If he attempts the former, he must overcome a dangerous rock, defended by the whole force of the besieged, which the importance of the post would draw thither.

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The difficulty of approaching the place, by Charles river, is not less considerable, as all the country to the northward, for more than five miles, is rough, broken, and unequal, full of rivulets and gullies, and so continues to the river of Montmorenci, which flows by the foot of a steep and woody hill. Between the two rivers the French army was posted, their camp strongly fortified, and their forces amounting to twelve thousand men, commanded by Mr. Montcalm, a general of tried bravery and conduct. General Wolfe, having seized the west point of the isle of Orleans, and that of Levi, erected batteries on the high grounds, which fired continually on the town. Admiral Saunders was stationed in the north channel of the isle of Orleans, opposite the falls of Montmorenci, while admiral Holmes proceeded up the river St. Lawrence, beyond Quebec, which not only diverted the enemy's attention from the quarter on which the attack was intended, but prevented their attempts against the batteries already erected by the English. But notwithstanding this advantageous position, to undertake the siege of a city skilfully fortified, well supplied with provisions and ammunition, and defended by an army far superior to that of the besiegers, was a design so bold and adventurous, that even the sanguine temper of general Wolfe began to despair of its success; yet, whatever it was possible to perform, he was determined to attempt. He caused the troops, therefore, to be transported over the north channel of the river St. Lawrence to the north-east of Montmorenci, with a view, after he had crossed the latter, of moving towards the enemy's flanks, and enticing them to an engagement. But his endeavours in this way proved ineffectual, Mr. Montcalm having chosen his situation with too much judgment to abandon it imprudently. Mean while the fleet had been exposed to the most imminent danger. A violent storm had caused several transports to run foul of each other; many boats foundered, and some large ships lost their anchors. The enemy, taking advantage of the confusion produced by this disaster, sent down seven fireships from Quebec at midnight, which must have been attended with the most fatal consequences to the whole expedition, had not the English sailors resolutely boarded these instruments of destruction, run them fast a-ground, and prevented them from doing the smallest damage to the British squadron.

The general, despairing of being able to decoy the enemy to an engagement, and sensible that the approach of winter would put an end to all military operations in that northern climate, came at last to the resolution of forcing the French entrenchments. The best dispositions were made for this purpose both by sea and land; but the design was disappointed by an accident which could neither be foreseen nor prevented: The English grenadiers, who led the attack, had orders to form themselves on the beach; but, instead of attending to this necessary injunction, they rushed with an impetuous ardour towards the enemy's entrenchments

trenchments in the most tumultuous confusion: they were met by a violent and steady fire, which prevented them from being able to form, and obliged them to take shelter behind a redoubt, which the French had abandoned on their approach. There they were forced to continue till night came on, when it was necessary to make a retreat, which could not be effected without considerable loss.

This check is said to have had a strong effect on the mind and health of general Wolfe, who saw all his own measures miscarry, while those of other commanders in North America, during the same year, had been attended with extraordinary success. About this time he sent home a letter, couched in terms of despondency, but which displayed a spirit that would continue the campaign to the last possible moment. As it seemed necessary to abandon all farther prospects of gaining any advantage on the side of Montmorenci, admiral Holmes's Squadron, which had returned to assist in the late unsuccessful attack, was again ordered to move up the river for several days successively. This had a better effect than before; for, though Montcalm kept his situation, he detached Mr. de Bougainville with 1500 men to watch the motions of the English admiral. Admiral Saunders, who still remained in his first position, was ordered to make a feint with every appearance of reality, as if the troops had intended to land below the town, and attack the French entrenchments on the Beauport shore. While the enemy were amused by these movements, the general embarked his troops aboard the transports the 12th July at one in the morning, and proceeded three leagues farther up the river than the intended place of landing: then he put them into boats, and fell down silently with the tide, unobserved by the French centinels posted along the shore: the ships of war followed them, and, by a well-conducted navigation, arrived exactly at the time concerted, to cover their landing. When they were put on shore, a hill appeared before them extremely high and steep, having a little winding path, so narrow that two men could not go a breast, and even this strongly entrenched and defended by a captain's guard. This small body was speedily dislodged by the English light infantry; after which the whole army ascended the hill, and at day-break appeared regularly formed in order of battle.

Montcalm could hardly believe the advices that were brought him, so impregnable did he imagine the city to be on this side: but his own observation soon convinced him of the English movements, and that the high town might be attacked by their army, while the low town might be destroyed by their fleet. It was thus become necessary, notwithstanding all his disinclination to such a measure, to decide the fate of Quebec by the event of a battle: accordingly he quitted Beauport, passed the river St. Charles, and formed his troops opposite to the English army. The success of this engagement, conducted with the
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most deliberate wisdom, united with the most heroic bravery, put Great-Britain in possession of the capital of French America. It is foreign to my design to describe the judicious disposition, animated behaviour, and steady persevering courage of the British troops : these were the immediate cause of the reduction of Quebec ; but the matter could not have been brought to this issue, had not the marine co-operated with an unanimity, ardour, and perseverance, that can never be enough celebrated. When the English entered the place, they found the fortifications in tolerable order, but the houses almost totally demolished. Five thousand men were left to defend the garrison, and the remainder returned to England with the fleet, which sailed soon, lest it should be locked up by the frost in the river St. Lawrence.

If we turn our attention to the affairs of the East-Indies, we shall find the British arms equally triumphant. The French were unsuccessful in all their attempts by land, particularly in the siege of Madras : they had still, however, a considerable superiority of land-forces in India, and they had strained every nerve to enable the fleet under Mr. d'Aché to cope with that of admiral Pocock. The former was augmented to eleven sail of the line, besides frigates and store-ships, an armament hitherto unknown in the Indian seas. The English commander no sooner had intelligence of their arrival in those parts than he sailed to the coast of Coromandel, and determined, by the most unremitting exertions of vigilance, to pursue, and give them battle. This resolution shows the ardour and spirit of the English navy at this period, as their enemies had a superiority of 192 guns, 2365 men, besides a great advantage in the size of their ships. In the morning of the second of September the French fleet were descried from the mast-head : admiral Pocock immediately threw out the signal for a general chase ; but, the wind abating, he could not approach near enough to engage, though he crowded all the sail he could carry : during several days his endeavours to bring the French fleet to an engagement, which they always declined, were equally fruitless. At length they totally disappeared, and the admiral stood for Pondicherry, on a supposition that they intended to sail thither. His conjecture was well founded ; for on the eighth day of September he observed them standing to the southward, and on the tenth, about two in the afternoon, Mr. d'Aché, seeing no possibility to escape, made the signal for battle. The cannonading began without farther delay, and both squadrons engaged with equal impetuosity : but the French directing their cannon at the masts and rigging, while the English fired only at the hulls of the ships, the former sustained such a loss of men, and found their vessels in so shattered a condition, that they were glad to sheer off, with all their canvas set. The loss on the side of the English was not inconsiderable, there being in the whole 469 men killed and wounded : but that on the side of the French must have been far greater, as their ships could hardly

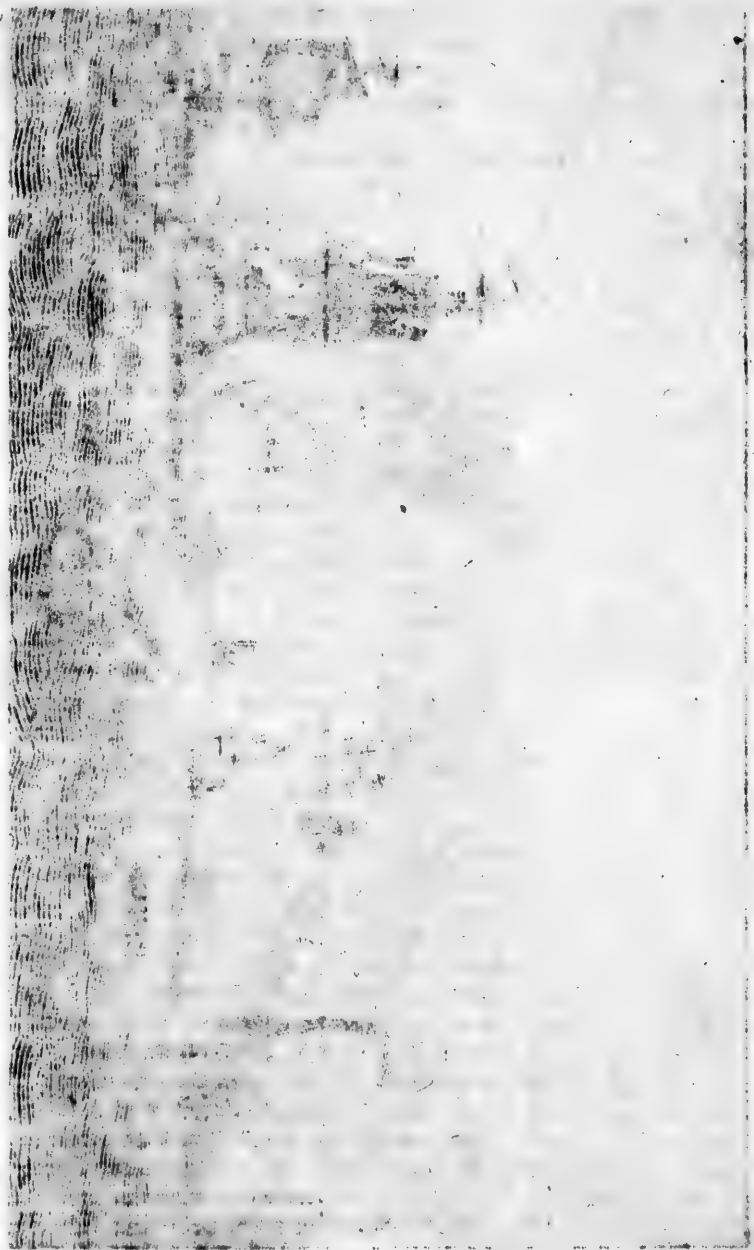
hardly keep the sea, and they were obliged to make the best of their way to the island of Mauritius, in order to be refitted. Soon after this engagement admiral Cornish arrived from England with four ships of the line, and confirmed the dominion of the English over the Indian seas.

The French, being equally unsuccessful in Asia, Africa, and America, sought in vain to repair their misfortunes : no sooner was a fleet put to sea than it was either taken or destroyed : they were active to no purpose ; for, while they built and armed vessels with the greatest speed and diligence, they only laboured for the English, whose fleet was continually augmented by captures from the enemy. But neither the loss of their possessions, nor the destruction of their fleets, nor the complaints of twenty millions of people exhausted by oppression, could check the fatal ambition of the French court. The ministry seemed to derive courage from despair, and the greater misfortunes they sustained, the more daring were the projects which they had in agitation. All their ports were now filled with preparations for an invasion of Great-Britain. Men of war, transports, and flat-bottomed boats were got ready with the utmost diligence : they talked of a triple embarkation. Mr. Thurot, who, from being captain of a merchant vessel, had successively become a commander of a privateer, and now a commodore in the French service, commanded a squadron of men of war and several transports at Dunkirk, which, it was believed, were intended against Scotland. The design against England was to be carried on from Havre de Grace and some other ports of Normandy, where a great number of flat-bottomed boats had been prepared for the purpose of transporting troops. The third embarkation, destined against Ireland, was to be made at Vannes in the Lower Brittany. The land forces were commanded by the Duc d'Aguillon, while a powerful squadron under Mr. de Conflans was to cover and secure their landing. In order to counteract these machinations, the English ministry ordered a squadron under commodore Boyce to be stationed before Dunkirk : admiral Hawke was to be sent with a large fleet to block up the harbour of Brest, while a smaller fleet kept a watch upon that of Vannes. As to Havre, from which the danger seemed most imminent, rear admiral Rodney was dispatched, with orders immediately to proceed to the bombardment of that place. He accordingly anchored in the road of Havre in the beginning of July, and made a disposition to execute his instructions. The bomb-ketches were placed in the narrow channel of the river leading to Honfleur ; and, having begun the bombardment, continued to throw their shells for above two days without intermission. The town was set on fire in several places, the boats overset or reduced to ashes, and, at the expence of nineteen hundred shells, and eleven hundred carcasses, the French preparations at Havre were totally destroyed.

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*A View of the Defeat of a French Squadron under the Command of M. de la Clue,
by an English Squadron, Commanded by Admiral Boscawen, on the 18. of Aug. 1729.*

coast of France was thus happily removed, the honour of the British flag was effectually maintained by the gallant admiral Boscawen, who commanded in the Mediterranean. The French had assembled there a considerable armament under the command of Mr. de la Clue, which some believed to be destined for America, while others conjectured, that it was designed to reinforce the squadron at Brest, and to co-operate with it in the intended descent on the English coast. At present Mr. de la Clue continued to lie in the harbour of Toulon, before which admiral Boscawen took his station with fourteen ships of the line, besides frigates and fire ships.

Boscawen, having in vain displayed the British flag in sight of Toulon, and tried every other art to bring the enemy to an engagement, ordered three ships of the line, commanded by the captains Smith, Barker, and Harland, to advance and burn two French vessels lying close to the mouth of the harbour. They prepared for executing their orders with the utmost alacrity, but met with a warm reception from several batteries, which had not been before perceived; and the wind unfortunately subsiding into a calm, they sustained such considerable damage as made it convenient for the English admiral to put into Gibraltar to refit his shattered ships. Mr. de la Clue seized this opportunity of sailing, in hopes of passing the Gut of Gibraltar unmolested during the absence of the English fleet. But Boscawen had previously detached two frigates, of which one cruised off Malaga, and the other hovered between Estepona and the fortress of Ceuta, in order to observe the motions of the enemy. On the 17th day of August the Gibraltar frigate made the signal at the mast head for the enemy being in sight; upon which the English admiral, without delay, hove up his anchors, and put to sea. At day light he descried seven large ships, part of Mr. de la Clue's Squadron, from which five ships of the line and three frigates had been separated in the night. Having made the signal to chase, and to engage in a line of battle a-head, his foremost ships came up with the rear of the enemy, about half after two. The admiral himself did not wait to return the fire of the sternmost, but employed every effort to come up with the Ocean, which Mr. de la Clue commanded in person; and about four o'clock he ran athwart her hawse, and poured into her a furious broadside, which was returned with equal vivacity. This dispute, however, was not of long continuance; for the French admiral being wounded in the engagement, and the next in command perceiving that Boscawen's vessel had lost her mizen-mast and top-sail yards, went off with all the sail he could carry. Mr. Boscawen shifted his flag from the Namur to the Newark, and joined some other ships in attacking the Centaur, which was obliged to strike. The pursuit continued all night, and Mr. de la Clue, finding himself at day-break on the coast of Portugal, determined rather to burn his ships than allow them to fall into the

A View of the Defeat of a French Squadron under the Command of M. de la Clue, by an English Squadron, Commanded by Admiral Boscawen, on the 18. of Aug. 1759.

the hands of the victors. When he reached the Portuguese shore, he put his ship under the protection of the fort Almada-na, to which the English paid no regard. He himself landed with part of his men; but the count de Carne, who succeeded to the command of the Ocean, having received a broadside from the America, struck his colours, and the English took possession of this noble prize, deemed the best ship in the French navy. Mean while captain Bently brought off the *Téméraire*, little damaged, and having on board all her officers and men; while rear-admiral Broderic burnt the *Redoubtable*, and took the *Modeste*. The scattered remains of the French fleet got with difficulty into the harbour of Cadiz, where they were soon after blocked up. Nothing was wanting to complete the glory of this victory; for it was obtained with the loss of only fifty-six men killed, and 196 wounded, and not one officer lost in the action.

After the memorable naval engagement off Cape Lagos, the French met with a disaster by land equally calamitous. The important battle of Minden deprived them of all hopes of again getting possession of Hanover, or of putting their affairs in such a situation in Germany as might afford them the prospect of any other than an ignominious peace. They were under the unhappy necessity, therefore, of trying a last effort on an element which had hitherto been extremely unpropitious to all their designs. Their sole hopes now centered in their fleets at Brest and Dunkirk, of which the former was blocked up by admiral Hawke, and the latter by commodore Boyce. They still expected, however, that the winter storms would compel the English fleets to take refuge in their own harbours, and thus afford them an opportunity to cross the sea unopposed, and to execute the object of their destination against the British coasts. In this expectation they were not wholly disappointed: on the 12th of October a violent gale of wind, which gathered into an irresistible storm, drove the English squadrons off the French coast. Thurot, a French adventurer, availed himself of this accident to obtain his release from Dunkirk, without being discovered by commodore Boyce, who, upon the first information of his departure, sailed immediately in pursuit of him: but Thurot had the good fortune or dexterity to elude his vigilance, by entering the port of Gottenburg in Sweden, where he was laid up till after Christmas by the severity of the weather, and want of necessaries to enable his ships and men to keep the seas.

Admiral Hawke's squadron had taken refuge, during the violence of the storm, in the harbour of Torbay. When its fury began to subside, the French admiral Conflans, perceiving no enemy on the coast, immediately put to sea. But the same day that he sailed from Brest, the English admiral sailed from Torbay. The two squadrons were the most powerful of any employed in the course of the war, and worthy to be entrusted with the fate of the two leading kingdoms in Europe. Their forces
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*The Defeat of a French Fleet Commanded by Marshal Conflans, off Belle Isle,
on the 20. of Nov. 1739, by an English Fleet Commanded by Admiral Hawke.*

were nearly equal, the English being, by some vessels, more numerous, but having no superiority in number of men, or weight of metal.

Sir Edward Hawke directed his course for Quiberon-bay on the coast of Bretagne, which he conjectured would be the rendezvous of the French squadron. But here fortune opposed his well-concerted measures; for a strong gale sprung up in an easterly point, and drove the English fleet a great way to the westward; at length, however, the weather became more favourable, and carried them in directly to the shore. The Maidstone and Coventry frigates, who had orders to keep a-head of the squadron, discovered the enemy's fleet in the morning of the 20th of November. They were bearing to the northward between the island of Belleisle and the main land of France. Sir Edward Hawke threw out a signal for seven of his ships, that were nearest, to chase, in order to detain the French fleet until they themselves could be reinforced with the rest of his squadron, which were ordered to form into a line of battle a-head, as they chased, that no time might be lost in the pursuit. These manoeuvres indicated the utmost resolution and intrepidity; for at this time the waves rolled mountains high, the weather grew more and more tempestuous, and the sea, on this treacherous coast, was indented with sand and shoals, shallows and rocks, as unknown to the English pilots as they were familiar to those of the enemy. But Sir Edward Hawke, animated by the innate fortitude of his own heart and the warm love of his country, disregarded every danger and obstacle that stood in the way of his obtaining the important stake which now depended. Mr. de Conflans might have hazarded a fair battle on the open sea without the imputation of temerity; but he thought proper to attempt a more artful game, which, however, he did not play with the address which his situation required. As he was unwilling to risk a fair engagement, he could have no other view but to draw the English squadron among the rocks and shoals, that, at a proper time, he might take advantage of any disaster that befel them: but, fluctuating between a resolution to fight and an inclination to fly, he allowed the British ships to come up with him, and then crowded his sail when it was too late to escape. At half an hour after two the van of the English fleet began the engagement with the rear of the enemy. The Formidable commanded by the French rear-admiral Mr. du Verger, behaved with uncommon resolution, and returned many broadsides poured into her by the English ships as they passed to bear down on the van of the French. Sir Edward Hawke reserved his fire, and ordered his master to carry him along-side of the French admiral. The pilot observed, that he could not obey his orders without the most imminent risk of running upon a shoal: the brave admiral replied, "You have done your duty in pointing out the danger; you are now to obey my commands,"

The Defeat of a French Fleet Commanded by Marshal Conflans, off Belle Isle, on the 20. of Nov. 1759, by an English Fleet Commanded by Admiral Hawke.

"mands, and lay me along side the *Soleil Royal*." While the pilot was preparing to gratify his desire, the *Thesée*, a French ship of seventy guns generously interposed itself between the two admirals, and received the fire which Hawke had destined for a greater occasion. In returning this fire, the *Thesée* foundered in consequence of a high sea that entered her lower-deck ports: the *Superbe* shared the same fate; the *Heros* struck her colours, and the *Formidable* did the same about four in the afternoon. Darkness coming on, the enemy fled towards their own coast. Seven ships of the line hove their guns overboard, and took refuge in the river *Villaine*; about as many more, in a most shattered and miserable condition, escaped to other ports. The wind blowing with redoubled violence on a lee shore, Sir Edward made the signal for anchoring to the westward of the small island *Dumet*, where he continued all night in a very dangerous riding, continually alarmed by hearing guns of distress. When morning appeared, he found the French admiral had run his ship on shore, where she was soon after set on fire by her own men. Thus concluded this memorable action, in which the English sustained little loss but what was occasioned by the weather. The *Essex* and *Resolution* unfortunately ran on a sand bank called *Lefour*, where they were irrecoverably lost, in spite of all the assistance that could be given; but most of their men and some part of their stores were saved. In the whole fleet no more than one lieutenant and thirty-nine seamen and marines were killed, and two hundred and two wounded. The loss of the French in men must have been prodigious. All the officers on board the *Formidable* were killed before she struck. They had, besides, four of the best ships in the navy destroyed, one taken, and the whole of their formidable armament, the last hope of the French marine, shattered, disarmed, and distressed.

While the naval power of France was falling to its ruin, her commerce was cut off in its source by the taking of *Guadaloupe* and *Quebec*. The French government, broken by repeated calamities, and exhausted by exorbitant subsidies to its German allies, was reduced to the lowest ebb of fortune. The monarch, however, still found a resource in the loyalty and attachment of his people. They acquiesced in the bankruptcy of public credit, when the court stopped payment of the interest on twelve different branches of the national debt; they declared against every suggestion of accommodation that was not advantageous and honourable; and they sent in large quantities of plate to be melted down and coined into specie, for the support of the war.

The liberal supplies granted by the British parliament, which met in November, formed a striking contrast with the indigence of our rivals. For the service of the ensuing year they voted 73,000 seamen, including 18,355 marines; and they allotted 3,640,000*l.* for their maintenance. The sums destined to other purposes

purposes were no less ample; the whole amounted to fifteen millions five hundred and three thousand five hundred and sixty-four pounds. Of this immense supply not less than two millions three hundred and forty-four thousand four hundred and eighty-six pounds were paid to foreigners, for supporting the war in Germany, exclusive of the money expended by twenty thousand British troops in that country, and the charge of transporting them, with the expence of pontage, waggons, and other contingencies, and the exorbitant article of forage, which alone amounted, in the course of the last campaign, to one million two hundred thousand pounds.

The British navy at this time amounted to 120 ships of the line, besides frigates, fire ships, sloops, bombs, and tenders. Of these capital ships seventeen were stationed in the East-Indies, twenty for the defence of the West-India islands, twelve in North-America, ten in the Mediterranean, and sixty-one either on the coast of France, in the harbours of England, or cruising in the English seas for the protection of commerce. Considering these mighty preparations, it is remarkable, that the return of the little squadron commanded by Thurot should have caused a general alarm over the three kingdoms. This inconsiderable armament originally consisted of five frigates, on board of which were 1270 land soldiers. They had sailed from Gottenburg to Bergen in Norway, and during that voyage had suffered so much by storms, that they were obliged to send back one of their largest vessels to France. It was not till the fifth of December that they were able to sail directly for the place of their destination, which was the northern coast of Ireland. In this voyage their ill fortune continued to pursue them. For near three months they were obliged to ply off and on among the western isles of Scotland, during which time they suffered every possible hardship: their men thinned and disheartened, suffering by famine and disease, one ship irrecoverably lost, and the remaining three so shattered, that they were obliged to put into the isle of Ilay. Here this enterprizing adventurer, though oppressed with misfortune, and steeled by such hardships as too often extinguish every generous principle of humanity, behaved with the utmost justice and moderation, paying handsomely for the cattle and provisions which he had occasion to use, and treating the natives with unusual courtesy and kindness.

As soon as the weather permitted, Thurot quitted this island, and pursued his destination to the bay of Carrickfergus in Ireland, where, on the 21st of February, he effected a descent with 600 men. They advanced without opposition to the town, which they found as well guarded as the nature of the place, which was entirely open, and the circumstances of colonel Jennings, who commanded only four companies of raw undisciplined men, would allow. A vigorous defence was made, until the ammunition of the English failed; and then colonel Jennings

retired to the castle of Carrickfergus, which, however, was in all respects untenable, being unprovided in provisions and ammunition; and having a breach in the wall of near fifty feet wide: nevertheless, they repulsed the assailants in their first attack, having supplied the want of shot with stones and rubbish. At length the colonel surrendered, on condition that his troops should be ransomed by exchanging them for an equal number of French prisoners; that the castle of Carrickfergus should not be demolished, nor the town burned or plundered. This last circumstance, however, was not strictly observed. The magistrates of Carrickfergus refused such supplies of wine and provisions as the French officers demanded, and thus, by their own imprudence, caused the town to be subjected to a contribution, which, however was not immoderate. Thurot, having by this time got notice of the defeat of Conflans's expedition, and hearing that a considerable body of regular troops were assembled, and preparing to march to the assistance of the inhabitants of Carrickfergus, embarked, and set sail for France, after gaining great reputation by the exploits of a squadron, which deserves to be considered as little better than a wreck of the grand enterprise against the British coasts.

But this gallant adventurer had not left the bay of Carrickfergus many hours, when he perceived, near the coast of the isle of Man, three sail that bore down upon him. These were English frigates, the *Æolus* of thirty-six guns, commanded by captain Elliot, the *Pallas* and *Brilliant*, each of thirty-two guns, under the command of captain Clements and Logie, who had been dispatched by the duke of Bedford, lord lieutenant of Ireland, in quest of the French squadron. At nine in the morning of the 28th of February, captain Elliot came up with the *Belleisle*, commanded by Thurot, which was superior to the *Æolus* in strength of men, number of guns, and weight of metal; but both ship and men were in a bad condition. The engagement was hardly begun, when the *Pallas* and *Brilliant* attacked the other two ships of the enemy. The action was maintained with great spirit on both sides for an hour and a half, when captain Elliot's lieutenant boarded the *Belleisle*, who immediately struck her colours, the gallant Thurot having fallen in the action. The English took possession of their prizes, and conveyed them into the bay of Ramsey in the isle of Man. In this engagement three hundred of the French were slain, or disabled: whereas our loss did not exceed forty killed and wounded. The name of Thurot had become so terrible to all the sea ports of Britain and Ireland, that the service performed on this occasion was deemed essential to the quiet and security of these kingdoms. The thanks of the house of commons of Ireland were voted to the conquerors of Thurot as well as to lieutenant-colonel Jennings, the commanding officer at Carrickfergus; and the defeat and capture of this petty squadron was celebrated

celebrated with the most hearty and universal rejoicings. Such was the fate of the last branch of the grand armament which had so long been the hope of France, and the terror of Great Britain.

In North America the affairs of the French had taken such a turn as afforded them a happy prospect of future success. While the operations of the war there were intrusted to the land forces alone, England was unfortunate, and France triumphant: but no sooner did our squadrons appear on our coasts, than every thing returned to its former situation, and Britain was as victorious as before. The garrison left for the defence of Quebec amounted originally to 5000 men, a number much too small, considering both the nature of the place, and the number of French forces which still remained in Canada. The fortifications of Quebec were weak and incomplete; without any kind of outworks; and the town had been reduced, during the late siege, almost to a ruin. Mr. Levi had collected at Montreal 6000 experienced militia in Canada, with 300 Indians, besides ten battalions of regular troops amounting to about 5000 men more. With this force he took the field on the 17th of April; and, while his provisions and ammunition fell down the river St. Lawrence under a convoy of six frigates, the French army arrived in ten days march to the heights of Abraham, three miles distant from Quebec. General Murray, who commanded the garrison, had it in his option either to remain within the city, or to march out and try his fortune in the field. As his troops were habituated to victory, and provided with a fine train of artillery, he was unwilling to keep them shut up in a place which appeared to him scarcely tenable. He determined, therefore, to lead them against the enemy; a resolution, which, considering the immense inequality of numbers, (for, although the garrison originally consisted of 5000, he had not now above 3000 effective men), favoured more of youthful temerity than of military discretion. At first, however, fortune seemed to favour his designs. The English army, having marched out of the city, and descended from the heights of Abraham, attacked the enemy's van with such impetuosity, that it was obliged to give way, and to fall back on the main body. This advantage brought them full on the main army of the French, which by this time had formed in columns. The fire became so hot, that it stopped the progress of our troops; and the French, wheeling to right and left, formed a semicircle which threatened to surround them, and to cut off their retreat. Near a third of the English army were now killed or wounded, and nothing could be thought of in this situation but to make proper movements to secure their return to Quebec. This they effected without losing many men in the pursuit; and the severe misfortune, occasioned by their own temerity, roused the governor and troops to the most strenuous efforts in defence of the place. The French lost

no time in improving their victory. They opened the trenches on the very night of the battle : but being deficient in artillery, they had performed nothing of consequence before the 15th of May, when the besieged were reinforced by the arrival of the British fleet. Then the enemy understood what it was to be inferior at sea ; for, had a French squadron got the start of the English in sailing up the river, Quebec must have reverted to its former owners.

On the 9th of May, to the great joy of the garrison, an English frigate anchored in the bay, and told them that Lord Colville who had sailed from Halifax with the fleet under his command, on the 22d of April, was then in the river St. Lawrence. He had been retarded in his passage by thick fogs and contrary winds. About the same time commodore Swanton, arriving with a small reinforcement from England, and hearing that Quebec was besieged, sailed up the St. Lawrence with all expedition. On the 15th he anchored at Point Levi, and early next morning ordered captain Schomberg of the *Diana*, and captain Deane of the *Lowestoffe* to slip their cables, and attack the French fleet, consisting of two frigates, two armed ships, and a considerable number of smaller vessels. They were no sooner in motion than the French ships fled in the utmost disorder. One of their frigates was driven on the rocks above Cape Diamond ; the other ran ashore, and was burnt at Point au Tremble, about ten leagues above the town, and all that remained were taken or destroyed.

Mr. Levi had the mortification to behold, from the heights of Abraham, this action, which at one stroke put an end to all the hopes he had conceived from his late victory. He was persuaded that these frigates, by the boldness of their manner, preceded a considerable reinforcement, and he therefore raised the siege with the utmost precipitation, leaving behind him a great quantity of baggage, tents, stores, magazines of provisions and ammunition, with thirty-four pieces of battering cannon, ten field pieces, six mortars, and a great number of scaling ladders, intrenching tools, and other implements necessary for a siege.

This event, which was entirely owing to the seasonable assistance of the fleet, was equally important in itself and in its consequences. While it secured the possession of Quebec, it gave an opportunity to general Murray to march to the assistance of general Amherst, who was employed in the siege of Montreal, the second place in Canada for extent, commerce and strength. Here the whole remaining force of the French in North-America was collected under the command of Mr. Vaudreuil, an enterprising and artful general, who neglected no means of protracting the siege. At length he was obliged to yield to the united armies, and on the 8th of September, 1760, surrendered his garrison to be sent to France, on condition that they should not

not serve in the present war, and yielded up the inhabitants of his government as subjects to the king of Great-Britain.

The French had not neglected to send relief to a place, which was the last object of their hopes for regaining possession of Canada. They had dispatched three frigates, with twenty ships of burden, containing a reinforcement of troops and military stores for the garrison of Montreal. But when the commander of this expedition understood, that the fleet under lord Colville had anticipated his arrival in the river St. Lawrence, he attempted to land his whole embarkation in the bay of Chaleurs, that they might endeavour, if possible, to join the principal army by land. But here they were discovered by captain Byron with three of his majesty's ships; their armament was taken or destroyed, and their whole design disconcerted. Thus, by the bravery of our troops, and the uncommon spirit, vigilance, and activity of our navy, every attempt of the enemy was frustrated, and the quiet possession of all Canada confirmed to Great Britain.

In the East-Indies the British arms were attended with equal success. After raising the siege of Fort St. George in February, 1759, the English army possessed themselves of the important town and fortress of Conjeveram, as well as of the city Masulipatam, both on the Coromandel coast. This coast joins to the rich province of Bengal, where the French interest had been totally ruined by the conduct and gallantry of colonel Clive.

Encouraged by these advantages, a body of 1200 men, Europeans and Seapoys, advanced farther, and attempted to dislodge an army of French and their confederate Indians, encamped under the cannon of a fort near Wandewash. They were repelled with the loss of between three and four hundred killed and wounded. But colonel Coote, at the head of the principal body of English troops on that coast, compensated for this disaster by investing and taking Wandewash in three days. Soon after, he obtained a complete victory over general Lally, who commanded an army twice as numerous as that of the English, and consisting of 2200 Europeans and 10,000 blacks. After this decisive engagement, which, excepting the battle of Plaissey, was more important in its consequences than any fought in India during the war, colonel Coote undertook the siege of Chilliput, which surrendered in two days. He then prosecuted his march to Arcot the capital of that province, the fort of which being silenced, the garrison surrendered themselves prisoners of war. After the reduction of Arcot all the inferior places, such as Permacoil and Allumparva, submitted. The important settlement of Carical was reduced by the sea and land forces, commanded by rear admiral Cornish and major Monson; and colonel Coote formed the blockade of Pondicherry by land, while the harbour was beset by the English squadron. This town was the only

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important settlement which now remained to our enemies in India.

During all this time admiral Pococke had, with his usual skill and intrepidity, seconded the efforts of the troops. He had more than once compelled Mr. d'Aché, the greatest admiral that France can boast of, and who alone supported the declining reputation of her marine, to take shelter under the walls of Pondicherry. Pococke had reduced the French ships to a very shattered condition, and killed a great many of their men; but, what shews the singular talents of both admirals, they had fought three pitched battles in the course of eighteen months, without the loss of a ship on either side.

The British squadrons in the West-Indies were commanded by admiral Holmes on the Jamaica station, and Sir James Douglas in the Leeward islands. The active vigilance of these commanders not only enabled them to protect the islands from insult or invasion, but prompted them to annoy the enemy. Rear-admiral Holmes, having in the month of October received intelligence, that five French frigates were equipped at Cape François on the island of Hispaniola, in order to convoy a fleet of merchantmen to Europe, he stationed the ships under his command in such a manner as gave them an opportunity to intercept this fleet. The principal French ship was the *Sirenne* commanded by commodore M'Cartie, an Irish officer of considerable reputation. After two sharp engagements she struck to the *Boreas*, while the other four frigates bore away, with all the sail they could crowd, for the west end of Tortuga, to shelter themselves in Port au Prince. They were pursued by the *Lively* and *Hampshire*; the former obliged one of the French frigates to submit, after a warm engagement of an hour and a half. The *Hampshire* stood for the other three, and, running between the *Duke of Choiseul* and the *Prince Edward*, engaged them both at the same time. The first having the advantage of the wind, made her retreat into Port au Paix: the other ran ashore about two leagues to leeward, and struck her colours. At the approach of the *Hampshire*, the enemy set her on fire, and she blew up. The *Fleur de Lys*, that had run into Fresh-Water bay, a little to leeward of Port au Prince, shared the same fate; and thus by the gallantry of the captains Norbury, Uvedale, and Maitland, and the prudent disposition of admiral Holmes, two large frigates of the enemy were taken, and three destroyed.

Immediately after this event, advice being received by admiral Holmes, that the enemy's privateers swarmed about the island of Cuba, he ordered the boats of the *Trent* and *Boreas* to be manned; that they might proceed, under the direction of the lieutenants Millar and Stuart, to the harbour of Cumberland in that island. There they met with the *Vainqueur* of ten guns, sixteen swivels, and ninety men; the *Mackau* of six swivels and fifteen men, and the *Guespe* of eight guns and eighty-five men.

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The boats, after surmounting many difficulties, rowed up to the *Vainqueur*, boarded and took possession of her under a close fire. The *Mackau* was taken without resistance; but, before they could reach the *Guespe*, the enemy set her on fire, by which she was destroyed.

The same enterprising courage distinguished the officers of the squadron commanded by Sir James Douglas off the Leeward Islands. The captains O'Brien and Taylor, cruising near the Grenades, were informed that the *Virgin*, once a British sloop, with three French privateers, had taken refuge under the guns of three forts on one of those islands. They sailed thither in order to attack them; and their enterprize was crowned with success. Having demolished the forts, they took the four ships after a warm engagement, which lasted several hours. They next entered another harbour on the same island, where they had intelligence of three more ships; they demolished the fort on this harbour, and carried off the three prizes. In returning to Antigua they fell in with thirteen victuallers, who immediately surrendered. At the same time eight privateers were taken by the ships which commodore Douglas employed in cruising round the island of Guadaloupe.

While the English were carried forward with a continual tide of prosperity in distant parts of the world, no action of importance was achieved in the British seas by the naval force of that kingdom. Admiral Rodney still maintained his station off the coast of Havre de Grace, to observe the French movements towards the mouth of the Seine. The admirals Boscawen and Hawke alternately commanded the powerful squadron which still remained in the bay of Quiberon, to interrupt the navigation of the enemy, to watch and detain the French vessels which had run into the mouth of the river Villaine after the defeat of *Conflans*; and to divert the efforts of the French from other quarters, by employing a great number of forces on that part of the coast.

Meanwhile a numerous body of forces were assembled, and a great number of transports collected at Portsmouth. The troops were actually embarked with a good train of artillery; generals were nominated to the command of the enterprise; and the eyes of the whole nation were fixed upon this armament, which had been prepared at an immense expence, and the destination of which remained a profound secret. But, to the astonishment of all those who were not admitted behind the curtain, the whole summer was spent in idleness and inaction, and upon the death of the late king, in the month of October following, the enterprise was entirely laid aside.

While admiral Rodney hovered near the mouth of the Seine he perceived, on the 5th of July at noon day, five large flat-bottomed boats, with their colours flying, as if they had set the English squadron at defiance. These boats were dispatched by way

way of experiment, to try whether it were possible for vessels of this newly invented construction to escape the vigilance and efforts of an English fleet. The French had prepared above an hundred of them, which then lay at Caen in Normandy. The ten which now failed, stood backwards and forwards on the shoals, intending to amuse Mr. Rodney till night, and then to proceed under cover of darkness. He perceived their drift, and gave directions that his small vessels should be ready to sail in the night for the mouth of the river Orne, in order to cut off the enemy's retreat, while he himself with the larger ships stood for the steep coast of Port Bassin. The disposition was judicious, and attended with success. The flat-bottomed boats having no way to escape, ran ashore at Port Bassin, where the admiral destroyed them, together with the small fort which had been erected for the defence of this harbour. Each of these vessels was one hundred feet in length, and capable of containing four hundred men. The disaster which befel them taught the French minister of the marine not to build any further hopes upon such awkward machines. The remainder were ordered to be unloaded at Caen, and sent to Rouen to be laid up as useless.

This was not the only service which Rodney's Squadron performed. In the month of November, captain Ourry of the *Aciton* chased a large privateer, and drove her on shore between Cape Barfleur and La Hogue; and his cutters scoured the coast, and took or destroyed forty vessels of considerable burden, which carried on a great fishing near Dieppe.

Besides the purposes above-mentioned, which were answered by admiral Boscawen's fleet, it effectually prevented any vessels from sailing from the harbours of Brest or Rochfort, with the design to reinforce the French in North America, which might have protracted the war there to another campaign. The enterprising spirit of this English admiral, impatient of continuing so long in a state of inaction, how advantageous soever to the interests of his country, prompted him to employ his men in the execution of some actual service. He exercised them, therefore, in taking a small island near the river Vannes, which he ordered them to cultivate and plant with vegetables for the use of the seamen infected with scorbutic disorders, arising from the constant use of salt provisions, from the sea air, and from a want of proper exercise.

Sir Edward Hawke, who relieved Mr. Boscawen in September, pursued the same plan. Sensible of the inconveniencies to which a fleet on that station is exposed for want of fresh water, which must be carried to them by transports hired on purpose; he detached Lord Howe in the *Magnanime*, with the ships *Frederick* and *Bedford*, to reduce the little island Dumet, which abounded in that great necessary of life. This island, about three miles in length and two in breadth, was defended by a small fort mounted with nine cannon, and garrisoned with one company

company of the regiment of Bourbon, who surrendered with little or no resistance after the ships had begun the attack.

We have not interrupted the history of the British squadrons by relating the exploits of particular cruisers, several of which conferred the highest honour on the English navy. On the 2d of April captain Skinner of the *Biddeford*, and captain Kennedy of the *Flamborough*, both frigates, having sailed from Lisbon, fell in with two large French frigates, convoy to a fleet of merchant ships, which the English captains immediately determined to engage, notwithstanding the great inferiority of their strength. The enemy did not decline the battle, which began about half an hour after six in the evening, and raged with great fury till eleven. By this time the *Flamborough* had lost sight of the *Biddeford*, and the frigate with which the former was engaged bore away with all the sail she could carry. Captain Kennedy pursued her till noon the next day, when he entirely lost sight of her; by which means she got into Lisbon with the loss of several men besides the lieutenant of marines, and considerably damaged in her hull and rigging. In three days he was joined by the *Biddeford*, who, after a most severe conflict, had compelled her antagonist to fly, and had chased her till she was out of sight. Soon after the action began, captain Skinner, while standing upon the arm-chest to inspect the several posts, and to animate his men by his example, was unfortunately killed. He was an officer equally brave and bountiful, and as much beloved for his gentleness and humanity as respected for his skill and courage by those who served under him. The command devolved upon the hon. lieutenant Knollis, who maintained the battle with great spirit, even after he was wounded; and a second shot through his body deprived him of life. Notwithstanding these disasters, the crew of the *Biddeford*, though deprived of their officers, their main top-mast shot away, the ship disabled in her rigging, and the enemy's fire which continued exceedingly hot, discovered no signs of fear, or of disinclination to the service. The master of the ship now assumed the command, and every man aboard acted as if on his personal bravery alone the fortune of the engagement had depended. While the master kept the quarter-deck, and took care of the posts there, the purser was stationed on the main-deck, and kept up a brisk and well-directed fire. Numbers of the wounded men returned with cheerfulness to their posts, after the surgeon had dressed their wounds. Their cool determined valour prevailed over a ship double their own in strength. The enemy's fire began to slacken, one gun being silent after another, till the enemy did not discharge four guns in a quarter of an hour. It was believed they were going to strike; but it proved, that they were preparing for flight; for a little after, about ten at night, the engagement having lasted three hours, they bore away with all the sail they could crowd. The *Biddeford* took the opportunity

opportunity to pour a broadside into her enemy, and a volley of small arms nearly at the same instant. But, when she attempted to chase, the sailors found they had no command of their ship, the rigging being cut to pieces, and the masts and yards shattered and disabled.

The captures from the French, within the course of this year, consisted of royal ships of war, privateers, and armed merchantmen. The royal ships were six, mounting in all 176 guns. The privateers and armed merchantmen amounted to 110, which carried 848 carriage-guns, 240 swivels, and 6389 men. The English navy suffered little from the French during this period, but sustained great damage from the weather. The *Conqueror*, a new ship of the line, was lost in the channel off the island of St. Nicholas; the crews and guns were saved. The *Lyme* of twenty guns foundered in the Cattegat in Norway, and fifty of the men perished. In the West Indies a tender belonging to the Dublin commanded by commodore Sir James Douglas, was lost in a gale of wind, with 100 chosen mariners. But these losses, great as they were, seemed inconsiderable, compared to that of the *Ramillies*, a magnificent ship of the second rate, belonging to the squadron which admiral Boscawen commanded on the coast of France. In the beginning of February a series of stormy weather obliged the admiral to return from the bay of Quiberon to Plymouth, where he arrived with much difficulty. The *Ramillies*, having overshot the entrance to the sound, and being embayed near a point called the Bolt-head, about four leagues higher up the channel, was dashed in pieces among the rocks, after her anchors and cables had given way. All her officers and men, (one midshipman and 25 of the seamen excepted,) amounting to 700, perished.

The number of merchant vessels taken by the French amounted to above 300, chiefly, however, coasters and colliers of very inconsiderable value. Nor would it have been at all surprising if the French had taken not only more numerous but more valuable prizes. While their own commerce was in a great measure destroyed, and they had no merchant ships at sea but some coasters, and a few vessels, under convoy from the West Indies, the trading fleets of England covered the ocean. Every year her commerce was augmenting; the money which the war carried out was returned by the produce of her industry; the sinking fund amounted annually to above three millions, and, in the year 1760, 8000 vessels were employed by the traders of Great Britain.

The parliament which assembled the 18th of November, 1760, had voted 70,000 seamen for the service of the ensuing year, including 18,355 marines; and a sum not exceeding four pounds monthly *per* man for maintenance, the whole amounting to 3,640,000 pounds. No material alteration was made in the disposition of the several squadrons which constituted the navy
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of Great Britain. That in the bay of Quiberon was commanded by Sir Edward Hawke and Sir Charles Hardy. Admiral Saunders was stationed in the Mediterranean. The rear-admirals Stevens and Cornish commanded in the East Indies, rear-admiral Holmes at Jamaica, Sir James Douglas at the Leeward islands, and lord Colville at Halifax in Nova Scotia. Besides these, single ships cruised in different parts, in order to protect the British merchantmen, and squadrons were occasionally equipped under various commanders.

The scene of action, in the year 1761, opened in the East Indies. After the defeat of the French near Wandewash, the taking of the city of Arcot, and the reduction of the fortresses of Chittepoot and Carrical, the French were blocked up in Pondicherry, a town of near four miles in circuit, elegantly built, strongly fortified, and defended by the whole force which remained to the enemy on the coast of Coromandel. The periodical rains which fall on that coast rendered a regular siege impracticable; so that the blockade, which had been commenced by the fleet under admiral Stevens and the land forces under colonel Coote, was continued with the best disposition, and the most extraordinary patience, for full seven months. On the 26th of November, 1760, four batteries were raised, at some distance, to infiltrate the streets of Pondicherry, whilst others were advanced nearer, in order to play upon the works. The works of the besiegers suffered much from storms, which ruined the batteries and approaches: but these were repaired with great alacrity, and the enemy was reduced to the most extreme distress. They lived on camels, elephants, dogs, and cats. Even this wretched provision was so scarce, that it was purchased at an immense price: five pounds had been paid for the flesh of a dog.

In the midst of this distress their hopes were suddenly revived by a dreadful misfortune which happened to the English fleet. On the first of January, 1761, one of those terrible tempests, so destructive and so frequent in the Indian seas, obliged admiral Stevens to slip his cables and put to sea. The rest of the British Squadron were driven from before the walls of Pondicherry. The Duke of Aquitaine and the Sunderland foundered in the storm, and their crews perished. The Newcastle, the Queenborough, and Protector fire-ship, were driven on shore and destroyed; but the men were happily saved, together with the guns, stores, and provisions. Many other ships sustained considerable damage. This unexpected disaster elevated to the highest pitch the spirit of the garrison, and general Lally, seeing the port clear, lost not a moment to send an express to the French agent in the neighbouring neutral settlements, in order to obtain a supply of provisions.

As the admiral imagined, that Lally had made the same solicitations by other messengers, he immediately dispatched letters to

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the Dutch and Danish settlements, mentioning the good condition of the greater part of his fleet, and assuring them that he would make prize of such vessels as he found inringing the neutrality by attempting to supply the enemy. He was sufficiently in a condition to make good his threats; for, in four days after the storm, he had, with incredible diligence and celerity, repaired the damage of his ships, and appeared before Pondicherry with eleven sail of the line and two frigates, all fit for service. The siege was now carried on with redoubled ardour. By the 15th of January a battery was raised within point blank; a breach was effected in the curtain; the west face and flank of the north-west bastion were ruined, and the guns of the enemy entirely silenced. The principal of the Jesuits came out with two civilians, and proposed terms of capitulation in the name of the inhabitants. General Lally disdained to capitulate, but sent out a paper, full of invectives against the English for breach of treaties relative to India: the obstinacy of the governor made the proposal of the inhabitants be disregarded; so that the city of Pondicherry, with a garrison of near 2000 European soldiers, a vast quantity of military stores, and great riches, was, without any formal surrender, abandoned to the discretion of the besiegers.

After the reduction of Pondicherry on the coast of Coromandel, a body of English forces was embarked for an expedition against Mahie, a settlement on the coast of Malabar, which the French had lately fortified at a very considerable expence. The place was attacked with so much vigour, that the French governor thought proper to surrender it about the beginning of February, by which means the English obtained the command of the whole peninsula of India, the most extensive as well as the most profitable sphere of commerce in the world.

These important successes had not, since the commencement of the war, been chequered by any considerable misfortune attending the British arms in the east. We must not, however, omit to mention the achievements of the count d'Estaing, who in the year 1759 had made himself master of the English fort of Gombroon in the Gulf of Persia, and taken two frigates, with three other vessels belonging to the company. He performed this with four ships under Dutch colours, one of which carried sixty-four guns, another twenty-two, with a land force of 150 Europeans, and about 200 Caffres. In the succeeding year the fort of Natal on the coast of Africa surrendered to him at discretion, and he found two ships in the road. He afterwards sailed to Sumatra, where the English carried on a great trade in pepper, and, before the end of the following April, reduced Tapponapoli and Bencoolen or Marlborough fort, which last, though in a good state of defence, was ingloriously abandoned by the English garrison, after they had burnt a vessel richly loaded, (the Denham Indiaman,) that lay in the harbour. The activity and enterprise
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of Mr. d'Estaing would deserve commendation, if his character had not been strongly marked with perfidy and cruelty. He had surrendered himself at the siege of Madras, and had engaged not to serve against the English until he should be regularly exchanged ; so that, when he attacked Gambroon, he was a prisoner on parole. When he became master of that place, he paid no regard to the terms on which it had surrendered. He promised to prevent thefts and disorders ; but the houses were set on fire, and the factory given up to the licentious pillage of the Arabs.

After the expulsion of the French from North America, the English found in the Cherokees a cruel and barbarous and not an unwarlike enemy. They defended themselves with a savage heroism against the superior arts of a civilized nation, nor could they be reduced to the necessity of accepting a peace from their conquerors, until the English had penetrated with great courage and perseverance into their country, destroyed fifteen of their towns or villages, and burnt or cut down the greatest part of their harvest.

While the continent of North America was thus reduced to a state of undisturbed obedience, the British squadrons were still carrying on their conquests in the West Indies. On the fourth of June Sir James Douglas sailed from Guadaloupe with the Dublin, Belliqueux, Sunderland, and Montague, four ships of the line, and a considerable body of land forces under the command of lord Rollo, destined for an expedition against the island of Dominica. This island, though one of those called neutral, had been occupied and fortified by the French. Its extent is about ten leagues in length, and eight in breadth ; it is well watered by rivers plentifully supplied with fish ; produces abundant pasture for cattle, and is very fruitful in coffee, cocoa, tobacco, and cotton. It is situated within ten leagues of Martinico, the capital of the French sugar-islands, which, in case of an invasion, it could easily supply with men and provisions ; a circumstance which rendered it of great importance to France, and an object worthy the ambition of the British ministry.

The armament under lord Rollo and Sir James Douglas arrived within a league of Roseau, the capital of Dominica, on the sixth of June ; and the fleet having anchored, a lieutenant of the navy, accompanied by a land officer, was immediately dispatched with a manifesto, signed by the commodore and general, requiring the inhabitants of the neutral island of Dominica to surrender, and take the oaths of allegiance to his majesty king George. The manifesto being read to the people of Roseau, some of the principal inhabitants set off in a boat, and went on board the English fleet. Their behaviour and conversation discovered no dislike to the British government : on the contrary, they seemed very well pleased that his majesty's forces had come to take possession of the island. But when they were put

put on shore in the afternoon, they, as well as the rest of the inhabitants, were encouraged by the French governor, Mr. Longprice, to stand on the defensive, and to declare they would not tamely surrender, while they had arms in their hands. As soon as this determination was known, the ships anchored as near as possible to the shore, and the necessary dispositions were made for landing the troops. This was effected, about five in the evening, under cover of the shipping. They formed quickly on the beach; and, while, the main division took possession of the town, the corps of grenadiers, consisting of the companies of the fourth and twenty-second regiments, seized a flanking battery, and part of the adjoining entrenchment, which had been abandoned. But the enemy continued to annoy the British troops by their musquetry from behind bushes and trees, and by their cannon fired from a battery which overlooked the town.

Lord Rollo ordered them to be immediately dislodged by the grenadiers supported by the battalions; which service was performed with so much order and rapidity, that, before night, the French were driven successively from all their entrenchments, and the battery above them, where colonel Melvill immediately took post with his grenadiers. Lord Rollo continued at their advanced post during the night, having established a communication, by proper guards, with the rest of the troops who possessed the town. Next day he established his head-quarters at Roseau, where he received the submission of the inhabitants, who came to lay down their arms, and take the oaths of allegiance to his Britannic majesty.

While this important conquest was acquired by the assistance of part of his Squadron belonging to the Leward islands, the remainder was employed in protecting the British traders, and scouring those seas of the Martinico privateers, of which they took a great number. Nor was the Squadron stationed off Jamaica less vigilant, or less alert: rear-admiral Holmes who commanded there, planned his cruises with judgment, and executed them with success. Having received intelligence in the beginning of June, that several ships of war belonging to the enemy had sailed from Port Louis, he immediately made such a disposition of his Squadron as was most likely to intercept them. He himself in the Hampshire fell in with the *St. Anne*, and chased her to leeward down upon the *Centaur*. The French captain, perceiving this last ship, and dreading the danger of being between two fires, hauled up between them, and ran close in shore, until he was becalmed about a league to the northward of Donna-Maria bay. The *Centaur* chased, and got up alongside; upon which the Frenchman, who had fired his stern chase, struck his colours, and surrendered a very fine ship, pierced for sixty-four guns, loaded with coffee, sugar, and indigo, and manned with near 400 sailors and marines.

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Earlier in the same year the French were foiled in an attempt to regain a footing on the coast of Africa. They are too sensible of the advantages attending the lucrative trade of this coast, to remain satisfied under a total exclusion from it. In order to recover some part of what they had lost, they sent two frigates to surprise James-fort, at the mouth of the Gambia. The little garrison there received them with such resolution, that one frigate was forced on shore, and lost; and the other sailed off, after having sustained considerable damage. There had been two more frigates appointed by the French to act on this service. But these had been intercepted by Sir Edward Hawke's squadron, stationed in the bay of Quiberon.

This unimportant capture, and that of a few merchantmen of little value, did not justify to the nation the inactivity in which the British squadron on the coast of France had been allowed to remain. Something of greater consequence was expected from such a powerful armament under the direction of such naval commanders as Sir Edward Hawke and Sir Charles Hardy. But in the month of March, to the general surprise and indignation of the public, the two admirals returned to Spithead, and another squadron, with a great body of land forces on board, was afterwards sent to occupy their station. This squadron consisted of the Sandwich, ninety guns; the Valiant, Temeraire, Torbay, Dragon, and Swiftsure, seventy-four guns each; the Prince of Orange, seventy guns; the Hampton-Court and Essex, sixty-four guns each; the Achilles, sixty guns; and several frigates, bomb-ketches and fire ships, with upwards of an hundred transports, carrying 900 soldiers under the command of major-general Hodgson. The expedition was intended against Belleisle, the reduction of which, it was imagined, would be attended with inconsiderable difficulties and many advantages. This island is between twelve and thirteen leagues in circumference, and the largest of all the European islands belonging to the French king. It contains only one city called La Palais, three country towns, 103 villages, and about 5000 inhabitants, who live by the natural fertility of the soil, and the curing and vending of pilchards. There are three harbours in this island, Palais, Lauzion, and Goulfard, every one of which labours under some considerable defect. But, although the harbours are bad, small privateers might issue from thence greatly to the molestation of the French coasting trade, and the fleet of England might ride, between these harbours and the continent of France, in a well-protected road. The real advantages, however, arising from this conquest, were not the only inducements to undertake it. Nothing could wound more cruelly the pride of France than the acquisition of what might be regarded as a part of her coast; and, at the same time, the jealousy of Spain would be less alarmed by our advantages in this quarter, than by those which we might obtain by pushing our conquests in the West-Indies.

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The fleet sailed from Spithead on the 29th of March in three divisions, commanded by commodore Keppel, Sir Thomas Stanhope, and captain Barton. On the 6th of April a westerly wind enabled them to approach the coast of France, and the commodore detached several frigates, with orders to station themselves in such a manner as might intercept the enemy's communication with the continent. Next morning the fleet passed along the southern shore of the island, and came to an anchor in the great road, about 12 o'clock at noon. The commanders agreed, that the descent ought to be made on the south-east extremity of the island, near the Point Lomaria. But, in order to amuse the enemy, a feint was made to attack the citadel of Palais, while two large ships conveyed the troops to the intended landing place, and silenced a battery which the enemy had there erected. The flat-bottomed boats were now approaching the shore, and about 260 had actually landed under the command of major Purcel and captain Osborne, when the enemy, suddenly appearing on the heights, poured in such a severe fire as threw them into the utmost confusion, and intimidated the rest of the troops from landing. Captain Osborne, at the head of 60 grenadiers, advanced with great intrepidity so near as to exchange several thrusts with the French officer. But the handful of men which he commanded were soon overpowered by numbers. He himself, as well as major Purcel and two sea officers, were shot, and the attempt ended with the loss of above 500 killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. This discouraging check was succeeded by tempestuous weather, which did considerable damage to the large vessels, and staved or overset 20 flat-bottomed boats.

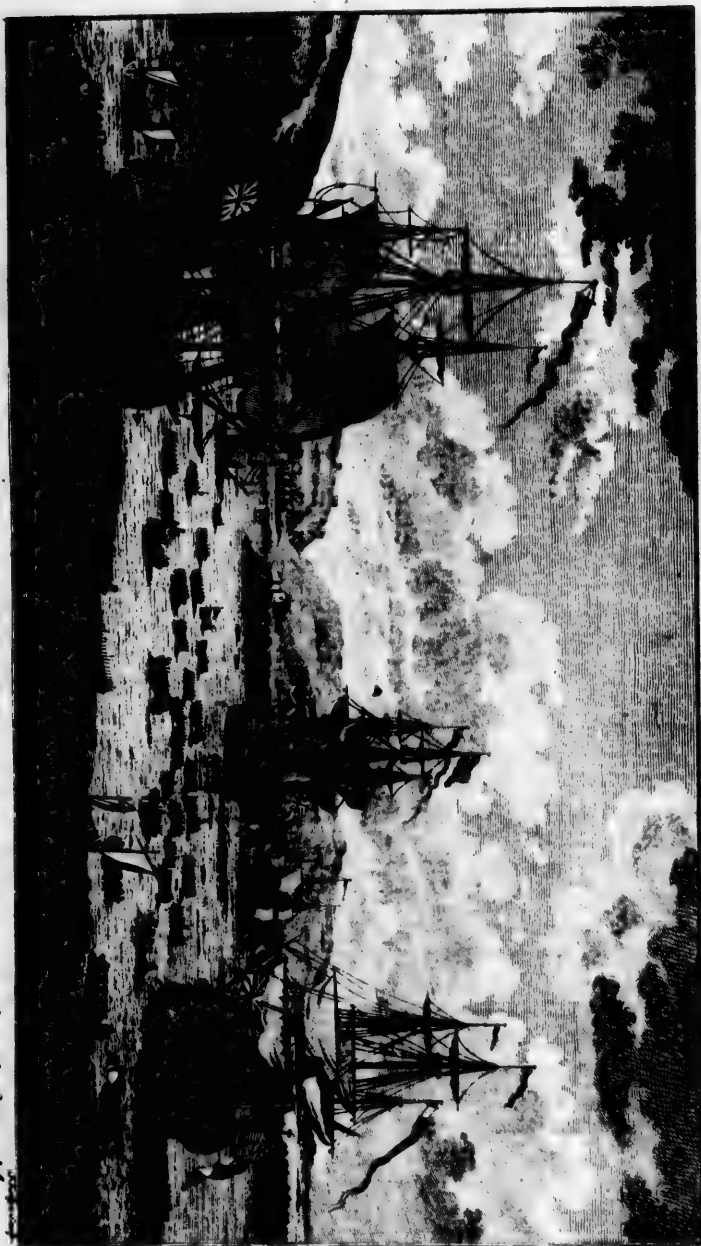
These disasters did not dispirit the English commanders. They determined to examine the whole coast, in order to find a place more favourable for another attack. As soon as the weather afforded them the prospect of making a second trial, they pitched on a place near the above-mentioned point of Lomaria, where the excessive steepness and difficulty of the rocks had rendered the enemy less attentive than elsewhere. On the 22d of April, in the morning, the troops were disposed in flat-bottomed boats, and rowed towards different parts of the island; which distracted the French operations, and obliged them to divide their forces. Mean while captain Paterson, at the head of Beauclerc's grenadiers, and captain Murray, with a detachment of marines, landed near Lomaria, mounted the precipice with astonishing intrepidity, and sustained the whole fire of the enemy, until they were reinforced by the approach of the greatest part of the English troops. The French then retired before the bayonets of the British soldiers, leaving many of their wounded companions and several field pieces. Nor was the action without loss on our side. Forty men were killed, and many more wounded, among whom were colonel Mackenzie,

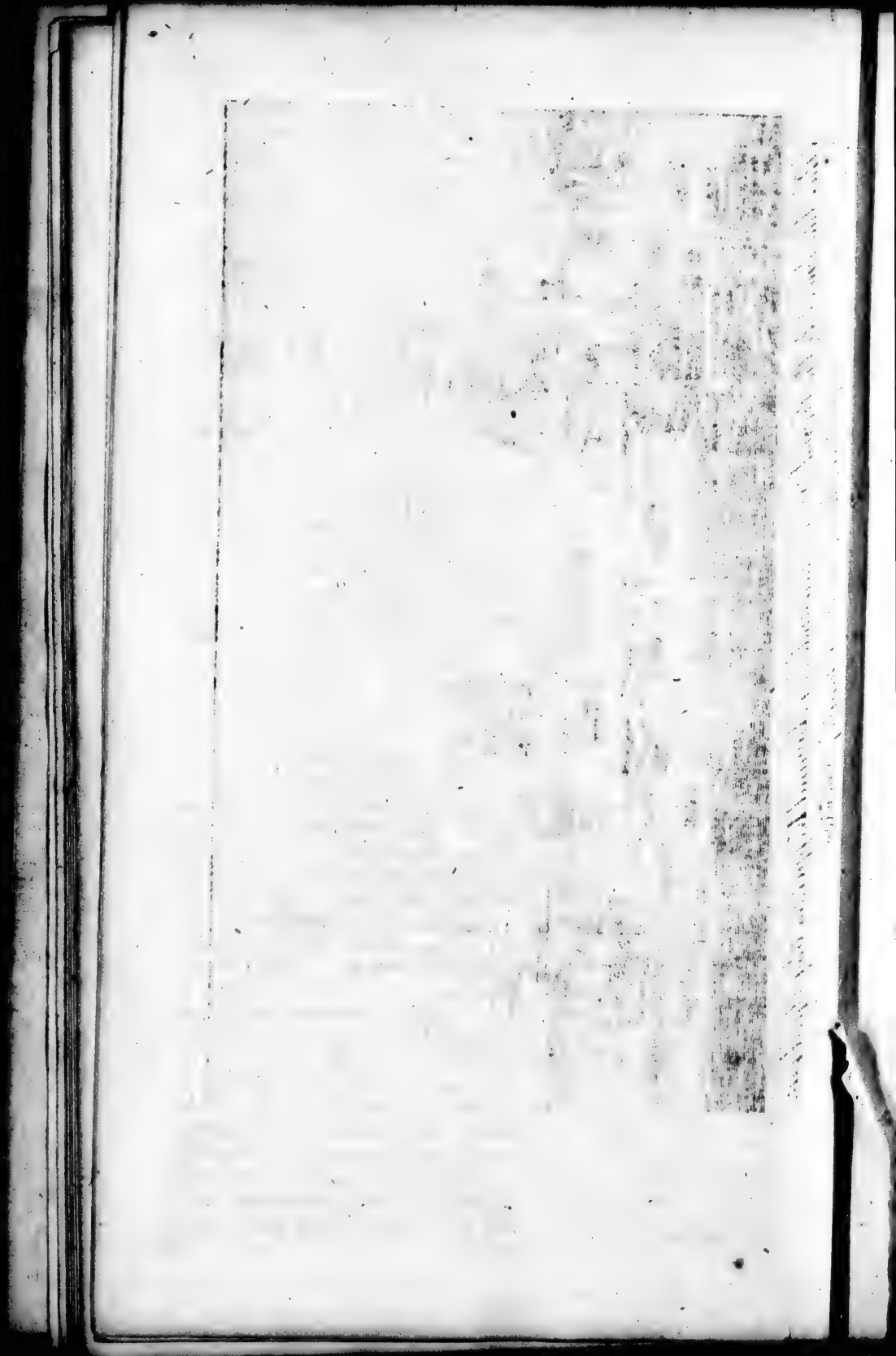
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*The Attack made by the British Fleet commanded by Admiral Keppel, the 8th of April 1761.
 at Port Mader, on the Island of Belle Ile.*





zie and captain Murray of the marines, and captain Paterfon of Beauclerk's grenadiers, who lost his arm in the engagement.

The whole army being now landed, Mr. de St. Croix ordered all his out-posts to repair to a camp under the walls of the town of Palais, where he determined to make a vigorous defence, his forces, when joined by the militia of the island, amounting to four thousand men fit for service. On the 23d of April the English troops were formed into columns, and began their march towards the capital of the island. Next day general Hodgson ordered a detachment of light horse to take post at Sauzon; and, on the 25th, a corps of infantry took possession of a village called Bordilla; and the whole army intrenched itself in that neighbourhood. The tempestuous weather rendered it impossible to bring on shore the artillery and implements necessary for a siege, the French governor seized this opportunity to erect six redoubts for defending the avenues of Palais, the citadel of which had been planned and fortified with admirable skill by the celebrated Vauban. General Hodgson, compelled by necessity to defer his military operations, published a manifesto, addressed to the inhabitants, offering them the free enjoyment of their religious and civil rights, provided they would submit themselves to the protection of the English government; an assurance which had considerable effect on the natives, but produced no alteration on the resolution of the governor, who, when summoned to surrender, declared he was determined to defend the place to the last extremity. About the latter end of April some mortars being brought up, began to play upon the town, and the besiegers broke ground on the 2d of May. The day after, in the evening, the enemy attacked the trenches with great vigour, and threw the piquets on the left in confusion. Notwithstanding the efforts of general Crawford, who performed every thing that could be expected from the bravery and conduct of an experienced officer, the works of the besiegers were destroyed, several hundreds of their men were killed, and the general with his two aids-du-camp fell into the hands of the enemy. The French did not attempt to push the advantage any farther, by attacking the piquets on the right, who had prepared to give them a warm reception. They retired after their first success, and allowed the British to repair the damage which they had sustained. This was done in less than twenty-four hours, and a redoubt was also begun on the right of the works to prevent a second surprize.

From this time the siege was carried on with the utmost vigour; and the besieged gave such continual proofs of their courage and activity, as confirmed the reputation of Mr. de St. Croix for a gallant officer. The engineers being unanimously of opinion that the works could not be properly advanced, until the French redoubts should be taken; the general made the disposition for that purpose on the 13th. The attack began

at day-break, with four pieces of cannon and thirty cohorns, which poured a terrible fire into the redoubt on the right of the enemy's flank. This opened a way for a detachment of marines, sustained by part of Loudon's regiment, to advance to the parapet, and, with fixed bayonets, to drive the French from the works; and to take possession of the post. The other redoubts were successively reduced by the same detachment reinforced by Colvill's regiment, and the enemy were compelled, after great slaughter, to take shelter in the citadel. Such was the ardour of the assailants, that they entered the streets of Palais pell-mell with the fugitives; and having taken possession of the town, they released the English prisoners above-mentioned.

The defence being now confined entirely to the citadel, which could have no communication either with the rest of the island or with the continent of France, it was evident that the place must soon be obliged to surrender for want of provisions. But Mr. de St. Croix determined to sell it as dearly as possible, and to maintain his own honour at least, if he could not keep the possession of the citadel of Palais. On the part of the English nothing was neglected. Parallels were finished, barricadoes made, batteries constructed, an incessant fire from mortars and artillery was maintained day and night, from the 13th of May till the 25th. Then the fire of the enemy began to abate; by the end of May a breach was made in the citadel; and, notwithstanding the indefatigable industry of the governor in repairing the damage, the fire of the besiegers increased to such a degree, that the breach became practicable by the 7th of June, and the place was apparently no longer tenable. Then Mr. de St. Croix capitulated upon terms not unworthy of his noble defence, and the garrison marched out with the honours of war.

Thus was the whole island of Belleisle reduced under the English government after a defence of two months, in the course of which we lost eighteen hundred men killed and wounded. The loss most regretted was that of Sir William Williams, a young gentleman of great talents and expectations, who had already made a distinguished figure in parliament. He was the third gentleman of fashion, whom in this war, the love of glory had brought to an honourable death in hostile expeditions against the coast of France.

Having particularized the successful operations of the British squadrons in the taking of Belleisle, Dominica, and Pondicherry, as well as in defeating the projects which the French meditated against our settlements on the coast of Africa, we shall mention the exploits performed by single cruisers in the course of the year, many of which confer the highest honour on the British flag. Captain Elphinstone, commander of the Richmond frigate of 32 guns and 220 men, stationed on the coast of Flanders, being informed that a French frigate, called the *Felicité* had made prize of an English merchantman, sailed in quest of the enemy; and
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coming in sight of her, about 11 at night on the 23d, a severe engagement began next day, about ten in the morning, near Gravesande, which is but eight miles distant from the Hague. The vicinity of the place induced the young prince of Orange, as well as the ambassadors of England and France, to set out, in order to view the combat, in the issue of which, as the ships were exactly of equal force, the honour of the two nations was materially interested. About noon both ships ran ashore, alongside of each other; and in this situation the fight continued with great obstinacy, till the French abandoned their quarters, their ship being much damaged, the captain slain, and above 100 men killed or wounded. The Richmond soon floated, without sustaining any considerable damage, having obtained the victory at the expence of three men killed, and thirteen wounded. The French ambassador loudly exclaimed against this attack as a violation of the Dutch neutrality, and demanded signal reparation for the insult and injury which his countrymen had sustained. But the Dutch at that time did not think it convenient to urge their remonstrances with vehemence, and they were answered in such a manner by the British ambassador as prevented any difficulties arising between the two courts.

On the 23d of the same month captain Hood, commanding the *Minerva* frigate of 32 guns and 220 men, cruising in the chops of the channel, descried a large ship of two decks steering to the westward. This was the *Warwick* of 60 guns taken from the English, the most boasted capture the enemy had made in the course of the war. She had formerly carried 60, but was now mounted with only 35 guns, and commanded by Mr. le Verger de Bèlair. Her crew amounted to about 300 men, including a company of soldiers intended as a reinforcement to the garrison of Pondicherry. Notwithstanding her superiority, captain Hood gave chase, and, the wind blowing a fresh easterly gale, he came up with her at 20 minutes past ten. His attack was warmly returned; the fire on both sides was terrible. Several masts of both ships were shot away, and they fell foul of one another, while the sea ran very high; so that the crews were greatly incumbered by their broken masts and shattered rigging. The high sea separated them, and the *Warwick* fell to leeward. About a quarter after eleven the *Minerva's* bowsprit was carried away, and the fore-mast soon followed it. This misfortune made captain Hood almost despair of coming up with the enemy, who had got three leagues to leeward. However, he cleared his ship with incredible activity, and, bearing down, renewed the attack about four o'clock. In three quarters of an hour the enemy struck, having 13 men killed and 35 wounded. The loss of men was equal on board the *Minerva*, and all her masts were destroyed: nevertheless, her prize was conveyed in triumph to Spithead. On the 8th of the same

month captain Hood had taken the Ecureil privateer belonging to Bayonne, of 14 guns and 122 men.

On the 13th of March another French ship called the *Entreprenant*, built for 44 guns, but mounted with 26, having 200 men on board and a rich cargo, bound for St. Domingo, was encountered near the Land's-end by the *Vengeance* frigate commanded by captain Nightingale. The *Vengeance* was mounted with 26 guns, nine and four pounders, and carried 200 men. There was a great disparity in the size of the ships and in the weight of metal. But the English captain, as usual, gave chase, and got up with the enemy at five o'clock in the afternoon. The action was maintained on both sides with uncommon fury, and continued for near an hour, during which time the *Vengeance* being set on fire, the *Entreprenant* ran her bowsprit upon the taffrail of the English frigate, with an intention to board her. In this design, however, the French miscarried through the skill and activity of captain Nightingale, who found means to clear himself and stood to leeward, in order to repair his rigging. The ship was no sooner in proper condition, than he ranged close up again to the enemy, whose fire was still directed against the rigging of the English frigate, which, after this second attack had lasted above an hour, being again disabled, allowed the enemy to sheer off, and bear away. But the English a second time repaired their damage, wore ship, ran up within pistol shot, and began a third attack more furious than any of the preceding. The engagement continued an hour and a half before the *Entreprenant* called for quarter. She had 15 men killed, and 24 wounded. The *Vengeance* had an equal number wounded, but only six men killed.

These losses did not complete the misfortunes of the French navy, during the present year, in the British seas. In April a French frigate called the *Comete*, of 32 guns and 250 men, just sailed from Brest, was taken by captain Deane of the Bedford man of war, and conveyed safely into Portsmouth. About the same time captain Bygrave of the Albany sloop of 16 guns and 125 men, came up with the Pheasant frigate, of equal force, after a chase of 28 hours. The French captain, having thrown his guns overboard, struck as soon as the Albany came along-side of him, and the prize was carried into Spithead. In the course of the same month a large East-India ship, fitted out from France, with 28 guns and 350 men, fell in with the *Hero* and the *Venus*, commanded by the captains Fortescue and Harrison, and, being taken without opposition, was carried into Plymouth.

The same spirit of enterprise and activity distinguished the cruisers belonging to the Squadron commanded by vice-admiral Saunders in the Mediterranean. In the beginning of April the *Oriflamme*, a French ship of 40 guns, being off Cape Tres Foreas, was descried by the *Isis* of 50 guns, commanded by captain

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captain Wheeler. The English captain gave chase, and came up with the enemy about six in the evening; but the Frenchman, having the advantage of the wind, maintained a running fight till half past ten, during which time captain Wheeler unfortunately was shot. The command devolved on lieutenant Cunningham, who perceiving it to be the enemy's intention to reach, if possible, the neutral coast of Spain, ordered his men to board her, which was done with great bravery; and, her commander in a short time submitting, she was brought into the bay of Gibraltar. The number of her killed and wounded amounted to 45: the loss of the *Isis* did not exceed four killed, and nine wounded. The next action in those seas was much more destructive to the British sailors. The *Thunderer*, captain Proby, in company with the *Modeste*, *Thetis*, and *Favourite* sloop, cruised off the coast of Spain, with a view to intercept the *Achilles* and *Bouffon*, two French ships of war, which lay in the harbour of Cadiz. These were descried on the 16th of July by the British ships which gave them chase. The *Thunderer* came up with the *Achilles* about midnight, and, after a short but warm action of half an hour, obliged the enemy to strike. The French had, on this occasion, fired their guns with more effect than usual; for in the English ship 40 men were killed, and upwards of 100 wounded: among the latter was the captain. The *Thetis* pursued the *Bouffon*, but could not bring her to an engagement till seven next morning. The engagement was maintained on both sides with great impetuosity for the space of half an hour, when the *Modeste* ranging up, and thus putting the French ship between two fires, compelled her to submit. The victors carried their prizes, which had been much damaged in their rigging, and suffered great loss in their crews, into the bay of Gibraltar.

These advantageous captures were preludes to one of the most remarkable and glorious actions that distinguished the whole war. On the 10th of August captain Faulkner of the *Bellona*, a ship of the line, and captain Logie of the *Brilliant*, a frigate of 30 guns, sailed from the river Tagus for England, and on the 14th discovered three sail standing in for the land, one of the line of battle, and two frigates. These vessels had no sooner descried captain Faulkner, than they bore down upon him until within the distance of seven miles, when seeing the *Bellona* and the *Brilliant* through the magnifying medium of a hazy atmosphere, they concluded they were both two-decked ships, and, dreading the issue of an engagement, resolved to avoid it by flight. The English captains judging them to be enemies, by their crowding sail to escape, immediately chased, which continued all night. At 5 in the morning they approached so near as to discern the *Courageux*, a seventy-four gun ship, and two frigates of 36 guns, the *Malicieuse* and the *Hermione*. The French captain now perceived, that one of the English vessels was a frigate; and the *Bellona*,

lona, being one of the best constructed ships in the English navy, lay so flush in the water, that she appeared at a distance considerably smaller than she really was. The Frenchman, therefore, no longer declined the engagement, but hoisted a red ensign in the mizen shrouds as a signal for his two frigates to close with and attack the Brilliant. At the same time he took in his studding sails, wore ship, and stood for the Bellona, while captain Faulkner advanced with an easy sail, manned his quarters, and made every necessary disposition for an obstinate engagement.

Both commanders had a fair opportunity to measure their strength and abilities. The wind was gentle, the sea calm; the ships were of equal rates, their guns and weight of metal the same. The *Courageux* had 700 men; the *Bellona* 550. While the vessels came up with each other, the fire was suspended on both sides till they were within pistol-shot. The engagement then began with a dreadful fire of musquets and artillery. In less than ten minutes all the *Bellona's* braces, shrouds, and rigging, were tore and shattered, and her mizen-mast went by the board, with the men on the round-top, who saved their lives with much difficulty, by clambering into the port-holes. Captain Faulkner, apprehensive that the enemy would seize the opportunity of his being disabled, to sheer off, gave orders for immediate boarding; but the *Courageux*, by falling athwart the bow of her enemy, rendered this altogether impracticable. In this position the English ship might be raked fore and aft with great execution. The haul-yards, and most of the other ropes by which she could be worked, were already shot away. But captain Faulkner made use of the studding sails with such dexterity as to wear the ship quite round; and his officers and men, perceiving this change of position, flew to the guns on the other side, now opposed to the enemy, from which they poured a terrible discharge, which continued twenty minutes without intermission or abatement. The fire became so intolerable that the French hauled down their ensign, and called for quarter. The damage done to the rigging of the *Bellona* was considerable; but she had suffered very little in the hull, and the number of the killed and wounded did not exceed forty. The *Courageux*, on the other hand, appeared like a wreck on the water. Nothing was seen but her foremast and bowsprit: her decks were torn up in several places, and large breaches were made in her sides. Above 200 of her men were killed, and half that number of wounded were brought on shore at Lisbon, to which place the prize was conveyed.

During the action between the larger ships, captain Logie of the *Brilliant* had displayed the most signal courage and address. He could not attempt to board, or expect to make prize of two ships, each of which was of equal strength with his own. But he so managed his attack and defence as to keep the two French frigates continually employed, and to prevent either of them from

from giving the smallest assistance to the *Courageux*. Finally, he obliged them both to sheer off, and to consult their safety by flight, after they had suffered considerably in their masts and rigging.

In all the engagements which we have described the advantage was continually on the side of the English. The French neither managed their ships with that facility, nor fought their guns with that dexterity and skill, which appeared in all the operations of their opponents. Their awkwardness in working ship may be ascribed to inexperience; but their inferiority in managing their guns, it is impossible to refer to any such cause. The French sailors are regularly taught the practical part of gunnery, an advantage which the English, in general, have little opportunity to acquire. But even here the British seamen shewed themselves, on every occasion, superior to the enemy; a superiority owing, not to their education or discipline, but to that bravery and resolution which never forsake them in the moment of danger, but allow them to remain in full possession of their faculties at a time when the French are rendered incapable, through fear, of any vigorous exertion either of mind or body.

In the course of the year 1761 the French lost 117 privateers and armed merchantmen, which mounted 608 carriage-guns and 293 swivels, and carried 5576 men, exclusive of four Indiamen, of which the cargoes were valued at near 400,000 pounds, and many unarmed merchant-ships. Their royal navy was deprived of six ships of the line and eight frigates, which together carried 636 guns and 6240 men. In the course of the same year the English lost 814 merchantmen, a proportion of three to one, which arose from the inattention of the English vessels to the orders of the convoys sent to protect them, from the immense numbers of them which covered the seas, and from the enemy's venturing the whole remains of their strength in privateers fitted out in order to interrupt our commercial navigation. Among all the vessels that were taken we find but one of any considerable value, the *Ajax* East-Indiaman, captain Lindsey from Bengal, valued at 200,000 pounds. Excepting the *Warwick*, which was retaken, the royal navy lost but one small vessel, the *Speedwell* cutter of eight guns, and the captain was honourably acquitted by a court-martial, who was unanimously of opinion, that the said cutter, being taken in the harbour of Vigo, was an illegal capture. There is a circumstance which shows, in a clearer light than the number of captures, the general result of the naval advantages obtained by Great Britain. Notwithstanding the various exchanges made by cartel ships in the course of the year, we still retained in our possession upwards of 25,000 French prisoners; whereas the number of English prisoners in France did not exceed 1200.

Notwithstanding many spirited exertions of the English navy in the year 1761, it is obvious, that the naval as well as the military

litary operations of Great Britain had continued gradually to languish during the course of two years. The French like ruined gamesters, had little more to lose, and the smallness of the stake produced a degree of phlegm and indifference in the victors, which deprived them of their wonted activity. Besides this, all their external glory could not alleviate their domestic sufferings. Great Britain groaned under a burden of a hundred millions, without enjoying any other consolation than that of seeing her opponent as much indebted, and more exhausted, than herself. Had the parties, therefore, been left to their own strength and resources, there would speedily have been an end of the contest. But France, by a dexterity of negotiation, of which there is hardly an example in history, acquired, at the end of a most ruinous war, such a powerful and hearty assistance as afforded her the fairest hopes of retrieving all her misfortunes. We have already hinted at the partiality of Spain in the cause of our enemies, and the motives of her uneasiness at the unexampled success of the British arms. These were heightened by the intrigues of the French ambassador at the court of Madrid; so that while our artful and ambitious rival was negotiating a treaty at London, and seemed desirous of procuring the blessings of peace by the most humiliating concessions, her minister at the Spanish court was employed in such measures as, instead of extinguishing the flames of war, tended to spread them more widely, and to make them rage with redoubled fury. Every concession on the part of France was a new incentive to the animosity of Spain. When the negotiation of the peace, therefore, seemed nearest to a conclusion, it was precisely at that time the farthest removed from an happy issue; for then was the moment for Spain to interpose, and, at one explosion, to blow up the whole basis of the treaty. Along with a very agreeable plan for an accommodation, Mr. Buffy, the French agent at London, delivered a private memorial, signifying, that, in order to establish the peace upon the most solid foundation, it might be proper to invite the king of Spain to guaranty and confirm it; and for this purpose it would be necessary finally to adjust the differences which subsisted between the crowns of Spain and England. He condescended on three points which had been disputed between these crowns, the restitution of the captures which had been made on the Spanish flag, the privilege of the Spanish nation to fish on the banks of Newfoundland, and the demolition of the English settlements made in the bay of Honduras.

When these unexpected proposals were made, the manly spirit of Mr. Pitt rejected, with the utmost scorn, the idea of negotiating the disputes of his nation with Spain, a power with which we were actually at peace, through the medium of an enemy humble and almost at our feet. He called on the Spanish ambassador to disavow this extraordinary memorial, which was equally insolent and irregular, as matters of such high moment, relating

relating to the interests of Spain, ought not to have been proposed by a French agent, commissioned to negotiate a particular and distinct business, when the Spaniards had an ambassador residing in London, from whom no intimation of these matters had been previously received. But the Spaniards, when thus called upon, instead of disavowing, openly acknowledged and justified the step taken by Mr. de Buffly. He declared, that the kings of France and Spain were united not only by the ties of blood but by a mutual interest. He magnified the humanity and greatness of mind which his most Christian majesty demonstrated in the proposition which had so unjustly given offence. He insisted much on the sincere desire of peace, the only motive which influenced the conduct of the two monarchs, and concluded haughtily, that, if his master had been governed by any other principles, "his Catholic majesty, giving full scope to his "greatness, would have spoken from himself, and as became his "dignity."

Mr. Pitt had penetration enough to see through the veil that covered this hostile declaration. He perceived, that there was a perfect union of affections, interests, and councils between the two courts; that Spain must inevitably coincide with all the measures of France; and that, if she deferred to declare war, it was only for her own convenience, and especially because she waited the arrival of her fleet from America. Totally possessed with this idea, the minister determined to act with a magnanimity becoming the dignity of the nation.

Great Britain was singularly circumstanced at this period of time. She had carried on a continental war against France, Austria, the Empire, Russia, in a word, all the great northern powers on the continent. She had destroyed the marine, the commerce, and the colonies of France. The interference of Spain alone was wanting to set her at war with all the great powers of Europe; and Spain is precisely that country against which she can at all times contend, with the fairest prospect of advantage and honour. That extensive monarchy, though vigorous at the extremities, is exhausted at the heart; her resources lie at a great distance; and whatever power commands the ocean, may command the wealth and commerce of Spain.

The situation of Great Britain, as well as the character of the minister, soared above the timid policy which commonly prevails in modern courts. There was not only a great man, but a great occasion, which is often wanting to a great man to display the full force of the mind. Mr. Pitt asserted, with the magnanimous patriotism of an ancient Roman, that, despising useless ceremonies and insignificant forms, we ought to consider the evasions of the Spanish court as a refusal of satisfaction, and that refusal as a sufficient declaration of war; we ought therefore, from prudence as well as from spirit, to secure to ourselves the first blow by interrupting the Spanish resources in their arrival to Europe, and

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and by the same early and effective measures, which had reduced France to a dependence on Spain, disable Spain from giving assistance to France. This procedure was suited to the offended majesty of the British empire, and would teach Spain and every other power the danger of presuming to dictate in our affairs or, to intermeddle with a menacing mediation, as insidious as it was audacious. He would allow our enemies, whether secret or declared, no time to think and recollect themselves.

The sentiments of Mr. Pitt shocked the delicacy of his colleagues in administration. They talked of the chimerical heroism of unnecessarily entering on a war, and of seeking new enemies, while no mention was made of new allies, nor indeed of any new resource whatsoever. To plunge into such measures could not fail to alarm and scandalize all Europe. The Spanish king's partiality in favour of France was still doubtful; but had we *real cause* not only for suspicion but complaint, the law of nations and of reason requires, that recourse should be had to expostulation, and demands of satisfaction. If these failed of success, then is the time to take up arms, after employing the forms universally acknowledged among civilized nations as necessary to distinguish lawful war from lawless violence and oppression. This unseasonable opposition transported the minister beyond the bounds of moderation. He affirmed, "That this
" was the time for humbling the whole house of Bourbon; that
" if this opportunity were let slip, it might never be recovered, and, if he could not prevail in this instance, he was resolved to sit no longer in that council; that being called to
" the ministry by the voice of the people, to whom he was accountable for his conduct, he would not remain in a situation
" which made him responsible for measures which he was not permitted to guide." Accordingly he resigned the seals the 9th of October, and his colleagues continued to negotiate by means of Lord Bristol, ambassador at the court of Madrid, for near two months longer. Mr. Wall, the prime minister of Spain, was repeatedly solicited, in moderate and inoffensive terms, to disclose the nature of the treaty, which, as the French industriously circulated, had taken place among all the different branches of the house of Bourbon. As often as the question was proposed, it was artfully avoided. At length, lord Bristol being instructed to make the demand with greater force, Mr. Wall entered into a long and bitter complaint against England, accused her of insolence and ambition, of a boundless desire of conquest and dominion, and of having shown to the world, by the haughtiness of her late proceedings, that she intended to drive the French from all their possessions in the new world, that she might have an easier task in seizing the Spanish dominions in those parts; that he would be the man to advise the king of Spain not to suffer his territories to be invaded, without arming his subjects in their defence. As to the question which had been so often
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put to him, he gave no other reply, but that the king his master had thought proper to renew his family compacts; and then, as if he had gone farther than he was authorised, he suddenly changed the discourse, and continued his declamatory invective against Great Britain. This was the happy effect of the measures of the English ministry, whose forbearance and good breeding were repaid by insult and reproach. At length their patience forsook them; they perceived that longer moderation would be construed into fear, and they sent orders to Lord Bristol to renew his instances concerning the treaty with becoming firmness, while at the same time he signified, that a refusal to disclose its contents, or to disavow an intention to take part with our enemies, would be considered as an aggression on the part of Spain, and an absolute declaration of war. The demand was made in the precise terms of the order, and then the pride of Spain tore asunder that veil which her policy had so long thought proper to assume. Her flota was by this time safe in the harbour of Cadiz. She was now secure as to her interest, and could give full scope to her resentment. Mr. Wall, therefore, replied to the English requisition in these memorable words: "That the spirit of haughtiness and discord which dictated this inconsiderate demand of the English ministry, and which, for the misfortune of mankind, still reigns so much in the British government, is what has made the declaration of war; that in that moment the war was declared, when the king's dignity was attacked; and that the English ambassador might return how and when he thought proper."

The earl of Bristol quitted Madrid the 17th of December; and soon after the Spanish ambassador left London. Europe was thus plunged into a new war by the very means which had been used to draw her out of an old one. A mere punctilio, if we can possibly believe Mr. Wall, was the motive which weighed with his master and himself, and prompted their humane magnanimity to involve one half of Europe in discord and misery. But whoever diligently attends to the measures of the Spanish court from the memorial presented by Mr. de Buffy to the final answer of Mr. Wall, will perceive, that their motives to hostility were of a nature more serious and important. The insult offered to the king's honour in the question proposed by Lord Bristol, might have been easily done away. Spain might have required England to disavow the proceedings of her ambassador, a request which, upon sufficient security of the pacific intentions of the former, the latter would readily have granted. But the insult to the king's honour was held out as a pretence for coming to a rupture at a time which seemed to suit the interests of Spain. The real cause of the war was her partiality for the French, her uneasiness at seeing the eldest branch of the house of Bourbon reduced to extremity, and her jealousy of the growing power of England, whose renown offended her pride, and whose naval greatness

greatness threatened the safety of her distant dominions. It appeared however, to Mr. Wall, to be below the dignity of the Spanish monarch to avow reasons of disgust, in which fear seemed to have any share. He therefore directed the count de Fuentes his ambassador at London, to carry on the farce, and, before he left the English court, to publish a paper or manifesto, in which he assigns, as the only cause of the rupture, the insulting manner in which the affairs of Spain had been treated during Mr. Pitt's administration. He declares to the British king, to the English nation, and to the whole universe, that the horrors of war, into which the Spaniards and English are going to plunge themselves, must be attributed only to the immeasurable ambition of him who held the reins of the government, and who appears still to hold them, although by another hand; that, if the respect due to royal majesty had been regarded, explanations might have been had without any difficulty: the ministers of Spain might have said frankly to those of England what the count de Fuentes, by the king's express orders, declares publicly, viz. that the much-talked-of treaty is only a convention between the members of the family of Bourbon, wherein there is nothing that has the least relation to the present war; that there is an article for the mutual guaranty of the dominions of the two sovereigns, but it is specified therein, that that guaranty is not to be understood but of the dominions which shall remain to France after the present war shall be ended.

This extraordinary paper, which may be called the king of Spain's declaration of war against the right honourable William Pitt, Esq; was evidently intended for the ignoble purpose of sowing dissensions among the subjects of Great Britain. It was answered in every article with the utmost moderation, perspicuity, and force, in a memorial published by lord Egremont, who succeeded Mr. Pitt as secretary for the southern department. It is obvious, that the Spanish manifesto, whilst it pretends to set forth the purport of a treaty dated the 15th of August, does not deny the existence of any other treaty, which might more offensively concern the interests of Great Britain; nor does it say the least word that can explain the intentions of Spain, or the farther engagements that she may have contracted with France.

When the terms of this famous treaty came to be disclosed, it was found to contain articles sufficient to alarm not only Great Britain, against whose interests it was particularly levelled, but all the other powers of Europe. It was rather an act of incorporation, than of alliance among the kings of France, Spain, the two Sicilies, the duke of Parma, and all the branches of the Bourbon house. It contained stipulations hitherto unheard of in any treaty. By the 23d and 24th articles the subjects of the several branches of that august family are admitted to a mutual naturalization, and to a general participation of reciprocal privileges.

vileges and immunities. They appear, by the 26th article, to disclose to one another their alliances and negotiations. By the 17th and 18th they formally engage not to make, or even to listen to any proposal of peace from their common enemies, but by mutual consent, being determined in time of peace, as well as in time of war, to consider the interests of France and Spain as the same, to compensate their several losses and advantages, and to act as if the two monarchies formed only one and the same power. There are but two restrictions to the extent of this scheme. The direct trade to America forms an exception to the absolute community of interests, and in the 8th article it is provided, that France shall not be entitled to the assistance of Spain, when she is involved in a war in consequence of her engagements by the treaty of Westphalia, unless some maritime power take part in those wars. This article plainly points at the object against which the whole treaty was more immediately directed. It indicates, that the direct and immediate tendency of the whole is to affect England, and insinuates to the other powers of Europe, that their connection with England is the circumstance which is to provoke the resentment, and call forth the activity of Spain.

Excepting these two reflections, the family-compact produced that entire union between the French and Spanish monarchies, which was so much dreaded on the death of Charles II. and which it was the great object of the treaty of partition, and the war of the grand alliance, to prevent. France acquired by negotiation and intrigue what she could never acquire by force of arms, and, at the close of an unfortunate war, obtained an advantage greater than any she could have expected from the most fortunate issue of her affairs.

England was never placed in a more critical situation. She had to contend not only against all the great continental powers, but against the principal naval strength of Europe. When war was declared in January 1762, the Spaniards had at Ferrol 11 ships of the line ready to sail, and their whole fleet amounted to 100 ships of war.

The French, upon the conclusion of the family-compact, felt themselves animated with new vigour. The shattered remains of their navy became of consideration when united with that of Spain. The spirits of the people, long sunk in despondency, revived, and great exertions were made to put their fleet once more on a respectable footing. The government tried every resource; private merchants contributed the last farthing for equipping privateers, and several communities engaged to fit out men of war at their own expence.

Great-Britain enjoyed peculiar and sufficient advantages to excite her activity, and to balance the combination of all her enemies. The uniform tenor of success on our side made the people believe themselves invincible; and this belief, combined with

with the solid experience acquired in such a variety of services, and so many sharp conflicts by sea and land, inspired an enthusiasm of disciplined valour, which indeed rendered it almost impossible to resist them. The prospect of a Spanish war, while it held forth the hopes of immense plunder, conspired with the prevailing propensities, and roused to the most vigorous exertions of public and private strength. Nor had the parliament, which met the 3d of November, 1761, been wanting in liberality to second the generous ardour of the nation. They went through the estimates with diligence, and granted such liberal supplies as greatly exceeded those of all former years. 70,000 seamen, including 19,061 marines, were voted for the service of the year 1762; the land forces were maintained at the number of 67,676, besides the militia of England, the two regiments of sensible men in North Britain, the provincial troops in North America, and 67,177 German auxiliaries to support the war of Westphalia. For the payment of the sea and land forces, of subsidies to our German allies, and of the deficiencies of the grants of former sessions, they voted the sum of 18,617,895l. 2s. 8d. of which 12,000,000 were borrowed on remote funds, at four *per cent. per ann.* with an addition of 1 *per cent. per ann.* for 99 years.

When war was declared against Spain, his majesty granted a commission, empowering the admiralty to issue letters of marque, for privateers to act against the subjects of that kingdom. At the same time he communicated the measure which the treaty between Spain and France had compelled him to take, in a speech to both houses of parliament. Such ample supplies were already granted, that no farther demand was made on this account; and so immensely had the power of England increased in the course of three reigns, that an union, the suspicion of which had alarmed all Europe in the time of the grand alliance, was beheld without the smallest symptom of fear or despondency. The king of Great-Britain disdained not only to take any illiberal advantages of his enemies, but even to retort their wrongs. Although his Catholic majesty detained the British ships in his ports, and laid restraints on the British subjects within his dominions, the subjects of Spain were left at entire liberty, and the merchantmen which had arrived in English harbours, before they had been apprized of the declaration of war, were allowed to depart in safety. This magnanimity became the dignity of the British nation. It is the part of fear to snatch at every pitiful advantage. But had Britain descended so low, it would have been unworthy of the grand scene of action and glory, which was now ready to open in remote parts of the earth.

The failure of the expedition against Martinico in 1759 did not discourage our administration from making this island the object of another attempt. Martinico still furnished a considerable resource to the declining commerce of France. It is the largest of all the Caribbee islands, advantageously situated between

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tween Barbadoes and Guadaloupe, and to windward of Antigua and St. Christopher's. It extends 20 leagues in length, and is about 130 miles in circumference, indented by a great number of creeks and harbours, diversified with hill and dale, shaded with wood, watered by many streams, and produces a very considerable quantity of sugar, indigo, coffee, cotton, ginger, aloes, and pimento. Here the governor-general of all the French islands in the West-Indies resides, and here is established the sovereign council, whose jurisdiction extends over the French Antilles, and even to the settlements of that crown in the islands of St. Domingo and Tortuga. In a word, Martinico is the most populous and flourishing of all the French settlements across the Atlantic. Its towns and harbours are strongly fortified ; the country itself is rendered extremely difficult of access by woods, rivers, rocks, and ravines ; defended by a body of regular troops, besides a disciplined militia consisting of 10,000 white natives, and four times that number of negroes, whom they can arm in cases of emergency. The acquisition of Martinico would, in case of a peace, furnish us with a place of the utmost importance, either to retain or to exchange ; and, if Spain was unchangeably determined on a war, it would put us on a respectable footing in that part of the world where the Spaniards are most vulnerable, and where, every wound affecting the vitals of the state, they feel with quickest sensibility.

The plan for prosecuting this important conquest had been laid down by Mr. Pitt ; the preparations had been made, the officers appointed, and every necessary order given for carrying the whole design into execution. Upon a change of administration the project was not abandoned. As every thing, which had been the object of war in North America was by this time completely acquired, it was easy to draw a considerable part of the army from that quarter. A draught of eleven battalions was ordered from New-York, and also to assemble the different bodies of troops that were scattered among the Leeward islands. Rear-admiral Rodney sailed from England in October, and took on board his transports four battalions at Belleisle. The general rendezvous was in the island of Barbadoes, where the united armaments from England and North America amounting to eighteen battalions and as many ships of the line, besides frigates, bombs, and fire-ships, arrived in the month of December. The land-forces alone fell little short of 12,000 men, and, taking the military and naval together, it was such an armament as had never been before seen in that part of the world. The fleet proceeded from Barbadoes the fifth day of January, and on the eighth anchored in St. Anne's bay on the eastern coast of Martinico, after the ships had silenced some batteries which the enemy had erected on that part of the island. In the course of this service the *Raisonné*, a ship of the line, was, by the ignorance of the pilot, run upon a reef of rocks, from which she could not

not be disengaged ; but the crew were saved as well as the stores and artillery. General Monkton, who commanded the land-forces, judged this an improper place for a disembarkation, and therefore detached the brigadiers Haviland and Grant under a strong convoy to the bay of Petite Anse, where a battery was cannonaded and taken by the seamen and marines. The detachment then effected a landing, and marched to the ground opposite to Pigeon Island, which commands the harbour of Fort-Royal ; but, the roads being found impassable for artillery, general Monkton thought it improper to land the main body there, and proceeded to a creek called Cas Navires, where the whole forces were disembarked on the 10th, without the loss of a man, the fleet having been stationed so properly, and directing their fire with such effect, that the enemy was obliged in a short time to abandon the batteries erected to defend this inlet.

When the landing was effected, the difficulties were far from being at an end. The inhabitants of Martinico seemed determined to defend the island to the last extremity. Every pass was guarded and fortified. The detachment, which had first landed, were attacked in the night by a body of grenadiers, freebooters, negroes, and mulattoes ; but these met with so warm a reception, that they were compelled, after sustaining considerable loss, to retire with precipitation.

The general determined to attack the town and citadel of Fort-Royal although his march thither was incumbered with difficulties and dangers, there being many ravines and gullies, very deep, and difficult of access, well covered with batteries and redoubts, and defended by the slaves as well as natives in arms. Besides the difficulties of the approach, the town and citadel are overlooked, and commanded by two very considerable eminences called Morne Tortueson and Morne Garnier. Whilst the enemy kept possession of these, it was impossible to attack the town. They were protected like the other high grounds in this island by natural ravines, strengthened by every contrivance of art. The Morne Tortueson was first to be attacked. To favour this operation, a body of regular troops and marines were ordered to advance on the right, along the sea-side, towards the town, in order to take the redoubts which lay in the lower grounds. A thousand sailors in flat-bottomed boats rowed close to the shore to assist them. On the left, towards the country, a corps of light infantry, properly supported, was to get round the enemy's left, whilst the attack in the centre was made by the British grenadiers, and the main body of the army, under the fire of batteries which had been erected on the opposite side with great labour and perseverance, the cannon having been dragged upwards of three miles by the seamen, across the enemy's line of fire, to which they exposed themselves with amazing indifference.

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The attack, which was planned with so much judgment, was executed with equal spirit and resolution. The British troops succeeded in every quarter. The enemy were successively driven from post to post; some fled into the town; others mounted to Morne Garnier; while the English standard was displayed at Morne Tortuefon. But nothing decisive could be effected against the town until the French were driven from the former eminence. It was three days before proper dispositions could be made for this purpose. During this interval the enemy's whole force sallied out of the town, or descended from the hill, and attacked the English in their advanced posts. But they were repelled with singular bravery; and, the ardour of the British troops hurrying them forward, they improved a defensive advantage into an attack, passed the ravines, mingled with the enemy, scaled the hill, seized the batteries, and posted themselves on the summit of Morne Garnier.

All the situations which commanded the town and citadel were now secured, and the English, in the morning of the 28th, began to play their artillery; which the governor no sooner observed than he ordered the chamade to be beat, and surrendered the place by capitulation. On the 4th of February the gates were delivered up to the English, and next morning the garrison, to the number of 800, marched out with the honours of war. On the 7th Pigeon Island, which was strongly fortified, and counted one of the best defences of the harbour, surrendered at the first summons, and obtained a capitulation similar to that of the citadel. Deputations were sent from different quarters of the island by the inhabitants, desiring the same terms. But the governor-general, Mr. de la Touche, retired with his forces to St. Pierre the capital, which he meant to defend with uncommon vigour. It is probable, however, that, when he arrived there, his opinion was altered by the advice of the inhabitants. They saw the English masters of all the rest of the island; they reflected on the favourable capitulation which the island of Guadeloupe had obtained, and the good faith with which the terms of this capitulation had been observed. Although they changed masters, they changed neither laws nor religion; their property was more secure than under the ancient government, their commerce more free and unrestrained, and they were furnished with all necessaries from the dominions of Great-Britain; whereas formerly they depended for subsistence upon the most precarious and hazardous methods of supply. These considerations had great weight with the inhabitants of St. Pierre, who persuaded the governor to send two deputies with proposals of capitulation. On the 14th the terms were settled, and the agreement signed. On the 16th the English commander took possession of St. Pierre, and all the posts in that neighbourhood, while the governor general, the lieutenant-governor, the staff-officers, and about 320 grenadiers were embarked in transports to be conveyed to France.

These signal successes were obtained at the small expence of 400 men, including a few officers killed and wounded in the different attacks. Fourteen French privateers were found in the harbour of Port-Royal, and a much greater number, from other parts of the island, were delivered up to admiral Rodney, in consequence of the capitulation with the inhabitants, who in all other respects were very favourably treated.

The surrender of Martinico, which was the seat of government, the principal mart of trade, and the centre of all the French force in the Caribbees, naturally drew on the surrender of all the dependent islands. While general Monkton was regulating the capitulation of St. Pierre, commodore Swanton sailed with a small squadron to the fertile island of Granada, which was given up without opposition. St. Lucia and St. Vincent, the right to which had so long been disputed between the two nations, followed its example. By these acquisitions the English colonies at Antigua, St. Christopher's, and Nevis, as well as the ships trading to these islands, were secured against the hostilities of the enemy; the commerce of Great-Britain acquired an annual addition to the amount of at least a million sterling, and the British nation became undisturbed possessors of that chain of innumerable islands, which forms an immense bow, extending from the eastern point of Hispaniola almost to the continent of South America.

While the English troops were employed in taking possession of Martinico and the independent islands, a French fleet appeared to windward of the former, and sent an officer on shore to obtain information. They continued cruising to windward for two days, and even approached within cannon-shot of Trinity, as if they had intended to make a descent; but afterwards they changed their course, and bore away for the harbour of Dominica. Admiral Rodney being informed of their arrival in those parts, got under sail with his squadron, and beat up to windward in quest of the enemy; they did not wait his approach, but made haste to take refuge in their own harbours. While Rodney's fleet commanded the Caribbees, lord Colville's squadron was stationed at Halifax in Nova Scotia, in order to protect the coast of North America, and the new conquests in the gulf and river of St. Lawrence. Sir Charles Saunders was reinforced in such a manner as enabled him to give law in the Mediterranean, and either to prevent a junction of the French and Spanish fleets, or if that should be found impracticable, to give them battle when joined. For the defence of the British coast, and in order to answer the emergencies of war, a powerful squadron was kept in readiness at Spithead; another rode at anchor in the Downs, under the command of Admiral Moore; and from these two were occasionally detached into the channel, and all round the island, a number of light cruisers, which acted with such vigilance and activity, that not a ship could venture from any of the French

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French sea-ports without running the most imminent risque of being taken; and scarce a day passed in which some privateer of the enemy, either French or Spanish, was not brought into the harbours of Great-Britain. Rear-admiral Cornish had the direction of the fleet in the East-Indies, Admiral Pocock, who had acquired so much glory there, being called to a more dangerous and important command, the consequence of which we are now going to relate. The whole of these squadrons, combined with detached cruisers in different parts, amounted to more than 240 ships of war; a force which, considering the disciplined valour and naval experience of our seame, was fit to contend against the maritime strength of the whole world united.

The rupture with Spain, which was rendered incurable by the invasion of Portugal, brought on the execution of a plan which had been long in agitation, upon the presumed probability of such an event. It is said that admiral Knowles was the first who laid before his royal highness the duke of Cumberland a scheme for the reduction of the island of Cuba, in which the whole trade and navigation of the Spanish West-Indies centers, and without which it cannot be carried on. The duke approved of the plan, and recommended it to the ministry. But after they had considered the draughts and plan, which his royal highness put into their hands, lord Anson, the first lord of the admiralty, produced his own, which had been made out upon more accurate information; and after maturely considering both plans, lord Anson's was adopted. However, the duke of Cumberland had so much merit in this affair, that he was permitted to appoint his favourite lord Albemarle commander in chief of the land forces, and his brothers, major-general and commodore Keppel, to important commands in an expedition which, it was imagined, would be equally lucrative and honourable.

The fleet destined to extend the British empire in the west, sailed from Portsmouth the 5th of March, under the command of admiral Pocock, whose valour and conduct had contributed so much towards that sovereignty which his country possessed in the East-Indies. They sailed for the island of Hispaniola, where they were happily met at Cape Nicholas, the north-west point of the island, by a detachment from the fleet at the Caribbees, under the command of that gallant and able officer Sir James Douglas. The junction happened on the 27th of May; and the united squadrons consisted of 19 sail of the line, 18 smaller ships of war, and about 150 transports, having on board above 10,000 land-forces and marines. A supply of 4000 men had been ordered from New-York, which, it was supposed, would arrive time enough to bear part in their military operations.

There were two choices before the admiral for his course to the Havanna. The first and most obvious was the common way to keep to the south of Cuba, and fall into the tract of the galleons.

galleons. But this, though by much the safest, would prove by far the most tedious passage; and delays, above all things were dangerous, as the fleet had been so late in sailing from England, that it would be extremely difficult to arrive before the hurricane season. He therefore resolved to run along the northern shore of the island of Cuba, pursuing his course from east to west, through a narrow passage not less than 700 miles in length, called the Old Straits of Bahama. This passage, through almost the whole of its extent, is bounded, on the right and left, by the most dangerous sands and shoals, which has caused the navigation to be avoided by single and small vessels. There was no pilot in the fleet whose experience could be depended on to conduct them safely through it. The admiral, however, being provided with a good chart of Lord Anson's, resolved to trust to his own vigilance and sagacity to carry through those straits a fleet of near 200 sail. So bold an attempt had never been before made; but the success of the expedition depending entirely on dispatch, made it prudent to hazard it. At the same time no precaution was omitted, which could remove the imputation of temerity. A vessel was sent to reconnoitre the passage, and make soundings: some frigates followed; sloops and boats were stationed on the right and left, on the shallows, with well adapted signals both for the day and the night. The fleet moved in seven divisions, and being favoured with a fair wind and good weather, got through this perilous passage on the 5th of June without accident or interruption.

Two days before the accomplishment of this hazardous navigation, the *Echo* and *Alarm* frigates, which had been ordered a-head of the fleet, descried four vessels which proved to be the *Thetis*, a Spanish frigate of 18 guns and 65 men, and the *Phoenix* of 22 guns and 175 men, and two brigs, bound to Suga in the Straits, for a cargo of timber for the use of the ships at the Havana. The English frigates gave them chase, and obliged them to strike in three quarters of an hour. This, though a small success, was an auspicious beginning of the expedition against the Havana. This place, the object of their long voyage and of so many anxious hopes and fears, was now before them. Though St. Jago, situated on the south-east side of the island, be denominated the capital of Cuba, yet the Havana is superior to it in wealth, size, and importance. The harbour upon which it stands is, in every respect, one of the best in the world. It is entered by a narrow passage, upwards of half a mile in length, which afterwards expands into a large basin, sufficient to contain 1000 sail of the largest ships, having almost throughout six fathoms water, and perfectly secured from every wind. In this bay the rich fleets from the several parts of the Spanish West-Indies assemble, in order to set out together on their voyage to Europe. Great care had been taken to fortify a place

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place which, besides being extremely populous, wealthy, and flourishing in itself, is the centre of the richest commerce of the world. The entrance into the harbour is secured on one side by the Moro fort, built upon a projecting point of land, all of solid mason-work, having a ditch 70 feet deep from the edge of the counterescarp, and more than 40 feet of that depth sunk in the rock : on the other it is defended by a fort called the Puntal, which joins the town. The Havanna itself, which is situated to the west of the harbour, and opposite to the Moro fort, is surrounded by a good rampart, flanked with bastions, and strengthened by a ditch.

The Spaniards, sensible that, upon a rupture with Great-Britain, their West Indies were the fairest mark for the attack of the enemy, maintained a powerful fleet in those parts, and had actually a squadron of twelve ships of the line in the harbour of the Havanna. But so little confidence did they repose in their shipping for resisting the efforts of the English armament, that the only use which they made of it was to sink three of their largest vessels behind an immense boom which they had thrown across the mouth of the harbour. Their chief hope was in the strength of the place, and the difficulties attending all military operations which are drawn out to any considerable length in this unhealthy climate. These circumstances encouraged don Juan de Prado, governor of the Havanna, to determine on a vigorous defence. He was assisted by the activity of the marquis del Real, commodore of the fleet, and by the counsels and experience of the viceroy of Peru, and the governor of Carthagena, who happened to be then in the place, on their way to their respective governments.

On the 7th of June all things were in readiness for landing ; and, in order to effect this with the least inconvenience, the admiral, with the greatest part of the fleet, bore away to the westward, that the enemy's attention might be drawn towards this quarter, while the earl of Albemarle and the whole army were landed, under the direction of commodore Keppel, between the rivers Bocanao and Coxemar, about six miles to the eastward of the Moro-castle. A body of Spaniards appeared on the shore ; but, some sloops being ordered to scour the beach and the woods with their cannon, the troops passed the river Coxemar in great order, without the smallest opposition. The first attempt was to drive the enemy from a small redoubt on the top of the hill Cavannos which overlooked the Moro. This was effected on the 10th, and at the same time three bomb-ketches, being anchored on shore, began to throw shells into the town, under cover of the ships Stirling-castle and Echo.

The principal body of the army, destined to act against the Moro, was divided into two corps. one of which, commanded by general Elliot, advanced a considerable way into the country, towards the south-east of the harbour in order to cover the siege,
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and to secure the parties employed in watering and procuring provisions. The other, conducted by general Keppel, was immediately employed in the attack on the fort, and a detachment headed by colonel Howe, was encamped to the westward of the town, partly with a view to cut off the communication between it and the country, and partly to make a diversion in favour of the grand operation.

The seamen having landed fascines, stores, and artillery with great expedition, the engineers, under the direction of Mr. Mackeller, whose abilities were equally distinguished at Louisbourg and the Havanna, began to erect batteries of bombs and cannon, while a body of pioneers were employed in cutting parallels, and forming a line with fascines to secure the troops from the fire of the enemy. The hardships sustained in this service are almost inexpressible. The thinness of the earth made it extremely difficult to cover the approaches. It was necessary to cut roads for communication through thick woods. The artillery was to be dragged a great way over a rough rocky shore. During this fatigue the supplies of provision were not plentiful, and water was to be brought from a great distance. Many men dropped down dead with heat, thirst, and fatigue. But the spirit and ardour of the troops, the unanimity and conduct of the commanders by sea and land, overcame every difficulty. On the 29th, 2000 chosen Spaniards, with a numerous body of Negroes and Mulattoes, landed in two divisions, to the right and left of the Moro, with an intention to destroy the works of the besiegers. They were repulsed by the piquets and advanced posts with great bravery, and compelled to retreat in confusion, leaving behind them 200 of their number killed or taken.

The cannonading began, on the 1st of July, from two batteries bearing twelve cannon, six large mortars, three small ones, and twenty-six royals. The enemy had seventeen pieces of artillery on the front attacked. The fire was for a considerable time pretty near on an equality, and kept up with great vivacity on both sides. At length that of the enemy began to fail. Their attention was divided in consequence of an attack made upon the north-east face by three ships of the line, the Cambridge, Dragon, and Marlborough, commanded by the captains Goofrey, Harvey, and Barnett. These ships, having laid their broadsides against the fort, kept up one of the warmest firings ever seen, for seven hours, without intermission. But the Moro, situated upon a high hill, had great advantages, and the fire from the opposite fort of Puntall galled them exceedingly. They were obliged to retire in a very shattered condition, after losing above 100 men, among whom was captain Goofrey of the Marlborough, a brave and experienced officer.

When the Spaniards were released from the fire of the ships, they redoubled their activity against the batteries, and on both sides a constant unremitted fire was kept up for several days.

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During this sharp and doubtful contention, the merlons of the grand battery unfortunately took fire on the 3d of July. The flames became too powerful for opposition, and the labour of 600 men, for seventeen days, was destroyed in a few hours. This stroke was felt the more severely, because the other hardships of the siege were become scarcely supportable. Sickness had reduced the army to almost half its number. Three thousand seamen were at one time unfit for service, and near double that number of soldiers. The scarcity of water, and the total want of wholesome provisions, exasperated the disease. The army was ready to perish by these calamities; and, if the hurricane season came on before the place were reduced, the destruction of the fleet was inevitable.

The unconquered spirit of the commanders could hardly maintain the languishing activity of the troops, when Sir James Douglas who had parted from the admiral, in order to steer his course for Jamaica, arrived with the fleet from that island, carrying many conveniencies for the siege. This favourable circumstance with the hopes of a considerable reinforcement from New York, which arrived a few days afterwards, restored the vigour of the men, and roused them to every effort. New batteries arose in the place of the old, the fire of which soon became equal, and afterwards superior to that of the enemy; the cannon of the fort was silenced, the upper works demolished, and a lodgement at length made in the covered way. Notwithstanding this advantage, the immense ditch cut in the solid rock formed an obstacle that was very difficult to surmount. To fill it up was impossible, and the work of mining would have been impracticable, if fortunately a thin ridge of rock had not been left to cover the extremity of the ditch, which would otherwise have been open to the sea. On this narrow ridge the miners passed wholly uncovered, and with very little loss made a lodgment at the foot of the wall. While they formed a mine for throwing the counterescarp into the ditch, another sap was carried on along the glacis. In the night of the 21st a serjeant and twelve men scaled the wall by surprise; but, the garrison being alarmed before any additional troops could sustain them, they were obliged to retreat.

The governor of the Moró now plainly saw, that the place must be speedily reduced, unless some bold measure were tried for its immediate relief. Accordingly, next day at four in the morning, he ordered a sally to be made from the town by 1500 men, composed chiefly of the country militia and negroes, divided into three detachments, who attacked the besiegers in as many different places. Meanwhile a warm fire was kept up from the fort of Puntall, and the shipping in the harbour. But the English guards, though surprized, defended themselves with great resolution, the posts attacked were speedily reinforced, and the enemy were driven precipitately down the hill, without being able

able to destroy any part of our approaches. The English lost fifty men killed or wounded, and the Spaniards had 400 killed or taken prisoners.

On the 30th of the month, about two in the morning, a floating battery was towed into the harbour, and fired with grape-shot and small arms into the ditch, though without any great interruption to the miners; and the close fire of the covering party soon compelled the enemy to retire. This was the last effort for the relief of the Moro: for on that day the mines did their work. A part of the wall was blown up, and fell into the ditch, leaving a breach which, though very narrow and difficult, the engineer judged practicable. Orders were immediately given for the assault. Lieutenant-colonel Stuart commanded the attack. The troops, hoping to see an end of all their hardships, entered on this most dangerous service with the greatest resolution. The enemy who were drawn up to receive them, when they had passed the breach, were terrified at the determined valour which appeared in their countenances, and fled on all sides. In vain don Lewis de Velasco the governor, whose bravery and conduct had excited during the whole siege the admiration of his enemies, endeavoured, with romantic courage, to defend the colours of Spain. He fell, as well as his second the marquis Gonfales, while attempting to no purpose to rally his troops. About 400 of the garrison laid down their arms, and were made prisoners: as many were slaughtered on the spot; others ran to the boats, and were drowned in attempting to escape to the town.

The Moro-fort thus came into the possession of the English. This advantage was not immediately followed by the surrender of the Havanna. The governor seemed still determined to defend that place, the fire of which was immediately turned against the fortress which had been lost, while a ship of the line was sent down into the harbour, in order to batter it with more effect. Meanwhile lord Albemarle ordered a line of batteries to be erected along the hill of the Cevannós, which commanded almost the whole eastern side of the city. Batteries were likewise erected on the western side of the town, which had hitherto been only guarded. When these preparations were perfectly ready to take effect, his lordship, by message, represented to the governor the irresistible force of the attack which he was ready to make on the place, but which, in order to prevent unnecessary effusion of blood, he was willing to suspend, that the Spaniards might have time to capitulate. This representation was made on the 10th of August, but to no purpose, the governor returning for answer, that he was determined to defend the place, committed to him, to the last extremity. Next morning at day-break, forty-five cannon and eight mortars, erected on the batteries at Cevannios, began to play against the town and the Puntall with such continued and irresistible fury, that this fortress was silenced before ten. In

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In another hour the north bastion was almost disabled. About two in the afternoon white flags were displayed from every quarter of the town, and in a little time after a flag of truce arrived at the head quarters with proposals of capitulation. The established religion and the ancient laws were to be preserved, and private property was secured to the inhabitants. The garrison, which was reduced to 700 men, were to have the honours of war, and to be conveyed to Old Spain, together with the Spanish commodore, the governor of the Havanna, the viceroy of Péru, and the governor of Carthagena. The Spaniards struggled hard to save twelve ships of the line which lay in the harbour; but this was a capital point, and wholly inadmissible. They likewise made powerful attempts to have the harbour declared neutral during the war; but this would have destroyed, in a great measure, the importance of the conquest. It was debated for two days, when hostilities were on the point of being renewed; which made the enemy recede from their demand; and the English took possession of the place the 14th of August.

The acquisition of the Havanna united in itself all the advantages that can be obtained in war. The enemy lost a whole fleet; they were deprived of a wealthy establishment commanding a rich and extensive territory; and they ceded a port which commanded the only passage by which their ships could conveniently sail from the bay of Mexico to Europe. While this port is in the hands of an enemy, who are masters at sea, the court of Madrid can receive no supplies of treasure from the West Indies, except by beating up to windward from Carthagena. The reduction of the Havanna, while it distressed the enemy in the most essential manner by stopping the sources of their wealth, opened an easy avenue to the conquerors for reaching their American treasures. In no former war had Great Britain acquired such immense sums at the expence of her enemies. Her success in the East Indies is said to have brought into England near six millions since the commencement of hostilities; in the conquest now made, she obtained, besides an immense quantity of artillery, small arms, ammunition, and warlike stores, about three millions sterling in silver, tobacco, and valuable merchandise, collected, on account of the king of Spain, in the magazines of the Havanna. In this calculation of national profit we must not omit the capture of the *Hermioné*, a register ship, the value of which fell little short of a million sterling. If it had not been for these extraordinary pecuniary supplies, with which the war was attended, it would have been difficult to carry it on to such an amazing extent. The money which was brought into the kingdom invigorated commerce, and urged the hand of industry. The remittances for foreign subsidies were in a great measure paid by bills of merchants settled abroad, who had received the value

value of these draughts in the produce of British manufactures.

In the expedition against the Havanna, the spirit, unanimity, and perseverance of the army and navy were eminently conspicuous. Never indeed was there a period of such cordial co-operation between the land and sea forces, or such a punctual attention to orders. One captain only, of the name of Campbell, having neglected to perform his duty in leading the Squadron which attacked the Moro, was obliged to quit the service.

As it is our plan to give an account of the more important enterprizes, which succeeded through the co-operation of the navy, before we proceed to relate the exploits purely naval, which distinguished the year 1762, we must now carry the reader's attention to the expedition against the Philippine islands, which is one of the best-conducted, most splendid, and most important of all the successes which adorn the annals of this glorious war. The design of this expedition, which, if successful, would give as severe a wound to the interests of Spain in the East Indies, as she had received, by the taking of the Havanna, on the side of America, was suggested by the following accident. After the memorable defence of Madras in 1759, colonel Draper's bad state of health obliged him to leave that country. He embarked in company with the honourable captain Howe, then commander of the *Winchelsea*, for Canton in China, a place with which the inhabitants of the Philippines carry on a considerable traffic. Here the colonel employed himself in acquiring a minute knowledge of the present state of the Spaniards in these islands, and discovered that, confiding in their remote distance from Europe, they were persuaded, that no attempt against them would ever be deemed practicable. This had lulled them into such a perfect security, that they had totally neglected the keeping up of a regular military force for their own defence.

Colonel Draper communicated his ideas on this subject to lord Anson and lord Egremont, upon the first rumours of a war with Spain. His information met with that attention which it deserved. He was desired to give a memorial in writing, explaining his plan at full length, and assured, that, if a Spanish war became unavoidable, the undertaking should be recommended to his majesty.

The motives to the execution of this enterprize were many and powerful. The Philippines or Manillas form a principal division of that immense Indian Archipelago, which consists of above 1200 islands, extending from the nineteenth degree of north latitude, almost in a continued chain, to the shores of New Guinea and the great southern continent. The Philippines, which form the northermost cluster of these islands, are, some of them, among the largest, and all of them, naturally, among the richest islands in the world. They were added to the Spanish monarchy, in its meridian glory, under Philip II. and, being

ing happily situated for commerce, they were used as the centre of communication for the Asiatic and American trade. They may receive European goods by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, and connecting the traffic of China, Japan, and the Spice islands with that of Europe and America, unite all the extensive dominions of Spain in one commercial chain with the richest countries upon earth.

The principal island of the Philippines is called Manilla or Luconia, extending 300 miles in length, and 90, at a medium, in breadth. The soil is cultivated by the natives with uncommon industry for this part of the world; the Chinese, who, after the Tartar conquest in the last century, fled here in great numbers, are the artificers, and the Spaniards enjoy the government, and best part of the commerce. The rest of the Philippine islands, as far as the Spanish power prevails in them, are under the government of Luconia, the capital of which is Manilla, situated on the south-east of the island, and lying upon a very fair and spacious harbour. Here the large vessels or galleons annually arrive, and from this place they sail for Acapulco in America, loaded with money or goods to the value of near a million sterling. In the war of 1739, the taking one of these galleons was considered as the most brilliant success which attended the British squadrons. But now they were to aim at an higher object; not at a particular cargo, but at the principal mart of commerce which supplied this cargo; and which, when put in our possession, would enable us to destroy the intercourse of any other European state with the empires of China and Japan, while it procured the highest respect for the British flag all over those wealthy and extensive regions.

The grandeur of this design was sufficient to rouse the most vigorous efforts of administration. But the additional weight of Spain, in the scale of the enemies of Great Britain, required all the exertions of her strength nearer home. It was impossible, therefore, to spare ships or troops for undertaking a conquest so distant and precarious, however advantageous and splendid. But, fortunately, the preceding events of this glorious war naturally paved the way for those which were to follow. The success of one expedition not only suggested the idea but facilitated the execution of another. By the fortune of our arms in the east, we were become arbiters of the great peninsula of India; the French were expelled; the Dutch humbled; and there was nothing in those parts to resist the British force, or even to afford employment to all the troops that were kept on foot. Nothing, therefore, was demanded from Great Britain, but a light frigate to carry colonel Draper to Madras, where alone suitable preparations might be made for this important enterprise. He arrived there the latter end of June, 1762, and was appointed brigadier-general and commander in chief of the land-forces to be employed in the expedition. The squadron commanded by

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vice-admiral Cornish, a brave and able officer, consisted of several ships of the line, besides frigates. The troops allotted for this expedition consisted of one regiment, with a company of the royal artillery, reinforced with 600 sepoys, one company of Caffres, one of Topazes, and one of pioneers, with several hundreds of unarmed Lascars, for the use of the engineers and the park of artillery. The admiral supplied a fine battalion of 550 seamen, and 270 marines. The whole force amounted to no more than 2300 effective men; an inconsiderable number, but of tried valour, inured to toil and hardship, and rendered equal by their disciplined bravery to the strength of a great army. The 79th regiment, which was the only regular body of troops employed on this service, had been the first who checked the progress of the French in India; their valour had given the happy turn to the war under colonel Coote; they were inured to the climate, and accustomed to victory; and their arms were worthy to extend the glory of Great Britain to the remotest verge of Asia.

The enterprise was no sooner resolved upon, than the admiral detached captain Grant of the Seahorse to the entrance of the Chinese sea, with instructions to intercept all vessels bound for Manilla, that the enemy, who were even ignorant of the declaration of war, might receive no intelligence of any design formed against them. The success of the enterprise depended much on expedition, not only in order to prevent the enemy from being roused from their security, but in order to take advantage of the wind; for if the north-west Monsoon should set in with any violence before the fleet were well advanced on their voyage, the whole design would be defeated. Accordingly no time was lost. In the space of three weeks the troops were embodied and formed, and the stores got ready and shipped, notwithstanding a raging and perpetual surf, which in those climates is one of the greatest difficulties in any expedition, greatly embarrassing the embarkation, and rendering still more hazardous the debarkation of troops, especially in the face of an enemy.

The fleet sailed in two divisions the beginning of August, and on the 19th arrived at Malacca; a place formerly considered as the key to the Indian commerce, and still the center of a very considerable trade. The Dutch, to whom it now belonged, although they looked with no very favourable eye on the progress of the English in those eastern regions, were afraid to discover any symptom of jealousy. The English fleet used Malacca as a port of their own, and supplied themselves not only with refreshments, but with every necessary not already provided for the siege of Manilla. In 39 days from Malacca they came in sight of Luconia; the weather having in general proved favourable, although the squadron was once separated in a storm.

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The next in command to the vice-admiral was commodore Tiddeman; and the battalion of seamen and marines was under the captains Collins, Pitchford, and Ourry, who behaved during the whole service with equal gallantry and conduct. The officers subordinate to brigadier-general Draper were the lieutenant-colonels Monson and Scott, major Barker who commanded the artillery, and major Moore. Mr. Drake, and some other gentlemen in the East-India company's service, were appointed to take care of the interests of their constituents, according to a convention made with the president and council of Madras, by which the East India company were to have a third part of the booty or ransom, and to be invested with the government of the conquered country. The land and sea forces agreed by common consent to participate in the distribution of their several captures, according to the rules established in the navy. The character of the commanders, as well as these wise precautions, prevented the least disagreement from arising between the army and marine, either in the conduct of the enterprise, or in the division of the fruits of their success.

The admiral having founded the coast, discovered a convenient place for landing their troops, about two miles to the southward of Manilla. On the 24th of September, the proper dispositions being made, and the three frigates Argo, Seahorse, and Seaford, moored very near the shore, to cover the descent; three divisions of the forces were put on board the boats of the fleet, conducted by the captains Parker, Kempenfield, and Brereton, and landed at the church and village of Malata. This was not performed without great difficulty, on account of a violent surf, which dashed many of the boats to pieces. At the same time the enemy began to assemble in great numbers, both horse and infantry, to oppose the descent, but the captains King, Grant, and Peighin, who commanded the covering frigates, maintained such a warm fire of cannon to the right and left that they soon dispersed, and the general disembarked his troops without the loss of a single man. The days which immediately succeeded their landing were spent in seizing the most advantageous posts, in securing the communication with the navy, and in reconnoitring the roads and approaches to the town. They found it defended by some good works, constructed in a regular manner, and garrisoned by about 800 Spanish troops. The English forces were too few to invest the place, so as to prevent it from being supplied with provisions from the country, or from receiving assistance from the natives, a fierce and daring people, who, though unacquainted with the use of fire arms and the regular discipline of war, were like all the inhabitants of the Indian isles, extremely formidable on account of their martial spirit, native intrepidity, and contempt of death. The governor of the place was a churchman and an archbishop, who styled himself captain-general of the Philippines; and, however ill qualified by his pro-
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fession for the defence of a town attacked, seemed well fitted for this task by his spirit and resolution.

The day after the troops landed the enemy abandoned a small fort called the Pulverista, which proved an excellent place of arms for covering the landing of the stores and artillery. Colonel Monson, with an advanced party of 200 men, occupied the church of the Hermita, about 900 yards from the city. The head quarters were fixed in the curate's house, and secured by the 79th regiment, as a post of the utmost importance, both from its strength, and the commodious cover it afforded from the rains which had deluged the country, and rendered it impossible to encamp. The marines were left at the Malata, in the neighbourhood of the Pulverista, to preserve the communication with the fleet, and guard the stores and artillery, which, on account of the surf, were not landed without great danger and fatigue. The battalion of seamen were stationed between the seventy-ninth regiment and the marines, and a body of men was advanced within 300 yards of the town, and possessed themselves of the church of St. Jago, which they maintained, notwithstanding its being exposed to the fire of the enemy.

Before batteries could be erected, the enemy on the 26th of September, attempted a sally with about 400 men. They were commanded by the chevalier de Fayette, and having two field-pieces, advanced to the right of the English advanced posts, and began to cannonade. But colonel Monson at the head of the pickets, reinforced by a small body of seamen, soon drove them back into the town. This retreat was so precipitate that they left one of their field-pieces on the glacis.

It was imagined that the evidence of their inferiority in this slight encounter would be an inducement to the governor to endeavour at obtaining advantageous terms by an early surrender. A summons was sent to him for this purpose; to which he returned such an answer as showed we had nothing to expect but what we were able to command. Indeed, had the valour of the garrison corresponded to the spirited declaration of the governor, the town would have had nothing to apprehend from an enemy, whose numbers obliged them to confine their operations to one corner of the place, leaving two thirds of it open to all manner of supplies. The front, to which the attack was directed, was defended by the bastions of St. Diego and St. Andrew; a ravelin which covered the royal gate, a wet ditch, covered way and glacis. The bastions were in good order, mounted with a great number of fine brass cannon; but the ditch had never been completed, the covered way was out of repair, and the glacis was too low.

While the works were going forward with great rapidity, some straggling seamen were murdered by the savages, which induced the governor to send out a flag of truce to apologise for this barbarity, and at the same time to request the release of his nephew, who

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who had been lately taken in the bay by the boats of the fleet. His demand was complied with, and lieutenant Fryar was sent under a flag of truce, to conduct the prisoner to town. At that time a detachment of the garrison, intermixed with a body of Indians, sallied out to attack one of the posts of the besiegers; when the savages, ignorant of the law of nations, and disregarding the sacred character of an officer under a safe conduct, assaulted Mr. Fryar with the most brutal fury, mangling his body in a most shocking manner, and mortally wounding the Spanish gentleman, who endeavoured to protect his conductor. In this attack they were soon repelled by the British party who defended the post; their savage cruelty had exasperated the troops, and whenever they fell into the hands of the English soldiers, they found no mercy.

Mean while the indefatigable vigour, and unconquerable spirit of our soldiers and seamen had raised three batteries for cannon and mortars, which played on the town with considerable effect. The navy which had hitherto assisted no otherwise than in covering the landing, and in furnishing men and stores, began now to take a direct part in the siege. On the 29th the admiral ordered the Elizabeth and the Falmouth to lie as near the town as the depth of water would allow, and to enfilade the enemy's front in order to second the operations of the army. Although the shallows kept them at too great a distance to have all the effect which could have been wished, their fire did not fail to produce great confusion and terror among the inhabitants, and to add very considerably to the fatigue of the garrison.

The operations of the besiegers were for some days retarded by an event which threatened to destroy at once all the effects of their industry and courage. During the first days of October a deluge of rain poured down, accompanied by a mighty storm of wind. The squadron was in the greatest danger, and all communication with it and the army entirely cut off. The South-sea Castle store-ship, which had lately arrived, and contained the greatest part of the tools and necessaries for prosecuting the siege, was driven on shore. The governor, or archbishop of the place, added to the advantage of these appearances in his favour, by calling in the aid of his ecclesiastical character. He gave out that the angel of the Lord was gone forth to destroy the English, like the host of Sennacherib of old; and this miserable superstition did not fail to raise the spirits of a fearful and cowardly garrison.

The circumstances of this storm, by an extraordinary species of good fortune, became favourable to the besiegers. The South-sea Castle, by being driven on shore without any considerable damage, gave an easy and ready access to all the stores and provisions which she contained. In the situation in which she lay on shore, her cannon became a protection to the rear of the English camp; and, by enfilading the whole beach to the southward,

ward, she kept in awe a body of Indians who threatened an attack on the Pulverista and the magazine of the besiegers at the Malata. At the same time the confidence which the enemy derived from the natural helps arising from the storm, and in the supernatural ones added by their superstition, rendered them more remiss and languid in their defence; while the roaring of the sea, occasioned by a great surf, prevented them from hearing the noise of the English workmen, who were busy in the night in completing the several batteries, in finishing a parallel and communication from these to the advanced post at the church, on the left of which they established a spacious place of arms. All this was accomplished on the 3d, and, the battery being opened against the left face of St. Diego's bastion, the fire was so well directed by the skill of major Barker, that in a few hours twelve pieces of cannon, mounted on the face of the bastion, were totally silenced, and the enemy obliged to retire. In less than two days all their other defences were greatly impaired.

The Spaniards, seeing their fortifications no longer tenable, projected a sally disposed in two attacks upon the two most important posts of the English. The first was to be made upon the cantonment of seamen, who were known to have had the most considerable part in the management of the artillery during the whole siege. The second was to be made on the church of St. Jago, which had been of so much consequence in protecting the besiegers in their approaches, and which covered a flank of the army.

In the middle of the night preceding the 4th of October 1000 Indians marched out upon the first attack. They were much encouraged by the incessant rains, which they hoped had rendered the fire-arms useless; while their own arms, consisting only of bows and lances, could suffer nothing from such accidents. Their approach was favoured by a great number of thick bushes, growing on the side of a rivulet, through which they passed in the night, without being perceived by the patrols. When they arrived at the quarter of the seamen, they began the work of destruction with a more than hostile fury. The English, though surprized, maintained their ground with steadiness, and repelled the mad rage of the savages with manly persevering courage. Prudently satisfied with this advantage, they remained firm in their posts till day-break, when two picquets of the seventy-ninth regiment arrived to their assistance. The Indians, notwithstanding the weakness of their armour, advanced in the most resolute manner to the attack, fought with incredible ferocity, when repulsed, returned with redoubled fury to the muzzles of the English musquets, and died like wild beasts gnawing their bayonets. At length, however, they were obliged to retreat before the disciplined valour of the English, having lost 300 men in this daring and unequal attack.

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threatened an attack on the besiegers at the same time, and the enemy determined to form, and in the end, rendered them unable to continue the roaring of the cannon from hearing the noise of the battle. In the night, the English opened a parallel and a battery at the church, and a spacious place of arms, the battery on the bastion, the fire was so hot, that in a few days the face of the bastion was obliged to retire. The English were greatly im-

proved longer tenable; the two most important to be made upon the bastion to have had the artillery during the night on the church of St. Jago, in protecting the flank of

On October 1000 they were much improved, and hoped had reinforcements, consisting of such acci- number of thick walls, through which they passed by the patrols. The English began the assault. The English, with steadiness, manly persevering, they remained, picquets of the English. The Indians, advanced in the night, with incredible ferocity to the muskets, gnawing the bastion, were obliged to retire, having lost

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The bad success of the first attempt did not discourage those who were ordered on the second. This began just as the former had been defeated, and appeared at first more favourable to the hopes of the Spaniards. The Seapoys, who defended the church of St. Jago, were far from possessing the firmness of the English sailors, and, being dislodged without difficulty, retired in confusion from their post. The enemy, who consisted not only of Indians but of a strong detachment from the Spanish garrison, immediately seized the church, climbed to the top, and from thence poured down a violent fire on our people, who maintained themselves with patience and resolution, until a detachment with ten field-pieces came to their relief. Then the Spaniards were compelled to give way, leaving 70 of their number dead on the spot. Nor were we freed from these resolute attacks without considerable loss. This, with the former action, cost the besiegers above 40 men, including captain Strahan of the seventy-ninth regiment, and lieutenant Porter of the Norfolk, two gallant officers who fell universally regretted.

This was the last effort of the garrison in its own defence. The unruly spirit of the Indians, impatient of repulse, and discouraged by repeated defeats, led them to return home. The fire of the garrison grew faint, and all the outworks of the enemy were now in a ruinous condition. The operations of the besiegers, on the other hand, were so well directed, and carried on with such vigour, that on the 5th the breach appeared practicable. It was expected, that the garrison would demand a capitulation, when no law of honour, because there was no prospect of success, required a farther defence. But the besiegers had to do with the sullen obstinacy of Spaniards, who neglected all opportunities of obtaining favourable terms, and without taking proper measures for defending the breach.

The English general, not finding any desire of capitulation in the enemy, prepared without delay, and with the most judicious arrangements for the storm. On the 6th at four in the morning, the troops destined for this service filed off from their quarters in small bodies to avoid suspicion, and gradually assembling at the church of St. Jago, concealed themselves in the place of arms, and on the parallel between the church and the battery. Meanwhile major Barker maintained a close fire upon every part of the enemy's works, from which we might apprehend any molestation. At day-break a large body of Spaniards were seen formed on the bastion of St. Andrew, as if they had received intimation of the intended assault, and had resolved to annoy the assailants from the retired flanks of the bastion, where they had still two cannon fit for service. But the explosion of some shells thrown among them by the besiegers had so good an effect, that it made them disperse and retire in confusion.

The British troops took immediate advantage of this event, and directed by the signal of a general discharge from the artillery

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lery and mortars, rushed on to the assault under cover of a thick smoke which blew directly on the town. Lieutenant Russel, at the head of 60 volunteers from different corps, led the way. They were supported by the grenadiers of the seventy-ninth regiment. A body of pioneers, to clear the breach, and if necessary, to make lodgements, followed; a battalion of seamen advanced next, supported by two grand divisions of the seventy-ninth regiment; and the troops of the East-India company formed the rear. Disposed in this excellent order, the assailants, to the number of 2000 men, mounted the breach with amazing spirit and activity. The Spaniards retired so suddenly that it was imagined they depended entirely on their mines. Captain Stevenson was ordered to examine the ground, which removed all apprehension from this danger; and the English troops penetrated into the town without meeting with any opposition until they came to the royal gate, where there was a guard-house defended by 100 Spaniards and Indians. Here major More was transfixed with an arrow, and about twenty of our men fell. The guard refused quarter, and were cut to pieces. In proceeding forward the troops were galled with shot from the galleries of lofty houses, surrounding the great square. But the Spanish soldiers every where gave way before them. Three hundred perished in endeavouring to escape by passing a deep and rapid river. The governor and principal magistrates imprudently retreated to the citadel, which was by no means a tenable post: and as the English general had no offer of capitulation either on the part of the garrison or inhabitants, it was impossible to prevent some of the calamities which usually happen to cities taken by storm, from the cruel and rapacious license of the common soldiers. Those who had retired into the citadel dreading to be exposed to equal sufferings, surrendered at discretion. The marquis of Villa Medina, with the rest of the Spanish officers, were admitted as prisoners of war on their parole of honour; and all the Indians were dismissed in safety. At the same time admiral Cornish and general Draper, influenced by a generosity familiar to our commanders, though able to command every thing by force, admitted the inhabitants to a capitulation, by which they enjoyed their liberties, lives, properties, and the administration of their domestic government. In consequence of this agreement the town and port of Cavité, with the islands and forts depending upon Manilla, were surrendered to his Britannic majesty; and four millions of dollars were promised as a ransom for saving the houses and effects of the inhabitants. The admiral took possession of several large ships, with a vast quantity of military and naval stores; and the English found here every refreshment to recruit the men, and every necessary to refit the squadron. The East-India company were entitled to one third of the ransom, and the conquest according to agreement was delivered

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pointed to receive them in behalf of that company.

This important acquisition was rendered complete by another
fortunate event. During the siege admiral Cornish received in-
telligence by the capture of an advice ship, that the galleon from
Acapulco was arrived at the straits which form the entrance into
the Archipelago of the Philippines. This intelligence was not
to be neglected, as so rich a prize would greatly enhance the
value of the conquest, and not a little compensate the disadvan-
tage of a repulse. Two ships of war, the Panther a ship of the
line, captain Parker, and the Argo frigate captain King, were
immediately dispatched in quest of the galleon. After twenty-
six days cruising they descried on the 30th of October, being off
the island Capul, a sail standing northward. The Panther being
driven by the current among the Narangor, was obliged to an-
chor ; but the Argo coming up with the chase, engaged her for
near two hours, during which the English frigate was roughly
handled, and even obliged to desist, until his damage could be
repaired. The current slackening, captain Parker was enabled
to get under sail, and about nine next morning came up with
the enemy, who after having been cannonaded near two hours
at a very small distance, struck her colours. The English cap-
tain was not a little surprized to learn when the Spanish officers
came on board, that instead of the Sancta Philippina, which
was expected from Acapulco, he had taken the Sanctissima Tri-
nidad, which was bound for that port. This vessel had left
Manilla the 1st of August, and had sailed 300 leagues to the
eastward of the Embocadero ; but meeting with a hard gale of
wind, and being dismasted, was obliged to put back and refit.
In the first engagement with the Argo this galleon mounted on-
ly six guns, though she was pierced for sixty. In her engage-
ment with the Panther, she mounted but thirteen. The English
captains had both been surprized to find so obstinate a resistance
with so little activity of opposition. But their wonder ceased
when they examined the galleon with attention. She was a
huge vessel that lay like a mountain on the water, and her sides
so excessively thick that the shot had made no impression upon
any part, except her upper works. She had 800 men on board ;
and the value of her cargo was registered at one million and a
half of dollars ; that which was unregistered in order to be
smuggled amounted to full as much ; so that this capture was a
valuable addition to the conquest, and a fresh wound to the
enemy.

At no period of time had the Spanish monarchy suffered such
mortifying disasters as in the course of this war, of which there
was no conquest more advantageous in itself, or more honour-
ably achieved than that of the Philippines. The British forces
effected their landing before Manilla on the 24th of September ;
their battery of cannon was not completed until the 3d of Octo-
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ber, and on the 6th they were masters of the city. In this short time, notwithstanding the tempestuous season of the year which prevented the communication between the land and sea forces, a territory was acquired consisting of fourteen considerable islands, which from their extent, fertility, and convenience of commerce, furnished the materials of a great kingdom. The conquest of the Havanna had in a great measure interrupted the communication between the wealthy American colonies of the Spaniards and Europe. The reduction of the Philippines now excluded them from Asia. The two together secured all the avenues of the Spanish trade, and cut off all intercourse between the parts of their vast but unconnected empire. Never indeed were any people more to be pitied than the Spaniards. They were plunged precipitately into a war against every principle of sound policy and caution, merely to gratify the private inclinations of their sovereign, in favour of the interests of his family, which stood in direct opposition to those of his people. Unfortunately for the happiness of mankind, the former interests will always be preferred under the government of an absolute prince. Whatever conclusions, therefore, may be drawn, at any future period, in favour of the pacific intentions of the Spaniards from the national advantages that would result from a pacific conduct, ought not to have great weight on the councils or measures of Great Britain. We ought in this case to distrust appearances. The advantage, at least the supposed advantage of a king of Spain and of his subjects, are not always the same. The national advantage is most obvious to strangers, but that of the king will prevail in the cabinet; and Spain will undertake another war against Great Britain, though more ruinous than the former, whenever the interests or honour of the house of Bourbon demand her assistance.

The reduction of the Manillas will be handed down as a memorable event to the latest posterity. Another expedition, which was much celebrated at the time, and which adorned the lustre of the British arms in the course of this autumn, was the recovery of the island of St. John in Newfoundland. About the latter end of May, intelligence was received by the admiralty that a French squadron under the command of M. de Ternay had sailed from Brest under cover of a fog. The destination of this squadron being uncertain, Sir Edward Hawke, with the duke of York as rear-admiral, were immediately ordered from Spithead with seven ships of the line, and two frigates, in hopes that they might fall in with the enemy. They visited the coast of France; and after cruising for some time in the chops of the Channel for the protection of our trade, returned to Portsmouth, not having seen M. de Ternay's fleet. It was descried, however, on the 11th of May, about fifty leagues to the northward of the Lizard by captain Rowley, who had sailed with three ships of war, the *Superbe* of 74 guns, the *Gosport* of 44, and

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and the Danaé of 38, as convoy to a fleet of merchantmen bound to the East and West Indies, and the continent of America. Captain Rowley no sooner perceived them than he made a disposition for battle, though greatly inferior in strength. The French ships bore down upon him: when he hoisted British colours, and fired at the nearest, she was within little more than random shot. The enemy immediately hoisted English colours, and tacked to the northward. He gave them chase till three in the afternoon when they were scarcely in sight; and having no hope of bringing them to action, he discontinued the pursuit, and rejoined his convoy.

The French Squadron consisted of the Robuste of 74 guns, the Eveille of 64, the Garonne of 44, and the Licorne of 30, carrying 1500 soldiers under the command of the count d'Haussonville. They steered their course for Newfoundland, and on the 24th of June entered the bay of Bulls, where the troops were landed without opposition. Having taken possession of an inconsiderable English settlement in this bay, they steered for the town of St. John's, which being defended by no more than sixty-three men, surrendered upon capitulation. This little garrison were made prisoners of war, together with the officers and crew of his majesty's sloop the Gramont, which was in the harbour. The French likewise took several merchant vessels, destroyed the stages erected for curing cod, and every thing else belonging to the fishery. They afterwards began to repair the fortifications of the town, of which they had determined to keep possession.

When the news of this loss reached England, the antiministerial party employed it as a subject of reproach against the king's servants. Their abuse, though mean, illiberal, and vulgar, was not altogether ill-founded. Mr. Pitt's advice for guarding Newfoundland from any such attempt, had been neglected by the ministry, who, while on this occasion they represented the loss of a place cold, barren, and inhospitable, as of very little consequence, did not delay to prepare an armament for regaining the possession of it.

But their preparations for this purpose were rendered unnecessary by the vigilant celerity of lord Colville and Sir Jeffery Amherst, who commanded by sea and land in North America. The former, upon receiving advice of the progress of the French in Newfoundland, immediately sailed thither from Halifax, and blocked up the harbour of St. John's with one ship of the line and one frigate only, even while M. de Ternay lay at anchor in it, with a superior squadron. On the 11th day of September his lordship was joined by colonel Amherst, whom his brother Sir Jeffery had detached from New York, with orders to touch at Louisbourg, and take on board some troops, which, with those embarked at Halifax, amounted to about 800 men, chiefly Highlanders and light infantry. The light infantry landed,

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after a short resistance, at Torbay, about seven miles to the northward of St. John's, it not being possible to land at Kitty-vitty, where the enemy had stopped up the narrow entrance, by sinking shallops in the channel. The French had continued to annoy the boats, as the troops landed; until the light infantry obliged the enemy to retreat. The French afterwards took to the woods, through which the British had to march for four miles. They wounded several of our men with their bush fire, which was very troublesome till captain M'Donald's company of light infantry rushed in upon them, took some prisoners, and dispersed the rest. The British forces advanced to the strong post of Kitty-vitty, which they took sword in hand. This advantage secured their communication with the ships for landing the stores and artillery. The enemy posted on a hill on the other side of the river fired upon our men; but a detachment was sent to drive them from this eminence from which they retreated with precipitation, leaving several prisoners behind. The French were still in possession of two very high and steep hills, the one in the neighbourhood of our advanced posts, and the other in the neighbourhood of St. John's, and commanding all the intermediate space. It was necessary to dislodge them; which was performed by captain M'Donald with great bravery and resolution, at the head of his own and the provincial light infantry. With this corps he passed the sentries and advanced guard unobserved, and was not discovered till the main body of the French saw him climbing up the rocks, and almost at the top which he gained; having received the enemy's fire, he poured in his own with such vivacity that the French gave way. The gallant captain received a mortal wound; his lieutenant with four men were killed, and eighteen wounded.

On the 16th colonel Amherst proceeded vigorously in his preparations to attack the town of St. John's. The breast-work and unfinished battery which commanded the harbour being taken, the entrance of the channel was cleared, and the stores and artillery were landed without difficulty. This was fortunately performed before a violent gale of wind, which happened immediately after, and drove lord Colville to a considerable distance from the coast. In his absence M. de Ternay took advantage of a thick fog, to slip his cables and to make his escape, leaving the garrison of St. John's to defend itself. His ships were seen at a great distance by the British Squadron; but his conduct was so unlike that of Englishmen in abandoning a place intrusted to his protection, that it was not imagined the ships which they descried could be those of M. Ternay.

On the 17th at night the colonel opened a battery, with one eight-inch mortar, seven cohorns, and six royals. The enemy, at the same time, began a brisk fire from the fort, and threw several shells. In the morning of the 18th the court of Haufonville, who had declared two days before in a letter to colo-

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nel Amherst that he would not surrender the fort until it were totally destroyed, thought proper to alter his resolution, and to demand a capitulation. The garrison surrendered prisoners of war, on condition of being conveyed to Brest with the first opportunity; which condition was immediately fulfilled by lord Colville, who had, by this time, returned into the harbour. Thus the town and fort of St. John's with all the other places which the French had taken on this coast were recovered by the indefatigable labour and persevering bravery of a handful of men, with the loss only of about 20 soldiers in this important service.

In the retaking of St. John's as well as in the reduction of the Havanna and the Philippines, the fleet and army co-operated with singular harmony and success. As they underwent the same fatigue, they were entitled to an equal share of glory as well as of reward. But it is obvious that the vast superiority of the English seamen to the French and Spanish, and their firm hardiness in performing some branches of service which no land troops in the world would have dared to attempt, was the principal cause of that uniform and uninterrupted train of good fortune which crowned the British arms. The manly firmness and persevering resolution of our seamen, directed by the experienced valour and active vigilance of our naval commanders, overcame obstacles of art and nature, which appeared at first slight unformountable. Every measure was taken at that critical moment which was most favourable to its success; no advantage was left unimproved, no error unrepaired. The whole plan of every expedition, as well as its subordinate parts, was conducted with heroic bravery, and guided by consummate wisdom.

Had the enemy's designs succeeded, we should have had few exploits to boast of near the coast of France. In the month of December of the year 1761, they attempted to burn at once all the British ships of war that lay at anchor in the road of Basque. They prepared three fire ships, which being chained together, were towed out of the port, and set on fire with a strong breeze that blew directly on the English squadron. This attempt, however, was made with hurry and trepidation, and the wind luckily shifting drove them clear of the ships they were intended to destroy. They were consumed to no purpose, after blowing up with a terrible explosion, and every person on board perishing. On the 7th of March, his majesty's ship *Milford* fell in with a Spanish letter of marque in her passage to St. Domingo. She had been a privateer of Bayonne, and pierced for 20 guns, but carried at present only 16 six pounders, and ten swivels, and 94 men, and had a valuable cargo on board. The engagement was hot and desperate. Captain Mann of the *Milford* soon received a mortal wound. Mr. Day, the first lieutenant, taking the command of the ship, was immediately shot through the head. The defence of the king's ship devolving on lieutenant Nash, this officer

ficer received several wounds in his hands and face. The engagement continued almost for 24 hours, when the enemy struck, both ships being miserably shattered.

About the same time his majesty's ship *Fowey*, of 24 guns, nine pounders, and 135 men, commanded by captain Mead, fell in with *La Ventura*, a Spanish frigate of 26 guns, 12 pounders, and 300 men, carrying money to pay the Spanish troops at Porto Rico and St. Domingo. These frigates engaged about seven leagues from Cape Tiberone. The fight continued an hour and a half, when their mutual damages obliged them both at the same time to sheer off and repair. This done, captain Mead at ten o'clock of the night bore down a second time on the enemy; but after exchanging a broadside without any visible effect, it being too dark to form any satisfactory notion of the distance and motion of the Spanish vessel, he made sail to windward, keeping a proper look-out, that he might not lose sight of her, but be able to renew the attack with advantage by day-light. Accordingly in the dawn of the morning, the *Fowey*, keeping her men at their quarters, ran up as close to the *Ventura* as it was possible without falling on board of her. The engagement, renewed for the third time, was more bloody and desperate than before. It lasted with extraordinary courage and conduct on both sides till half an hour past eight, when the Spanish frigate having received several shot between wind and water, and being reduced almost to a wreck, was compelled to strike her colours. She had near 50 men killed; and both ships were so much disabled, that neither of them had tackles left to hoist out a boat, nor indeed a boat that could swim. Captain Mead, who is known by his useful invention for cleaning a ship's bottom at sea, had occasion for all his ingenuity on this occasion. He contrived by nailing tarpaulins over the shot-holes of a small boat, to bring the Spanish officers on board the *Fowey*. His gallantry was the more conspicuous on this occasion, as the ship's master was drunk, and unfit to give the least assistance during the action. The gunner, too, happened to be wounded in the beginning of the engagement; and a lieutenant, with 24 men, were on shore.

On the 3d of April, after this wreck was carried into Port-Royal in Jamaica, the *Husar* frigate, captain Carket, attacked four ships, lying under a fort in Tiberone bay; one of which carrying 16 guns he burnt, sunk another of 14 guns, cut out one of 16 and another of 12, and carried them into Jamaica. In this desperate enterprize the *Husar* had but one man killed and 12 wounded; whereas the French had 17 killed and 35 wounded. But most of the crews of the enemy's ships escaped ashore in their boats during the engagement.

On the 21st of May two British frigates, cruising off Cape St. Vincent, made prize of the *Hermione*, a Spanish register-ship, bound from Lima to Cadiz, loaded with such a quantity of treasure

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treasure and valuable effects as enriched all the captors. The *Hermione* had but 28 guns, and surrendered with little or no resistance; she was indeed in no situation to make a proper defence, the officers on board not being acquainted with the declaration of war between the two kingdoms. This ship carried 2,600,000 hard dollars; and her whole cargo was valued at a million sterling, which is more than had ever been before taken in one bottom. The loss of such an immense treasure at the beginning of a war which required the greatest expence, must have been a heavy blow to the ambition of the court of Madrid. The prize was brought from Gibraltar to England; and the gold and silver being conveyed in covered waggons to London, was carried in procession to the bank, amidst the acclamations of the people, who considered this as an auspicious omen of success in the war against Spain.

In the beginning of April captain Ourry of the *Acleon*, in the latitude of Tobago, took a large Spanish register ship, bound for Languera, laden with artillery, stores, and ammunition. In September, a fleet of 25 sail of French merchant ships, richly laden with sugar, coffee, and indigo, took their departure from Cape Francois for Europe, under convoy of four frigates. Five of these vessels were surprized and taken in the night by some privateers of New-York and Jamaica. Next day it was their misfortune to fall in with commodore Keppel, who made prize of their whole fleet and convoy, which were carried into the harbour of Port-Royal in Jamaica.

Nor were the British cruisers less successful on the coasts of Europe. In the beginning of April captain Gambier of the *Burford* arrived at Plymouth with a large East-Indiaman which had sailed from the isle of Bourbon with a valuable cargo, and been taken by one of admiral Pocock's squadron in the chops of the channel. About the end of August captain Hotham of the *Æolus* chased two Spanish ships into the bay of Aviles, in the neighbourhood of Cape Pinas; and on the 2d day of September, standing into the bay, came to anchor in such a situation as to bring his guns to bear not only upon one of the ships, but also upon a small battery situated on an eminence. After a short but warm contest, both the battery and ship were abandoned; but before captain Hotham could take possession of his prize, she ran aground, and bulging, was burned by the captors. On the 20th of September he took a vessel of considerable value belonging to Bourdeaux. In the beginning of November captain Ruthven of the *Terpsichore* took a French ship of 20 guns bound from Bourdeaux to Cape Francois. The action, in which the captain was wounded, was sharp and obstinate. On the ninth of the same month the enemy lost the *Oiseau*, a frigate of 26 guns, commanded by the chevalier de Modene, who fell in with captain Tonyn of the king's ship the *Brune*, about seven leagues from Carthage. The engagement was maintained with great spirit,

spirit on both sides ; but at length the chevalier was obliged to submit, having lost about 30 men, including all his officers, excepting three, who with himself were wounded in the action.

A continuation of success had inspired the English with an enthusiasm of valour as well as of magnanimity. Of the first we have an example in an exploit of the Brilliant and Duke of York privateers ; and of the latter in the behaviour of captain Clark of the Sheerness frigate. These privateers entered a small port near Cape Finisterre, defended by a battery at the entrance. In two hours time they beat the Spaniards from the fort, hoisted English colours, and spiked up the cannon. They might have laid the town in ashes, but were satisfied with burning two ships, and bringing off four more which were loaded with wine for the use of the Spanish fleet at Ferrol. The Minerva, a French frigate, had, in company with four other ships of war, given chase to the Sheerness, commanded by captain Clark, who took refuge in the harbour of Villa Franca, and there anchored, the wind blowing fresh. He was immediately followed by the captain of the Minerva, who actuated by an idle spirit of vanity and insolence, resolved to lie between him and the shore, and ran his ship upon the rocks which bound the eastern side of the harbour. Being himself ignorant of the art of seamanship, and ill assisted by a crew little acquainted with such emergencies, his ship was in a short time dashed to pieces ; and a considerable part of his people perished, notwithstanding all the assistance he could receive from his consorts. On this melancholy occasion captain Clark, forgetting they were enemies, and that this very calamity was occasioned by their resentment against him and his country, exerted himself vigorously for their relief. He could not have done more if his friends had been in danger. By this generous assistance the greatest part of the crew and all the officers were saved.

It would be tedious to relate every naval exploit of the year 1762, in the course of which our men of war and privateers fought and took 120 considerable prizes, carrying 844 guns and near 6000 men. Neither French nor Spaniards had force at sea sufficient to annoy our trade in any great degree, and they were deterred from risking their lives and properties on board of privateers, by the rough treatment which these commonly met with from the English frigates or armed merchantmen. Since the Spaniards, through the ambition of the court, had been precipitated into this fatal war, they had lost 12 ships of the line besides frigates ; and the French had been deprived of a marine sufficient to constitute the strength of a great kingdom. Their whole loss amounted to 18 ships of the line and 36 frigates taken ; fourteen ships of the line and thirteen frigates destroyed. On the other hand the French took two and destroyed three English frigates ; and thirteen British ships of the line,

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line, with fourteen frigates, were lost by accident. But not one capital English ship fell into the hands of the enemy.

The prospect of rich plunder, which always attends a Spanish war, had revived the spirit of privateering, after it was in a great measure extinguished by the repeated disasters of the French, which had left them scarcely any thing more to lose by sea. Some attempts were made in this way, which seem bold and daring beyond the spirit and abilities of private persons. The expedition against Buenos Ayres in particular, though it ended unfortunately by a fatal accident against which human prudence is too weak to provide, deserves, on account of the boldness and magnitude of the design, to be recorded among the memorable naval exploits of the year. It was the last act of hostility between the English and Spaniards, and concluded in a manner the most proper for disposing brave and generous nations to a mutual forgiveness of injuries, and a sincere desire of accommodation.

The attempt against this Spanish settlement was undertaken by some private adventurers, after we had made ourselves masters of the Havanna, and taken measures for the conquest of the Philippines. Government thought proper to encourage their design, not so much from any lucrative motive as on account of the situation of Buenos Ayres, which of all the Spanish colonies lies the most conveniently for molesting the possessions of our Portuguese allies, and which, if we should be so fortunate as to get it into our power, would afford a station well adapted for enterprizes against the trade and the dominions of Spain in the South Seas. The embarkation was made from the Tagus, and consisted of the Lord Clive and Ambuscade privateers, the former of which was equal in force to a ship of 50 guns. They were reinforced by a Portuguese frigate, and some small armed vessels and store ships, and had on board 500 soldiers, partly English, partly Portuguese. The expedition was under the command of captain Macnamara, an adventurer of spirit and experience, who had been many years a captain in the East-India company's service, and had embarked his whole fortune in the present enterprize.

The armament sailed from Lisbon the 30th of August, 1762, from which place to the mouth of the Plata the voyage proved favourable. But when they had entered that vast river the 2d of November, difficulties and obstructions began to encounter them on every side. A violent gale of wind, attended with thunder and lightning, attacked them at their entrance. When the tempest ceased, they found that the river was shoaly, and of so difficult navigation that they must meet with no small obstructions in making their way to Buenos Ayres. The Spaniards were not here, as in other places, unacquainted with the declaration of war. They were well prepared for making a vigorous resistance,

resistance, and had begun, some weeks before, to act on the offensive by taking the Portuguese settlement of Nova Colonia.

This unexpected intelligence and the difficulties of the voyage to Buenos Ayres, determined the adventurers to abandon for some time this first design, and to begin with the recovery of Nova Colonia. An English pilot who knew the place and river, and whom they accidentally met with on board a Portuguese vessel, encouraged them to the attempt, undertaking to carry the commodore's ship into the harbour, and within pistol shot of the enemy's principal battery.

On the 1st of January, 1763, he made good his promise. The English ships arrived before Nova Colonia in good order, and the men in high spirits. They adorned their vessels with all the pomp and parade of naval triumph. Their colours were fully displayed; the soldiers dressed in new red uniforms, and disposed upon the poop and upon the tops, made a gallant appearance. In this manner they advanced to the attack the 6th of January, with horns sounding and drums beating, and every movement expressive of hope and victory.

The Lord Clive made the signal for engaging, and soon after anchored under the eastmost battery of the place, while the Ambuscade was exposed to a warm fire from the middle and west batteries, as well as from two Spanish frigates. But the plan of engagement was not exactly followed; the Portuguese frigate on which they had great dependance, having anchored at such a distance that none of her shot reached the shore. The Spaniards pointed their guns well, and stood to them with firmness. But the ships having rectified several mistakes in their first disposition, began a most fierce cannonading, which lasted from eleven in the forenoon till three in the afternoon, when the enemy's fire began visibly to abate, and their men to retire to the eastmost battery as the place of greatest security. Against this the fire of the English was directed with redoubled violence; and they had hopes every minute of seeing the Spanish colours struck. But when they were on the point of attaining the object of all their desires, the commodore's ship, by some accident, which has never been accounted for, unfortunately took fire. In a moment she was all in a blaze; and the same instant discovered the flames and the impossibility of extinguishing them. There was to be seen a most dreadful spectacle. The sides of the vessel were immediately crowded with naked men, who but a few minutes before reckoned themselves in the assured prospect of wealth and conquest. Some clung to the sails and rigging until the violence of the flames obliged them to forego their hold; others precipitated themselves into the sea; many died by their own hands; and several of still more determined courage went to the lower guns in the midst of this scene of confusion and horror, and kept up a constant fire on the enemy, till they were driven

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driven by the flames to perish in another element. The com-
modore perished ; and of 340 men, only 78 escaped.

None of the other vessels durst approach the Clive for fear of
sharing her fate. The Ambuscade, which had suffered greatly
from the enemy's fire, escaped to the Portuguese settlement of
Rio de Janeiro. Such of the Lord Clive's crew as, by uncom-
mon dexterity in swimming, reached the shore, were humanely
received by the Spaniards, whose resentment was extinguished
in the calamity of their enemies. The English came to them
naked ; they clothed them decently : they were destitute of eve-
ry necessary ; they supplied abundantly all their wants, received
them into their houses, and treated them rather like their dear-
est friends than enemies come to expel them from their posses-
sions.

The war thus closed with an action the fittest that can be im-
agined to dispose the minds of men to humanity, gentleness, and
benevolence, and to prepare them for receiving with approba-
tion the measures which had been taken for giving peace to the
four quarters of the world.

M E M O I R S
OF
ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c.
INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE
N A V A L H I S T O R Y.

The Naval History of GREAT-BRITAIN from the end of the
War in 1763 to the Year 1779.

AS the war of 1755 had been undertaken in order to protect the British colonies in America against the encroachments of the French, so the security of the colonies seemed to have been the principal object in the treaty of peace, of which the terms were, doubtless, more advantageous to the English settlements in America than to the island of Great Britain. The unexampled success of the war enabled England to dictate the conditions of peace. She had it in her option to retain the West-India islands of Martinico, Guadaloupe, Mariegalante, and Desiderade, the possession of which would have brought the most important advantages to her commerce, or by ceding these islands, to secure the American settlements on the north by the acquisition of Canada. She preferred the interest of her colonies. It was no less in her power to retain the important conquests she had made from Spain, as to obtain an equivalent for these conquests by stipulating such commercial advantages as would have added immense wealth to Great Britain, or to defend her American colonies in the south by acquiring the forts of St. Augustine and Pensacola, and the extensive county of Florida. In this instance, also, the interest of America prevailed. The colonies were secured from every hostile attack, and, at the price of British blood and treasure and every national advantage, were placed

placed in such a situation as no longer required the protection of Great Britain. From that moment they may be said to have obtained independence, when their condition enabled them to assume it.

It has long been observed, that England generally loses by negotiation the advantages which she has acquired by force of arms. If this observation be well founded, the circumstance, perhaps, does not so much arise from the unskilfulness of her ministers as from the nature of the English constitution. In a free country there are a great many little interests, all of which must be considered by a minister, and some of which may be allowed, at certain times, in consequence of a particular combination of circumstances, to prevail over the general interest of the community. At the time that the public attention was employed in considering the proposed terms of peace, the conduct of the West-India interest in parliament was extremely remarkable. The popular lord-mayor of London assumed the lead among those colonists, who composed a powerful and complete body in the house of commons. These gentlemen, while the peace was in agitation, spared neither pains nor expence to persuade the English nation, that it was far more eligible to retain Canada than the West-India islands. The reason for their being so anxious to spread this opinion, was because the possession of the French West-Indies would have annihilated their own importance; whereas the possession of Canada could not detract any thing from the value of Jamaica, Antigua, and the other islands, in which their property consisted. It is said that the late minister had, against his own sentiments, purchased their friendship by complying with their desires in this particular; and their clamorous efforts to render their own voice that of the public, had, doubtless, a considerable influence with the ministers who negotiated the peace. But this was not all. The English had not yet learned to separate their own interests from those of America; and those who then held the helm of affairs were foolishly dazzled with the notion of acquiring an extensive and undisturbed empire across the Atlantic. When the West-India patriots observed them determined in this design, and that the retaining of Canada and the cession of the islands was a point irrevocable in the negotiation, they joined heartily in opposing the whole system of the peace. The odium of this measure was thrown entirely on administration; but the clamour of pretended patriots and the ambition of courtiers had united in bringing about an event which has been one considerable source of the subsequent calamities which have befallen Great-Britain.

The parliament which met in the year 1763 approved of the peace, and voted 16,000 men to be employed for the sea service for 1764, including 4287 marines. The king in his speech had recommended keeping the fleet on a respectable footing; the ordinary of the navy amounted to 368,598*l.* and 200,000*l.* were voted

voted towards the building and repairs of his majesty's ships for 1764. Nothing could be more proper than these preparations, which insured the performance of the articles of the general peace on the part of France and Spain; all of which, excepting the liquidation of the Canada bills, and the Manilla ransom, were fulfilled with great punctuality.

Notwithstanding the pacific intentions of the French and Spanish courts, some occurrences unavoidably happened in distant parts which were employed as arguments by the opposers of the peace for again embroiling Great-Britain with both these kingdoms. The first event of this kind was a misunderstanding between the English and French commanders in America. This afforded matter for popular declamation; but when the facts were fully explained, it appeared that the differences had entirely arisen from the commander of an English frigate having, pursuant to his orders from England, obliged a French ship to keep within the bounds of navigation prescribed by treaty. The matter was hardly explained to the satisfaction of the public, when a sloop of war arrived at Portsmouth from Newfoundland, which represented the French fleet on that coast as extremely formidable. It was asserted that the French, in direct opposition to the treaty of peace, intended to fortify St. Peter's, and that the British squadron in those parts commanded by Mr. Paliser, was by no means in a condition to prevent this measure. Upon this intelligence, the party in opposition pronounced a French war to be unavoidable, unless we were disposed to sacrifice all our late conquests. Mean while Mr. Paliser dispatched a sloop to the French governor at St. Peter's to inquire into the truth of the reports which prevailed, and to know if he had mounted cannon and erected works on that island. The governor answered by assurances that there was no more than one four-pounder mounted, without a plat-form, and with no other intention, than to make signals, and to answer those which were made by the fishermen; that the guard had never exceeded 50 men; and that no works or buildings whatever had been erected contrary to the treaty. The suspicions had arisen from the equivocal conduct of a captain of a French ship of 50 guns, which, as it appeared by the commodore's letters, was the only large vessel the French had in those parts. This ship, with one frigate of 26 guns, and another of inferior force, formed their whole strength, and Mr. Paliser was assured that none of those vessels had ever attempted, or would ever attempt to enter into any of the harbours on the coast of Newfoundland.

The clamour which was excited by the conduct of a French squadron at Turk's island, was supported on a better foundation. This place is the most considerable of a number of small islands which go under the same name on the coast of Spanish Hispaniola. It is only four miles in length, has not any good harbour, and is so barren and uncomfortable a spot, that it is impossible for
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any settlement to subsist upon it. But as the coast abounds with various kinds of fish, especially turtle, and affords great quantities of salt, the Bermudians and other British subjects resorted thither in order to fish, and to gather salt in the dry season. Two hundred of them were employed in this manner in the month of June, when a French ship of 74 guns, with a snow, sloop, and xebeque, arrived from Cape François. Having landed on Turk's island, they laid hold of the English, plundered and burnt their cabins, detained their persons for some days as prisoners, and when dismissed, ordered them never to return into those parts. Mr. Lyttleton the governor of Jamaica was no sooner informed of those hostilities, than he sent notice of them to the ministry, who gave such instructions as the occasion required to lord Hertford, then ambassador in France. Mean while an account of the whole transaction was laid before the public; and it was generally thought that the French intended to attempt a settlement on Turk's island. The opposition represented the attack upon the English salt-gatherers as a premeditated plan of the French politics, which was to be executed by the treacherous d'Estaing then governor of St. Domingo, for expelling the British subjects not only from these wretched islands, but from all their other possessions in the West-Indies. They insisted that the past hostilities and present intentions of the French were a justifiable ground for a new war. But this clamour was effectually silenced by the declaration of the French court, in answer to the demands of the British ambassador. It disavowed the proceedings of the French subjects in the West-Indies, disclaimed all intention of acquiring or conquering Turk's island, ordered the count d'Estaing to cause these islands to be immediately abandoned, and every thing therein to be restored to the condition in which it was before the late violent proceedings. Full reparation also was ordered to be made to the British subjects for the loss of their property and other injuries, according to an estimation to be immediately settled by the governors of Jamaica and St. Domingo.

The usual remissness of the court of Spain in giving instructions to their governors in distant parts, concerning the observation of treaties negotiated in Europe, had almost occasioned a rupture betwixt England and that kingdom, which, however, terminated in a manner equally honourable for Great-Britain. On the 22d of February, 1764, an order came from don Joseph Rosado, governor of Baccabar, commanding the English settlers in the bay of Honduras to retire from every other place, and to confine themselves to the banks of the river Balis. The English in those parts are under the protection of the governor of Jamaica, to whom they formed a petition, setting forth their grievances. In consequence of which governor Lyttleton sent an agent from Jamaica to inquire into the true state of the grievances complained of, and to use his best endeavours to redress them.

Upon inquiry it was found, that the order of the Spanish governor of Baccabar was in consequence of a letter of the 29th of December, 1763, written by Mr. d'Estines, captain-general of Yucatan, who had arrived at Campeachy on the 7th of the same month. This letter enjoined the necessity of confining the logwood cutters to particular districts, in order to prevent the Spaniards from being imposed on by pretenders to the rights of British subjects. Accordingly the English were limited to 20 leagues up the south side of the new river; in the river Balis, and four leagues to the southward of its mouth, they were not to be interrupted; but if discovered beyond these limits, their negroes were seized, their property confiscated, and their own persons arrested.

While proper measures were used in America for removing these grievances, and for keeping the Spaniards to the 17th article of the treaty, which ascertained the right of the English to cut logwood in the bay of Campeachy, the earl of Rochford, then ambassador at Madrid, had instructions to complain of the conduct of Mr. d'Estines. To his memorial, which was dictated in the most spirited terms, the Spanish minister replied, "That he had no advices from that governor relative to the subject of the complaint; but that it was certainly his Catholic majesty's intention to abide by the 17th article of the last treaty of peace; that he had already given positive orders to his governor of Yucatan for that purpose; that these orders should be renewed, and the English no longer interrupted in cutting logwood in the stipulated places."

This answer, though in appearance sufficiently explicit, did not satisfy the antiministerial party in Great-Britain. They affirmed that the reply of his Catholic majesty's minister was disingenuous, because it stipulated no satisfaction to the sufferers, nor any punishment on the offending party; and they called out for an immediate declaration of war against Spain. Partly, perhaps, in order to quiet the violence of their clamours, the earl of Rochford was ordered to make fresh remonstrances. These occasioned the sending of new orders to the governor of Yucatan, in which his proceedings with regard to the British subjects in the bay of Honduras are disapproved by his Catholic majesty; he is commanded to repair their injuries, to give them no disquiet in future under any pretence whatever; it being the desire of the king of Spain to preserve peace with Great-Britain, and to give the greatest proofs of his friendship to the British nation.

The pacific intentions of France and Spain, which had been sufficiently discovered in every transaction since the conclusion of the treaty, was entirely owing to the known strength of the British navy in those parts where the natural enemies of this kingdom are most vulnerable. The American seas were covered with English ships of war, which in a great measure interrupted the

the illicit commerce between the British colonies and the French and Spanish settlements. This occasioned affecting representations to be sent from across the Atlantic. The colonists complained that all the British ships of war were now converted into guardacostas, and their commanders into so many custom-house officers, who seized every foreign ship carrying gold and silver to be exchanged for British commodities; and they asserted that, if this resource by which they were supplied with specie from France and Spain was cut off, it would be impossible for them to make their remittances to England.

The universality of these complaints engaged the ministry to mitigate the rigour of the orders which they had sent out at the conclusion of the peace to the West-India governors, and commanders of ships, for annoying the contraband trade of the colonies with France and Spain. The navy of Great-Britain was thus delivered from a service, which was in some measure unworthy of that dignity and splendour by which it had been distinguished; and few vessels were henceforth employed in an undertaking which was more suitable to the naval greatness of this island.

It had long been a question with the learned, whether the unexplored part of the southern hemisphere contained another continent, or whether so great a part of the globe exhibited only an immense expanse of water. The former opinion seemed to be rendered probable by analogical reasoning concerning the geography of the earth, and received some additional strength from the various discoveries of new lands in those remote parts, by the several commercial powers who held possessions in America. The English, Portuguese, Dutch, and French navigators had distinguished themselves, for above two centuries, in this immense field of enterprise; and, although they failed in all their attempts to determine the main question, they met with such a variety of new objects as gave rise to other questions, and excited fresh curiosity. Soon after the accession of his present majesty to the throne, a design was formed of sending out vessels for examining with particular attention the wonders of the southern hemisphere, and for confirming what was true and detecting what was false in the various and contradictory accounts of former navigators. In the year 1764, the kingdom being then in a state of profound peace, the Dolphin and the Tamer, the former a ship of war of the sixth rate, and the latter a sloop mounting sixteen guns, were dispatched for this purpose, under the command of commodore Byron, who in pursuance of his instructions, sailed from the Downs on the 21st of June; and having visited the Falkland islands, passed through the Straits of Magellan into the Pacific Ocean, where he discovered the islands of Disappointment, George, Prince of Wales, Danger, York island, and Byron island. He returned to England in the month of May in the year 1766—having determined in the course of



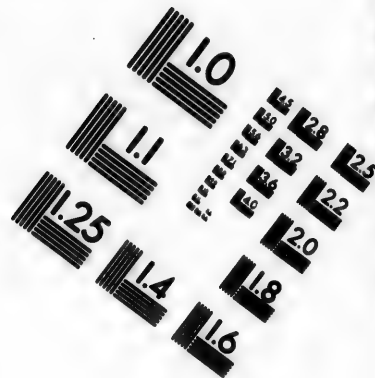
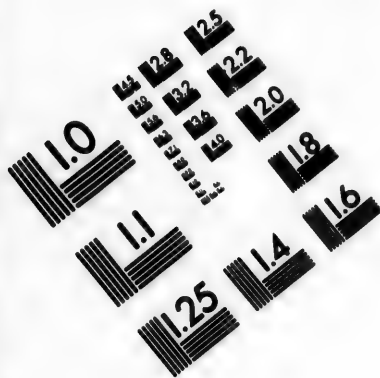
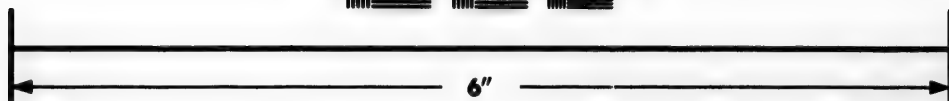
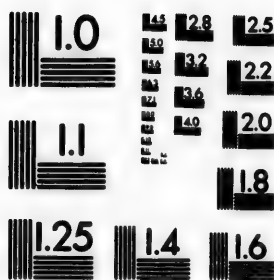


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this long navigation many doubtful points, the result of which is highly interesting to the public, and may be of great importance to future navigators.

Commodore Byron came in sight of Cape Frio on the coast of Brazil on the 11th of September, and anchored the day following in the great road of Rio de Janeiro. This city is governed by the viceroy of Brazil, who received the English officers with a ceremonious politeness. The people aboard the commodore's ship, having been supplied with fresh provisions and greens every day, were very healthy ; but there being many sick aboard the *Tamer*, a place was appointed for them on shore, where they soon recovered. On the 16th of October both ships weighed anchor ; and the crews were impatient to get to sea, in order to avoid the excessive heats which prevail on that coast. They were obliged, however, to remain five days above the bar, waiting for the land breeze ; nor was it without much difficulty, they got out at last, on account of the narrowness of the entrance between the two first forts, which renders the passage so dangerous that the ships must have been lost, had they followed the advice of the Portuguese pilot. During the delay at Rio de Janeiro several English sailors were decoyed by the Portuguese to leave their respective ships. This is a common practice on the coast of Brazil, especially at Rio de Janeiro, where the Portuguese, carrying on a great trade, spare no pains, nor labour, nor deceit to entice foreign seamen to enter into their service.

The commodore, having lost sight of the coast of Brazil on the 22d of October, called all hands upon deck, and informed them that he was not, as they imagined, bound immediately to the East-Indies, but upon certain discoveries, which it was thought might be of great importance to our country, in consideration of which the lords commissioners of the admiralty had been pleased to promise them double pay, and several other advantages, if during the voyage they should behave themselves to his satisfaction. They all expressed the greatest joy upon the occasion ; assured him they would undergo with cheerfulness every difficulty and danger in the service of their country, and obey his orders with the utmost zeal. The commodore continued to steer his course towards the south ; and on the 11th November found himself in the latitude, 42 degrees, 34 minutes south ; longitude, 58 degrees 17 minutes west. While he was in the latitude of 35 degrees 50 minutes, he found the weather as cold as it is in the same season in England, although the month of November is a spring month in the southern hemisphere, answering to the month of May in Europe ; and they were 20 degrees nearer the line than we are in Britain ; so much colder is it towards the southern regions of the earth. The people on the fore-castle were frequently deceived with the appearance of land.

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On the 12th November they called out at once, " Land right
" a-head." The commodore looked forward under the foresail,
and saw what at first appeared to be an island, rising in two rude
craggy hills. He sent officers to the mast-head who called out
that they saw land a great way to the windward. As they con-
tinued their navigation, the land still kept the same appearance,
and the hills looked blue, as they generally do at a distance.
Many of the seamen said they saw the sea break upon the sandy
beaches ; but having steered for above an hour, what they had
taken for land vanished at once, and, to their great astonishment,
appeared to have been a fog bank. After this extraordinary dis-
appointment the commodore shaped his course for Cape Blanco,
which he discovered on the 17th, but after two days sailing was
still at a loss for Port Desire, no description being more confused
than that which Sir John Narborough had given of that harbour.
On the 20th he discovered an island, which corresponded with
Narborough's description of Penguin island ; and in the evening
saw a remarkable rock, rising from the water's edge like a
steeple, on the south side of the entrance of Port Desire. This
rock is an excellent land-mark for the harbour, which is other-
wise very difficult to find. During his stay at this place, which
was till the 5th of December, the commodore ordered every
part of it to be founded, and found that there is no danger but
what may be seen at low water. He discovered several wells
of fresh water at a small distance from the beach, and found
great quantities of guanicoes and wild fowl. Here is also such
plenty of excellent muscles, that a boat may be loaded with
them every trip at low water ; and in some parts of the coast
there are bushes which might produce a tolerable supply of
fuel. On the whole, Port Desire would be a very convenient
place for ships to touch at, if it were not for the rapidity of the
current.

Having unmoored on the 5th December, they proceeded in
search of Pepy's island, which is said in Cowley's voyage to lie in
47 degrees south latitude. But they sought for it during several
days in vain, and were at length obliged by hard weather to steer
for the Cape Virgin Mary, the north entrance of the Straits of
Magellan. On the 20th they ran close in shore to this cape,
there being a long spit of sand running to the southward. In the
evening they brought up close to this spit of sand, having seen
many guanicoes feeding in the vallies, and a great smoke all the
afternoon. At this place the Dolphin anchored, but the Tamer,
not being able to fetch the anchoring ground, kept under way
all night. However, both vessels anchored next morning two
miles from the shore. This was the coast of Patagonia, which,
according to very early accounts, was said to be inhabited by a
race of giants ; but the veracity of these accounts had become
doubtful, from the contradictory assertions of many later navi-
gators who had been on that coast. and had never met with any

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men of an extraordinary stature. This circumstance naturally engaged the commodore's attention. When his ship, therefore, had come to an anchor, he saw exactly what had happened to the crew of the *Wager*, as mentioned in the account written by Mr. Bulkeley of her voyage. A great number of horsemen rode backwards and forwards directly abreast of the ship, waving in their hands something white as an invitation for them to come on shore. The commodore, being, extremely desirous to know what these people were, ordered out his twelve-oared boat, and went towards the beach with Mr. Marshal his second lieutenant, and a party of men well armed, Mr. Cumming his first lieutenant following in the six-oared cutter. When they came within a short distance of the shore, they saw above 500 people, some on foot, but the greater part on horseback, who continued waving and hallooing, as invitations to land. They appeared to be entirely unarmed; but the commodore made signs to them to remove to a little distance, with which they immediately complied. The English then landed, and were drawn up on the beach, where the commodore ordered them to continue, while he alone went forward towards the Indians, who retired as he approached. He therefore again made signals that one of them should come near, which one of them who appeared to be a chief, immediately complied with. He was of a gigantic stature, and seemed to realize in part the tales of Polyphemus of old. He had the skin of a wild beast thrown over his shoulders, and his face was painted so as to make a most hideous appearance. The commodore did not measure him, but supposes his height to have been about seven feet. With this frightful Colossus he marched forward to join the rest, who still continued at a distance, as they had been desired. Mr. Byron made signs for them to sit down, which they readily obeyed. There were among them several women proportionably large, and few of the men seemed less than the chief who had first come forward. They received with much pleasure the trinkets which were distributed among them, and behaved in a most regular and orderly manner; no one testifying the least impatience or displeasure, that his neighbour was served before him, or that his present was better than his own. They made signs for the commodore to go along with them, and offered him one of their horses; but he made them understand that he must return to his ship, at which they expressed great concern. During the pantomimical conference, an old man often laid his head down upon the stones, and shutting his eyes for about half a minute, first pointed to his mouth, and afterwards to the hills, meaning probably, that if the strangers could stay all night, he would bring them some provisions. These people are not only tall, but well proportioned: except the skins which they wore with the hair inwards, most of them were naked, a few only having on their legs a kind of boot, with a short pointed stick fastened

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fastened to each heel, which served as a spur. When the commodore, and some of his people who had by this time come up, thought proper to leave them, not one of them offered to follow, but continued to remain in the same position in which they had been placed. They had a great number of dogs, with which they probably hunt the wild animals which serve them for food. Their horses were not large, nor in good case, yet they appeared to be nimble and well broken. The bridle was a leathern thong, with a small piece of wood that served for a bit, and the saddles resembled the pads, which are used among the country people in England. The women rode astride, and both men and women without stirrups; yet they galloped fearlessly over the spit upon which the English landed, the stones of which were large, loose and slippery.

Mr. Byron, having quitted this part of the coast, and being in latitude 51 degrees south, and longitude 63 degrees 22 minutes west, observed on the 14th of January a low flat island, full of high tufts of grass resembling bushes. He continued his course along the shore of this island about six leagues, and then saw another island low and rocky. On the former he discovered one of the finest harbours in the world, which he named Port Egmont in honour of the Earl, who presided at the board of admiralty. The mouth of this harbour is south-east, distant seven miles from the rocky island, which is a good mark to know it by. In every part of Port Egmont, where the whole navy of England might ride in perfect safety, there is great plenty of fresh water; and geese, ducks, snipes and other birds are so numerous, that the ship's company grew tired of them. Here are wild celery and wood sorrel in the greatest abundance, besides many other refreshments, which are in the highest degree salutary to those who have contracted scorbutic disorders during a long voyage. Nor is there any want of mussels, clams, cockles and limpets; the seals and penguins are innumerable, and it is impossible to walk on the beach without first driving them away. The coast, also, abounds with animals of a more dangerous kind. There are sea lions of an enormous size; and a very fierce quadruped resembling a wolf. The fangs of this creature are remarkably long and sharp; and it is so fierce as to run against every animal that it sees. It is not easy to guess how this quadruped should have got to these islands, which are distant at least one hundred leagues from the continent. The first navigator who visited those parts is supposed to be captain Davis, the associate of Cavendish, in 1592. In 1594, Sir Richard Hawkins saw land, supposed to be the same, and, in honour of his mistress Queen Elizabeth, called them Hawkins's Maiden Land. Long afterwards they were seen by some French ships from St. Maloes; and Frezier, probably for that reason, called the Malouins, a name which has since been adopted by the

the Spaniards. Commodore Byron thinks there is little reason to doubt they are the same called Pepys Islands by Cowley; and he took possession of Port Egmont and all the neighbouring islands for his majesty king George the third, by the name of Falkland Islands.

Commodore Byron having examined those parts with a degree of attention that had never been before bestowed on them, made sail for Port Desire, and on the 6th of February saw land, and stood in for the port. During the run from Falkland Islands to this place, the number of whales about the ship was so great as to render the navigation dangerous. On the 14th he put to sea, in order to go through the Straights of Magellan, and to examine with attention the principal bays and harbours formed by the coast on each side. He entered the Strait the 17th of February, and quitted it the 9th of April, having employed seven weeks and two days in the voyage, which was attended with incredible difficulties and dangers. These, however, were to be ascribed entirely to his entering the Strait near the time of the equinox, when the worst weather was to be expected: but at a proper season of the year, not only a single vessel but a whole squadron might pass the Strait in less than three weeks. One great advantage of this passage above the doubling Cape Horn, is the facility with which fish is almost every where to be procured, with wild celery, scurvy grass, berries, and many other vegetables.

Having cleared the Strait he pursued his course to the westward, and on the 9th of May, being in latitude 26 degrees 46 minutes south, longitude 94 degrees 45 minutes west, determined to steer a north west course until he got the trade wind, and then to stand to the westward till he should fall in with Solomon's Islands, if any such there were, or make some new discovery. On the 31st there was a great number of birds about the ship, which made him conclude the land was at no great distance. But none was discovered till the 7th of June, in latitude 14 degrees 5 minutes south, longitude 144 degrees 58 minutes west. Then a small island was observed at the distance of some leagues. In a very short time another island was discovered to windward, much larger than the first. The ship stood for the small island, which had a most beautiful appearance, being surrounded with a beach of the finest white sand, and within covered with tall trees, which extended their shade to a great distance. It seemed to be about five miles in circumference, and from each end of it a spit runs into the sea, upon which the surge broke with great violence. The natives appeared on the beach with spears in their hands, at least sixteen feet long. They made large fires, probably for signals, as the same appeared immediately after on the large island. The commodore sailed round this

this island, but to the great regret and disappointment of the ship's company no anchoring place could be found within less than a cable's length of the shore, which was surrounded close to the beach with a steep coral rock. The sailors, distressed with the scurvy, saw cocoa nuts in great abundance, the milk of which is perhaps the greatest antiscorbutic in the world. They had reason to believe that there were limes, bananas, and other fruits which are generally found between the tropics; and, to increase their mortification, they saw the shells of many turtles scattered about the shore. Having viewed this forbidden paradise with sensations of inexpressible distress, they wrought up to the other island, which was discovered to be equally inaccessible. They perceived several other low islands, or rather peninsulas, most of them being joined one to the other by a neck of land very narrow, and almost level with the surface of the water. Here the cocoa trees are easily discovered, being higher than any other part of the surface. A boat being sent to sound the lee side of these islands for an anchoring place, the Indians ran down in great numbers to the shore, armed with long spears and clubs, and making use of many threatening gestures. A gun was fired over their heads, which made them fly to the woods; but the boat returned without being able to discover any soundings close in with the surf, which broke very high upon the shore. The commodore thus finding it impossible to obtain any refreshment here, named this cluster of isles the Islands of Disappointment, and continued his voyage to the westward.

Land was again discovered in less than twenty-four hours, at the distance of six leagues. In the morning of the 10th of June, being within three miles of the shore, they perceived it to be a long low island, with a white beach, of a pleasant appearance, full of cocoa nut and other trees. It was surrounded with a rock of red coral, and the natives behaved in the same hostile manner as those of the Islands of Disappointment. No anchoring place was to be found, nor was it possible to establish any friendly intercourse with the Indians. When the vessel came to the westernmost point of this island the sailors observed another about four leagues distant. They visited every part of its coasts, but could find no soundings. The boats having approached very near the shore, made signs to the natives, who appeared in great numbers, that they wanted water. The Indians readily understood them, and directed them to run down farther along the shore. Some of them swam off to our boats, carrying cocoa nuts, and water in the shells. The principal object of the boats was to obtain some pearls; and the men, to assist them in explaining their meaning, had taken with them some of the pearl-oyster shells, which they had found in great numbers upon the coast.

coast. But all their endeavours to make themselves understood by the Indians were ineffectual; and as no anchorage could be found for the ships, the commodore proceeded to the westward, having named these islands, which are situated in latitude 14 degrees 41 minutes south, longitude 149 degrees 15 minutes west, King George's Islands.

On the day following, that is the 13th of June, about three o'clock in the afternoon, land was again discovered, bearing S. W. distant about six leagues. The commodore stood for it, and found it to be a low and very narrow island, lying east and west, with a very green and pleasant appearance, but a dreadful surf breaking on every part of it. It abounds with inhabitants, is about twenty leagues in length, and lies in latitude 15 degrees south, and the westernmost point of it in longitude 151 degrees 53 minutes west. To this place, which was every where inaccessible, the commodore gave the name of the Prince of Wales Island.

From the western extremity of this island he steered towards the north-west, and, on the 16th, saw vast flocks of birds, which always took their flight to the southward when evening came on. This appearance, as well as the observation that all the little islands which had been discovered, were full of inhabitants, made it probable, that there was a continent, or at least some large islands to the southward. But the sickness of the ship's crew made it impossible for them to pursue their discoveries in that direction. On the 21st of June they were in latitude 12 degrees 33 minutes south, longitude 167 degrees 47 minutes west, and next morning discovered a most dangerous reef of breakers, at the distance of a league. Land was seen a little afterwards from the mast-head, having the appearance of three islands, with rocks and broken ground between them. The south-east of these islands is about three leagues in length between the extreme points, from both which a reef runs out, upon which the sea breaks to a tremendous height. The islands themselves had a more fertile and beautiful appearance than any before discovered, and, like the rest, swarmed with people, whose habitations were seen standing in clusters all along the coast, which is unfortunately surrounded in such a manner by rocks and breakers, that it cannot be approached without the most imminent danger. The commodore, therefore, named these the Islands of Danger. They lie in latitude 10 degrees 15 minutes south, longitude 169 degrees 28 minutes west.

He steered from thence N. W. by W. and on the 24th discovered another island bearing S. S. W. distant about seven or eight leagues. It appeared, upon approaching nearer to it, to be low, and covered with wood, among which were cocoa-nut trees in great abundance. It is near thirty miles in circumference;

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rence ; a dreadful sea breaks upon almost every part of the coast, where no anchorage is to be found. The commodore sent out the boats with orders to land, if possible, and procure some refreshments for the sick. They brought off about 200 cocoa nuts, which, to persons afflicted with the scurvy, were an inestimable treasure. They reported, that there was no sign of the island's ever being inhabited. They found thousands of sea-fowl sitting upon their nests, which were built in high trees ; and these birds were so tame, that they suffered themselves to be knocked down, without taking to flight. The commodore was at first inclined to believe that this island was the same, that in the *Neptune Françoise* is called Maluita, and laid down about a degree to the eastward of the great island of St. Elizabeth, the principal of the Solomon's islands ; but being afterwards convinced of the contrary, he called it the Duke of York's Island.

He continued his course till the 29th, in the track of Solomon's islands, but found no reason to believe that any such existed in the situation assigned them by the French. He discovered, however, on the 2d of July, an island bearing north, distant about six leagues. Next morning it was found to be low and flat, of a delightful appearance, and full of wood, among which the cocoa-nut tree was very conspicuous. It is extremely populous, and the natives, in more than sixty canoes, put off from the shore and made towards the ship, which lay by to receive them. " After these Indians," says the commodore, " had gazed at us some time, one of them suddenly jumped out of his proa, swam to the ship, and ran up the side like a cat ; as soon as he had stepped over the gunwale, he sat down upon it, and burst into a violent fit of laughter, then started up, and ran all over the ship, attempting to steal whatever he could lay his hands upon, but without success, for being stark naked it was impossible for him to conceal his booty for a moment. Our seamen put on him a jacket and trowsers, which produced great merriment, for he had all the gestures of a monkey newly dressed ; we also gave him bread, which he eat with a voracious appetite, and after having played a thousand antic tricks, he leaped overboard, jacket and trowsers and all, and swam back to his proa. After this several others swam to the ship, ran up the side to the gun-room ports, and having crept in, snatched up what ever lay in their reach, and immediately leaped again into the sea, and swam away at a great rate, though some of them, having both hands full, held up their arms quite out of the water to prevent their plunder from being spoiled. These people are tall, well proportioned and clean limbed ; their skin is a bright copper colour, their features extremely good, and there is a
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“ mixture of intrepidity and cheerfulness in their countenances
“ that is very striking. They had long black hair, which some
“ of them wore tied up behind in a great bunch, others in three
“ knots; some of them had long beards, some only whiskers,
“ and some nothing more than a small tuft at the point of the
“ chin. They were all of them stark naked, except their orna-
“ ments, which consisted of shells, very prettily disposed and
“ strung together, and were worn round their necks, wrists, and
“ waists. One of these men, who appeared to be a person of
“ some consequence, had a string of human teeth about his waist,
“ which was probably a trophy of his military courage, for he
“ would not part with it in exchange for any thing that I could
“ offer him. Some of them were unarmed, but others had
“ one of the most dangerous weapons I had ever seen. It was
“ a kind of spear, very broad at the end, and stuck full of
“ shark’s teeth, which are as sharp as a lancet, at the sides, for
“ about three feet of its length. We showed them some cocoa
“ nuts, and made signs that we wanted more; but instead of giv-
“ ing any intimation that they could supply us, they endeavoured
“ to take away those we had.” The commodore sent out boats
to sound, and they reported that there was ground at the depth
of thirty fathom within two cables length of the shore; but as
the bottom was coral rock, and the soundings much too near
the breakers for a ship to lie in safety, he was obliged to make
fail, without procuring any refreshments. This island, to which
his officers gave the name of Byron’s Island, lies in latitude 1
degree 18 minutes south, longitude 173 degrees 46 minutes east.
Here ended the discoveries made by the *Dolphin*. She after-
wards shaped her course for the isle of Tinian, which, to her
great regret and disappointment, appeared to be no longer that
delightful place of which the elegant author of Anson’s voyage
has given so luxuriant a description. From thence she proceeded
to Batavia, and having doubled the Cape of Good Hope, pro-
ceeded on her return to England. She came to anchor in the
Downs on the 9th of May, 1766, having been just nine weeks
in coming from the Cape, and somewhat more than two and
twenty months upon the voyage round the world.

The parliament which assembled towards the close of the year
1764, voted 16,000 men to be employed in the sea service for
the year 1765, including 4287 marines; and a sum not ex-
ceeding 4l. per man per month for their maintenance. The ships
stationed in the British seas had no call to exert their activity;
but those on the coast of America were employed in the same
service which had been attended with such bad effects the pre-
ceding year. The trade of America with Great Britain had in-
creased, during the last years, and after the conclusion of the
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politicians. The Americans bought annually to the amount of three millions of British commodities. Their trade, however, was not confined to the mother country. It swelled out on every side; and having filled all its proper channels to the brim, overflowed with a rich abundance. In short, the contraband trade kept pace with the regular, and was its most natural effect. This, doubtless, was an evil; but being connected with the cause of our prosperity, it was an evil that ought to have been treated with the greatest delicacy and address. Unfortunately for the interests of the British empire on both sides of the Atlantic, a gentleman now president in the treasury, who had beheld with peculiar jealousy the increase of this contraband trade, Mr. Grenville, when first lord of the admiralty, and not strictly called upon in his official line, had presented a very strong memorial to the lords of the treasury, heavily complaining of the growth of the illicit trade in America. We have already hinted at the bad consequences arising from the attempt to put an entire stop to the commerce between the British and Spanish colonies. These were seen and acknowledged even by administration. A law was made therefore, the 5th of April, 1764, which rendered legal, in some respects, the intercourse between the different establishments in the new world. But the same law loaded this commerce with very heavy impositions, and ordered the money arising from these to be paid in specie, into the British exchequer. While it was thought expedient to fit out armed cutters, under the command of sea officers, to prevent smuggling in the British seas, the naval commanders on the coasts of America were employed in rendering effectual the late commercial regulations. These gentlemen could not be supposed to become acquainted with all the forms which this business required. They were unacquainted with the cases in which ships were liable to penalties; nor did they better understand those cases in which they were even exempted from detention. Hurried on by the natural violence of their dispositions, and acting with that irregular vivacity and contempt of formal rules, which they had exerted with such advantage and glory in defence of their country against the common enemy, they ruined the interests of trade, while they disappointed the expectations of the treasury. The commerce between British subjects was the first that suffered, notwithstanding that vast number and intricacy of bonds, clearances, cockets, registers, &c. which had been established to protect it. The trade carried on between the British and Spanish colonies, which was so extremely advantageous to the former, was nearly annihilated. The new-made custom-house officers seized indiscriminately, all vessels carrying on that trade, whether belonging to fellow-subjects or foreigners, which the ordinary custom-house-officers, stationed on them, had al-
 ways

ways permitted to pass unnoticed. Besides the general traffic between the English, French, and Spanish Americans, there was a particular and most advantageous trade carried on between North America and the French West Indies. It consisted chiefly in an exchange of such commodities as must otherwise have remained a drug, if not an incumbrance, on the hands of the possessors. The balance was paid in specie to North America, which, together with the balance of the Spanish trade, enabled them to make their remittances to Great Britain. This intercourse between North America and the French West India islands, was considered as so necessary to the former, that it was permitted to be maintained during the first years of the war; directly, by means of flags of truce; indirectly, through the Dutch and Danish islands; and, at length, through the Spanish porte of Monte Christi in the island of Hispaniola. When the English, towards the conclusion of the war, had obtained the most distinguished advantages, and in a manner laid siege to all the French West India islands, government determined to put a stop to this intercourse, not so much in the light of a contraband trade, as in that of a treasonable practice, without which it would be impossible for these valuable islands to hold out against our attempts to reduce them. When the war concluded, the arguments of treason ceased, and this intercourse again returned to its former flourishing condition. But, upon the establishment of the new revenue laws, it sunk under the same blow which destroyed the general commercial intercourse of the new world.

Before the establishing of these laws produced any considerable effect in Great Britain, it was attended with very fatal consequences to the situation and circumstances, as well as to the temper and disposition of the colonists. Immediately on a stop being put to their trade, they came to a resolution not to buy any clothing they could possibly live without, that was not of their own manufacturing. Not having the usual returns to make to Great Britain for the woollen goods which they usually purchased from her, they adopted a plan of retrenchment dictated by necessity, and gave up all hopes of being clothed in the finery of their mother country. The resolution taken with regard to this article was rendered general by a vote of the house of commons, which followed the law imposing new duties upon their foreign trade: "That, towards farther defraying the necessary expences of protecting the colonies, it may be proper to charge certain stamp-duties upon them." When this determination of the British legislature was known in America, the inhabitants entered into associations, not only to abide by their former resolution taken in consequence of the interruption of their trade by the naval custom-house officers, but to encourage

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as much as possible all kinds of manufacture within them-
 selves. These measures were despised by the ministry, who
 concluded that because the wool of the colonies is not so good
 as that of Great Britain, it would be impossible for them not to
 depend upon her for that article; and because the other commo-
 dities which they purchased from this country were such as it
 would be extremely inconvenient for them to want, they must
 be soon disgusted with an agreement, entered into in a moment
 of resentment, which must be more distressing to themselves
 than injurious to the mother country. But the firm perseverance
 of the colonies in adhering to the principles of their association,
 proved the weakness of this reasoning. They were ready to
 submit to every other hardship rather than yield to what they
 deemed an infringement of their liberties.

In consequence of this general disposition of persons of all
 ranks in these colonies, great evils began to be felt, and still great-
 er to be apprehended. A temporary interruption of commercial
 intercourse between England and America immediately took place,
 which could not fail to be extremely prejudicial to the former.
 The numerous body employed in preparing, buying, or trans-
 porting goods to the American market, were deprived of em-
 ployment. While individuals were reduced to beggary, the re-
 venue suffered in proportion by the want of the export and import
 duties. Yet neither these evils, nor the fear of totally alienating
 America from the interest of Great Britain, deterred the ministry
 from passing that law, the bare suspicion of which had occa-
 sioned such disgust. The stamp-act made its way through both
 houses, and received the royal assent by commission, the 22d of
 March, 1765.

The news of this unfortunate event first reached the province
 of New-England, which of all the English colonies has ever
 had the strongest bent towards republican licentiousness. The
 fullen obstinacy and hatred which already possessed them, were
 converted, by this fresh instance of what their leaders taught
 them to deem little better than tyranny, into the most violent
 fury, which every where broke out into action. The ships in
 the harbour hoisted their colours half mast high, in token of the
 deepest mourning; the bells rang muffled; the populace treated
 the act with the most licentious contempt; many of the better
 sort gradually mixed in these tumultuous acts, proceeded to avow
 it themselves in the most expressive terms, grounding it on the
 same arguments which their friends on this side the water had
 already used to prove it. The history of what follows is that of
 the disgrace of Great Britain. The ministry, whether unwilling
 or unable to support by force of arms the law which they had
 thought proper to enact, resigned their places. Their succes-
 sors yielded to the storm, instead of resisting it, while resistance

could

could yet be effectual. They obtained a momentary popularity by repealing the stamp-act, which had been so offensive to the colonies, and so hurtful to a considerable part of the trading interest of Great Britain. But the factious, turbulent spirit which had taken possession of the former, was far from being mollified by the lenient concessions in their favour, and the great consideration shewn to their circumstances by their legislature. The ministry, whose debility or moderation had tended to confirm them in their disregard to the authority of parliament, did not long continue in office. But the effects of their administration were permanent. The colonies were no longer satisfied in committing private acts of outrage; they did not content themselves with showing disrespect to their governors and other servants of the crown; but openly set at defiance the power of the whole legislative body. Even the assembly of New York, a province where the ideas of legal subordination had been long and firmly established, voted in direct opposition to an act of last session for providing the troops with necessaries in their quarters, and passed an act of assembly by which these provinces were regulated in a mode totally inconsistent with that prescribed by parliament.

Administration combated this rebellious usurpation of power by another act of the legislature, incapacitating the assembly of New York for all legal functions, till they had in every respect complied with the British regulations respecting the troops. At the same time they opposed the licentious spirit of the other provinces by new revenue laws, which, as no vigorous means were used to enforce them, were as nugatory as the former. The Rockingham administration repealed the stamp-act, but asserted the right of taxation; their successors (the Duke of Grafton was now at the head of the treasury) exercised this right, by laying duties on the importation of glass, paper, and some other commodities, into the colonies. The officers appointed to collect this revenue were every where treated like criminals; and the authority of Great Britain was totally disregarded. Besides the tumultuous riots which happened in particular parts, the general temper and conduct of the whole people became every day more licentious. That republican spirit, which is as inconsistent with the genuine principles of the British constitution as it is agreeable to the wild doctrines and levelling principles in which the inhabitants of Boston had been nursed, began first openly to display itself in that capital. Having adopted resolutions of a nature the most violent and factious, the assembly there sent a circular letter, signed by the speaker, the 11th of February, 1768, to all the other assemblies of North America. In this they expatiated largely on the natural rights of men and the tyranny of the British legislature, and they summoned the colonies to unite in

in one common cause for maintaining their privileges inviolate. This letter was answered by many of the provinces in a similar tone ; and the flame of rebellion began to spread over the whole North American continent.

One vigorous measure gave it a considerable check in the place where it had first broke out. Two regiments were ordered from Ireland to support the authority of parliament over the inhabitants of Boston, and several detachments from different parts of the continent rendezvoused at Halifax for the same purpose. Upon the first rumour of these movements, the Bostonians were as much alarmed as if they had been on the point of suffering all the horrors of invasion from a cruel foreign enemy. The assembly, or convention, which on many occasions had treated not only their governor, but even the parliament of Great Britain with the most indecent asperity of expression, drew up a memorial in terms of great moderation, disclaiming all pretence to any authority whatever, and advising and recommending it to the people to pay the greatest deference to government, and to wait with patience the result of his majesty's wisdom and clemency for a redress of their grievances. If the most unhappy infatuation had not prevailed over the councils of Great Britain, the sudden change produced by this appearance of vigour, might have opened the eyes of administration, and taught them that coercive measures alone could reduce the Americans to a sense of their duty. But instead of pushing the advantage which they had obtained, in order to destroy the very seeds of rebellion, the first deceitful appearance of tranquillity made them relax their severity ; the Americans had time to recollect themselves and to recover from their panic ; and the important moment was again lost of establishing, without great effusion of blood, the sovereignty of parliament over the whole British empire.

While so little attention was bestowed on preserving the dominions of which we were already in possession, continual efforts were made for extending the limits of our territories by fresh discoveries. In August, 1766, the *Dolphin*, in which commodore Byron had circumnavigated the world, was again sent out under the command of captain Wallis, with the *Swallow*, commanded by captain Carteret. They proceeded together to the west end of the Straights of Magellan, and separated in the great southern ocean. Captain Wallis directed his course more westerly than any navigator before him had done in so high a latitude ; but he met with no land till he came within the tropic, where he discovered the islands, *Whitsunday* ; *Queen Charlotte* ; *Egmont* ; *Duke of Gloucester* ; *Duke of Cumberland* ; *Maitea* ; *Otaheite* ; *Eimeo* ; *Tapanamou* ; *Howe* ; *Scilly* ; *Boscawen* ; *Keppel*, and *Wallis* ; and returned to England in May, 1768. Captain Carteret kept a different route, in which he discovered the islands,

Osnaburgh ; Gloucester ; Queen Charlotte ; Carteret ; Gower ; and the Streight between New Britain and New Ireland ; and returned in March, 1769.

Captain Wallis having cleared the Streights of Magellan the 12th of April, 1767, proceeded westward, but did not fall in with any undiscovered land till the 6th of June. A few days before the sailors had observed several gannets, which, with the uncertainty of the weather, inclined them to believe that land was not far distant. This belief was confirmed by their seeing a great many birds on the 5th ; and the day after, being in latitude 19 degrees south, and longitude 137 west, they saw plainly from the deck a low island, at about five or six leagues distance. When they were within a few miles of this island they saw another, bearing north-west by west. The captain sent his boats manned and armed to the shore of the former, which returned in a few hours, bringing with them several cocoa nuts and a considerable quantity of scurvy gras. The crews reported, that they had seen none of the inhabitants, but had visited several huts, or rather sheds, consisting only of a roof, neatly thatched with cocoa-nut and palm leaves, supported upon posts, and open all around. They had found no anchorage, and the surf was so high that it was with difficulty they had got on shore, the whole island being surrounded with a reef of rocks, which rendered it extremely difficult of access. The captain, therefore, finding it answered no purpose to continue longer at this island, which, being discovered on Whitsun-eve, he called Whitsun-island, stood away for the other, distant about four leagues. When the ship came under the lee of the latter, the boats were immediately dispatched, but could find no soundings till within half a cable's length of the shore. They landed, however, and found the island sandy and level, full of trees, but without underwood, and abounding with scurvy gras, and wells of excellent water. As the boats approached the shore, the Indians thronged down towards the beach, and put themselves upon their defence with long pikes, as if to dispute the landing. The boats crew then lay upon their oars, and made signs of friendship, shewing at the same time several strings of beads, ribbands, knives, and other trinkets. The Indians still made signs for them to depart, but at the same time eyed the trinkets with such a wishful curiosity, as left room to expect that it might be possible to establish an intercourse. This, however, was not effected, but the boats landed, and the ship was supplied with water and other necessary refreshments. Captain Wallis took possession of the island in the name of George the Third, and named it Charlotte's Island in honour of her majesty. It is about six miles long, and one broad, and lies in latitude 19 degrees 18 minutes south, longitude

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tude 138 degrees 4 minutes west. The same day that they left this place they discovered another island, bearing east by north, distant fifteen miles. Here the sea breaks over a reef of rock, running from east to west, and forms itself into a lagoon in the middle of the island, which is low, covered with trees, but without any huts or inhabitants. The Indians belonging to Charlotte Island had fled thither in their canoes when the English landed on their coast; and seeing their enemies, as they imagined, pursuing them to this place, they left their women and children on the beach, and advanced with pikes and firebrands, making a great noise, and dancing in a strange manner. The soil of this island was sandy, there is no verdure under the trees, the shore every where rocky, and no anchorage. The captain therefore left a place where there was no prospect of obtaining any refreshment, having first named it Egmont Island in honour of the first lord of the admiralty. It lies in latitude 19 degrees 20 minutes south, longitude 138 degrees 30 minutes west.

On the 11th of June, about mid-day, they saw an island, bearing west south-west, and stood for it. At four in the afternoon they were within a quarter of a mile of the shore, but could find no soundings, the island being surrounded by rocks, on which the sea breaks very high. As to appearance, soil, and inhabitants, it differed little from the islands which they had just left. The captain named it Gloucester Island, in honour of his royal highness the duke of that name. It lies in latitude 19 degrees 11 minutes south, longitude 140 degrees 4 minutes west.

In sailing westward the captain discovered two other small islands, the first of which he named after the duke of Cumberland, and the second after Prince William Henry. These, however, had nothing to recommend them above those already mentioned; so that he continued to proceed westward, in hopes of finding higher land, where the ship might come to an anchor, and such refreshments as they stood in need of be procured. On the 17th he discovered high land, with frequent fires, which proved it to be inhabited. This also was an island, nearly circular, above two miles in diameter. There was no anchorage to be found, but the inhabitants appeared more numerous than the smallness of the place could support, which gave hopes that there were lands of greater extent not far distant, which might be less difficult of access. The captain having named this island, which lies in latitude 17 degrees 51 minutes south, longitude 147 degrees 30 minutes west, Osnaburgh, in honour of Prince Frederic, bore away to the south-west; and the same day discovered very high land in the west-south-west. This was the famous island of O-Taheite, which captain Wallis named King

George the Third's Island. It consists of two principal divisions, which are united by a narrow neck of land. The circumference of both is about forty leagues, lying in latitude 17 degrees 46 minutes south, and longitude 149 degrees 13 minutes west. The Dolphin happened to approach this coast the 18th of June, during a thick fog; and the crew were much surprised, when it cleared away, to find themselves in the middle of some hundreds of canoes. The Indians, who assembled to the number of many thousands, behaved at first in a friendly manner; one of them holding up a branch of the plantain tree as a token of peace. But afterwards having surrounded the ship with a number of canoes loaded with stones, they began, on a signal given, to throw them with great violence, which obliged the captain to order some guns to be fired. The terror of the firearms soon made them desist from hostilities; and an intercourse was established, by which the English procured hogs, fowls, bread, fruit, apples, bananas and cocoa nuts, in exchange for nails, hatchets and various trinkets, which the Indians held in great value. The Dolphin lay off this island from the 24th of June to the 27th of July; during which the English examined the interior parts as well as the coast, which they found to be luxuriantly fertile and extremely populous. The inhabitants are well lodged, and clothed with a stuff made of the macerated fibres of a shrub which grows in great abundance in their country. They are of the ordinary European size, a tawny complexion, the men well made and the women handsome. Captain Wallis could not discover what were their religious sentiments, or whether they entertained any ideas of superior and invisible powers. But having become somewhat acquainted with them, he found them not only just in their dealings, but generous and humane; and so extremely susceptible of attachment, that several of them, especially the queen of the island, were exceedingly afflicted when their visitants were obliged to depart.

After leaving this island, which has been examined with more attention in later voyages, the captain steered his course for Tinnian. In his way thither he fell in with several small islands, none of which afforded good anchorage. The principal of them is Boscawen's Island, lying in latitude 15 degrees 50 minutes south, longitude 175 degrees west; Keppel's Isle, in latitude 15 degrees 55 minutes south, longitude 175 degrees 3 minutes west; and Wallis's Isle, in latitude 13 degrees 18 minutes south, longitude 177 degrees west. The boats, in examining the last, found that in two or three places there is anchorage in eighteen, fourteen, and twelve fathom, upon sand and coral, without a reef of rocks which surrounded the island. There is also a breach in this reef, about sixty fathom broad; and a ship,

if pressed with necessity, might anchor here in eight fathom, but it is not safe to moor within a greater length than half a cable. The plans of all these islands were delivered by the captain on his return into the hands of the admiralty, with their longitudes and latitudes so accurately laid down, that succeeding navigators had no difficulty in finding them.

Captain Carteret, as we have already mentioned, separated from his companion after passing the Straights of Magellan, and steered a course considerably nearer to the equator. On the 26th of July, 1767, being in latitude 10 degrees south, longitude 167 degrees west, he was in hopes of falling in with some of the islands called Solomon's Islands, this being the latitude in which the southermost of them is laid down. What increased this expectation was the seeing a number of sea birds, which often hovered about the ship; but the captain was not so fortunate as to meet with any land; and as he sailed over the southern limits of that part of the ocean in which Solomon's Islands are said to lie, and Commodore Byron, in the voyage formerly described, had traversed the northern without finding them, there is reason to conclude, that, if there be any such islands, their situation in all our charts is erroneously laid down.

Captain Carteret continued his voyage, nearly in the same parallel, towards the west; but did not discover land till the 12th of August, when he fell in with a cluster of islands, of which he counted seven. Having anchored at about three cables length from the shore, he soon observed some of the natives, who were black, with woolly heads, and stark naked. A boat was dispatched in search of a watering place, at which the natives disappeared; and the boat returned with an account that there was a fine run of fresh water abreast of the ship, and close to the beach, but that the whole country in that part being almost an impenetrable forest, the watering would be very dangerous if the natives should endeavour to prevent it; that there were no esculent vegetables for the refreshment of the sick, nor any habitations as far as the country had been examined, which was wild, foresty and mountainous. The captain therefore tried some other places, where the sailors saw hogs, poultry, cocoa-nut trees, plantains, bananas, and a great variety of other vegetable productions, as they sailed along the shore. Unfortunately, however, an unhappy dispute arose between the boat's crew and the natives, who defended themselves bravely with bows and arrows, which they shot in regular platoons. This prevented all friendly intercourse; and the ships company were so much weakened by disease, that they could not hope to obtain what they wanted by force. The captain gave the general name of Queen Charlotte Islands to the whole cluster, and assigned particular names to the most remarkable. That which he called

called *Howe's* lies in latitude 11 degrees 10 minutes south, longitude 164 degrees 43 minutes east. Egmont Island lies in latitude 10 degrees 40 minutes south, longitude 164 degrees 49 minutes east. The east sides of these two islands, which lie exactly in a line with each other, including the passage between them of four miles, extend about eleven leagues; both of them appear to be fertile, and afford a very agreeable prospect, being covered with tall trees of a beautiful verdure. Lord Howe's Island, though more flat and even than the other, is notwithstanding high land. At the distance of about thirteen leagues from the north-east point of Egmont Island is another of a stupendous height, and a conical figure; the top of which is shaped like a funnel, emitting smoke, though no flame. This he called *Volcano Island*. To a low flat land, which, when Howe and Egmont islands were right a-head, bore north-west, he gave the name of *Keppel's Island*. It lies in latitude 10 degrees 15 minutes south, longitude 165 degrees 4 minutes east. The largest of two others to the south-east he called *Lord Edgecumb's Island*, the small one *Perry's Island*; the other islands, of which there are several, he did not particularly name.

As all hopes of obtaining refreshment in those parts were at an end, and the ship was not in a condition of pursuing her voyage to the southward, the captain gave orders to steer north, hoping to refresh at the country which Dampier has named *Nova Britannia*. Accordingly he sailed from Egmont Island the 18th of August, with a fresh trade wind; and on the 20th discovered a flat low land, in latitude 7 degrees 56 minutes south, longitude 158 degrees 56 minutes east, which he called *Gower's Island*. Here, to the great mortification of all on board, no anchorage could be found, but some cocoa-nuts were purchased from the natives, who approached the ship in their canoes. They were in every respect the same sort of people that had been met with in the neighbouring places. The night was exceedingly dark, and by day-break a current had set the ship considerably to the southward of the island, and in sight of two others, situated nearly east and west of each other. That to the east is much the smallest, and was named *Simpson's island*. The other is lofty, has a stately appearance, lies in latitude 8 degrees 26 minutes south, longitude 159 degrees 14 minutes east, and its length from east to west is above six leagues. It was named by the officers *Carteret's island*, in honour of their commander. A boat was sent on shore, which the natives endeavoured to cut off, and hostilities having thus commenced, the English seized their canoe, in which they found an hundred cocoa nuts. The canoe was large enough to carry eight or ten men, neatly built, adorned with shell-work and figures rudely painted.

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The people were armed with bows and arrows, and spears pointed with flints. By some signs which they made, it appeared that they were not wholly unacquainted with the use of fire-arms. Like the inhabitants of the neighbouring islands they were quite naked and equally dexterous at swimming and managing their canoes. In the following days the ship found no soundings at the small islands which she fell in with, and which the captain supposes to be those called Ohang Java, discovered by Tasman. They are nine in number, and to the north lie two others which are mentioned by no preceding navigator, and which the captain named Sir Charles Hardy and Winchelsea Islands. The former lies in latitude 40 degrees 50 minutes south, longitude 154 degrees east; the latter is distant about ten leagues, in the direction of south by east.

On the 26th of August they saw another large island to the northward, which was supposed to be St. John's island, discovered by Schouten, and soon after they saw high land to the westward, which proved to be Nova Britannia. The next day a north-westerly current sent them into a deep bay or gulf, which has been distinguished by Dampier by the name of St. George's bay. From this place they sailed to a little cove at several miles distance, to which they gave the name of *English cove*. Here they found wood and water in great plenty, also rock-oysters and cockles of a very large size. Higher on the shore they procured cocoa nuts, and the upper part of the tree that bears them, which is called the cabbage. This cabbage is a white, crisp, juicy substance, which, used raw, tastes somewhat like a chestnut, but, when boiled, is superior to the best parsnip. For each of these cabbages they were obliged to cut down a tree, by which means they destroyed, in the parent stock, a great deal of cocoa, which are the most powerful antiscorbutic in the world. The ship's company, who were extremely afflicted with the disorder, recovered fast, and had an opportunity of examining the neighbourhood, where the country is high and mountainous, but covered with trees of various kinds, some of which are of an enormous growth, and probably would be useful for many purposes. Among others they found the nutmeg tree in great plenty, though the nuts were not then ripe, and appeared not to be of the best kind, owing perhaps to their growing wild, and being overshadowed by taller trees. The different kinds of palm, with the beetle nut trees, various species of the aloes, canes, bamboos, and rattans, grow with wild luxuriance. The woods abound with pigeons, doves, rooks, parrots, and a large bird with black plumage, that makes a noise somewhat like the barking of a dog. The people sent out to examine the country fell in with several habitations of the natives, which appeared by the shells that were scattered

scattered about them, and the fires half consumed, to have been but very lately deserted. From the meanness of these hovels, it appeared that the inhabitants stood low even in the scale of savage life.

English Cove lies a few miles from Wallis Island, which is distant about three leagues from Cape St. George, the latitude of which is 5 degrees south, and its longitude 152 degrees 19 minutes east, about two thousand five hundred leagues due west from the continent of America. The captain weighed anchor the 7th of September, having taken possession of this country, with all its islands, bays, ports and harbours, for his majesty King George the Third. This was performed by nailing upon a high tree a piece of board, faced with lead, on which was engraved the English union flag, with the name of the ship and her commander, the name of the Cove, and the time of her coming in and sailing out of it. A boat had been sent out several times to examine the harbours of the coast, and from one of these expeditions returned with a load of cocoa-nuts, which she procured in a fine small harbour about four leagues west-north-west from English Cove. Of this harbour the captain received so agreeable accounts that he thought proper to visit it, and found that it was formed by two islands and the main. The largest, which is to the north-west, he called *Cocoa-nut Island*, and the smaller, which is to the south-east, he called *Leigh's Island*. His officers named the harbour in honour of their captain; it is by far the best station they had fallen in with during their long run from the Straights of Magellan. The captain would have continued here a sufficient time to give his people all the refreshments they wanted, if the lives of all on board, in their present unhealthy condition, the quantity of ships provisions, and the shattered state of the vessel, had not depended upon their getting to Batavia while the monsoon continued to blow from the eastward.

He weighed anchor the 9th, but was again driven by winds and currents into St. George's bay, which, contrary to what had been supposed, he found instead of a bay to be a channel between two islands. This channel he found to be divided by a pretty large island, which he named in honour of the duke of York, and several small ones lying scattered around it. The land of the duke of York's Island lies level, and has a delightful appearance; the center is covered with lofty woods, and near the shore are the houses of the natives, extremely numerous, built among groves of cocoa-nut trees, the whole forming a prospect the most beautiful and romantic that can be imagined. The largest of the two islands that are divided by the channel or strait, which is about eight leagues broad, the captain left in possession of its ancient name of *New Britain*. It lies on the

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south side, and there is upon it some high land, and three remarkable hills close to each other, which he called the Mother and Daughters. To the northern island he gave the name of New Ireland, and to the streight that of St. George's Channel. Continuing to steer along the coast of New Ireland, he discovered a large island, with a pleasant appearance, very populous, which he named in honour of the Earl of Sandwich. It lies in latitude 2 degrees 53 minutes south, longitude 149 degrees 17 minutes east. All the time the ship lay of this island there was an incessant noise like the beating of a drum; and ten canoes put off from New Ireland, with about an hundred and fifty men on board. The people are black and woolly headed, but have not the flat noses and thick lips of the Africans. None of them would come on board, but conveyed such trifles as they exchanged for the nails and iron offered them by the English, upon the end of a long stick. The canoes were long, narrow, and neatly made: one of them could not be less than ninety feet; formed, however, of a single tree, rowed by three and thirty men, and without any appearances of sails. These negroes, though stark naked, except a few ornaments of shells upon their arms and legs, had their heads and beards abundantly covered with white powder.

The western extremity of New Ireland the captain named Cape Byron. It lies in latitude 2 degrees 30 minutes south, longitude 149 degrees 2 minutes east. Over against the coast of New Ireland, to the westward of Cape Byron, lies a fine large island, covered with trees, to which he gave the name of New Hanover. To the westward of New Hanover he discovered, at the distance of eight leagues, seven small islands, which were named the Duke of Portland's Islands; the middle of which lies in latitude 2 degrees 29 minutes south, longitude 148 degrees 27 minutes east. The ship was now clear of the streight, whose length from Cape St. George to Cape Byron is above eighty leagues. The necessity which pushed Captain Carteret on this discovery may be very advantageous to future navigators, as St. George's Channel is a much better and shorter passage than round all the land and islands to the northward, and refreshments of various kinds may be procured from the natives inhabiting the opposite coasts of the channel, or the islands that lie near them, for beads, ribbands, looking-glasses, and especially iron tools and cutlery ware, of which they are immoderately fond.

The captain proceeded westward the 15th of September, and the same day discovered an island of considerable extent, with many others lying on the southward. From these many canoes, crowded with Indians, paddled to the ship: they made various signs, which were repeated, to show that whatever they meant the

the same was meant to them. In order to invite them on board, the ships company held up whatever trifles they thought would give them pleasure; but they had no sooner come within reach of the people on deck, than they threw their lances at them with great force. It was necessary to repress their fury by firing small shot, with which one of them was killed, and the canoes rowed off with great expedition. In sailing along, many other canoes appeared, and behaved in the same hostile manner. From one, in which a man was killed by the shot of a musket, the rest precipitately leaped into the sea, which afforded an opportunity of seizing the canoe, which was full fifty feet long, though one of the smallest that had come out, and filled with fish, turtle, yams, and cocoa nuts. The ship being disengaged from this fierce and unfriendly people, pursued her course along the other islands, which are between twenty and thirty in number, and of considerable extent; one in particular would alone make a large kingdom. The captain, not having had an observation of the sun for several days, and there being strong currents, could not exactly ascertain their situation, but he judged the middle of the largest to lie in latitude 2 degrees 18 minutes south, longitude 146 degrees 44 minutes east, at the distance of five and thirty leagues from New Hanover. He called them *Admiralty Islands*, and, if his ship had been in better condition, and provided with proper articles for the Indian trade, he would have examined them with particular attention, especially as their appearance is very inviting, being clothed with a beautiful verdure, the woods lofty and luxuriant, interspersed with spots cleared for plantation, groves of cocoa-nut trees, and houses of the natives, who seem to be very numerous. With these islands it would be easy to establish a commercial intercourse, as the superiority of our fire-arms would soon persuade the natives that all contest was in vain; and the traffic would be advantageous on both sides, as the Indians might be supplied with many articles which they are greatly in want of, and the English might in all probability be supplied with the valuable spices produced in the Moluccas; for the Admiralty Islands lie in the same degree of latitude, and the nutmeg tree was found on the coast of New Ireland, a soil comparatively barren and rocky.

Having passed these islands the ship continued her course west by north with a fine eastern breeze, and on the 19th discovered two small islands, both low land, level and green. The nearest the captain called Durour's Island. Its latitude is about 1 degree 14 minutes south, its longitude 143 degrees 21 minutes east. At no great distance is the other, which was called Marty's Island, and two others, still smaller, lying to the south-west, were called Stephen's Islands. All these have a beautiful green appearance, are covered with trees, and replenished with inhabitants. On

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men on board, thought would within reach of them with fury by firing and the canoes, many other manner. From musket, the rest an opportunity, though one fish, turtle, aged from this along the other number, and of the make a large preservation of the ents, could not middle of the longitude 146 thirty leagues Islands, and, aided with pro-examined them earance is very the woods lofty for plantation, ves, who seem ould be easy to ty of our fire-est was in vain; les, as the In-hey are greatly ty be supplied ccas; for the, and the nut-a foil compa-er course west 9th discovered The nearest about 1 degree minutes east. Marty's Island, est, were called en appearance, abitants. On the

the 25th of September the ship fell in again with land, which proved to be three islands, the largest lying fifty miles north of the line, and in longitude 137 degrees 51 minutes east. Several canoes soon came off, filled with the natives, who, after making signs of peace, came on board without the least appearance of fear or distrust. They sold their cocoa nuts with great pleasure for small pieces of iron. They are of the Indian copper colour, their features pleasing, their teeth remarkably white and even, of the common stature, nimble, vigorous and active in a surprising degree. They are not, like the other people on all the islands that had been visited, quite naked, though they had only a slight covering for the waist, which consisted of a narrow piece of fine matting. They offered to leave a certain number of their people as pledges, if the sailors would go on shore, to which they strongly urged them; and one of them would by no means leave the ship when she pursued her course; the captain carried him to Celebes, where, being taken ill at sea, he unfortunately died. The islands from which he had been taken were remarkably small and low, the largest being no more than five miles in compass. The captain gave them the name of *Freewill Islands*, from the sociable and benevolent disposition of the natives.

The remaining route of captain Carteret to the coast of Mindanao, and from thence to the island of Celebes, had been explored by Dampier and other navigators. But the captain has rectified several mistakes which his predecessors had fallen into, particularly in the account of the streight of Macassar. He made the entrance of this streight the 14th of November, and anchored before the town of Macassar the 15th of December. In the neighbourhood of this place he obtained permission, after much altercation and many threats used with the Dutch governor, to continue a considerable time, until the crew were a little recovered from their languor and debility, and the ship put in a condition to undertake her voyage to Batavia. This voyage being successfully performed, the captain doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and had a pleasant passage to the island of St. Helena. He left this place the 24th of January, 1769, to prosecute his voyage to England; and after a month's navigation discovered a ship to leeward, in the south-west quarter, which hoisted French colours. When this ship was near enough to hail the *Swallow*, captain Carteret was surprised to hear the Frenchman mention his own name as well as that of his ship, inquiring after his health, and telling him, that after the return of the *Dolphin* to Europe, it was believed he had suffered shipwreck in the streight of Magellan, and that two ships had been sent out in quest of him. The captain asked in his turn who it was that was so well acquainted with all these particulars, and

and how this knowledge had been acquired. The Frenchman answered, that the ship was in the service of their East-India company, commanded by Mr. Bougainville, returning from the isle of France, who had got an account of the voyage of the Dolphin and Swallow from the French gazette at the Cape of Good Hope. An offer was then made of supplying the Swallow with refreshments, which was a mere verbal civility, as the ship had immediately sailed from the same places at which Mr. Bougainville himself had been supplied; and it was asked if captain Carteret had any letters to send to France. As he happened to have several, which he had received from French gentlemen at the Cape, this furnished an occasion to Mr. Bougainville to send his boat on board, which was precisely what he desired. A young officer, dressed in a waistcoat and trowsers, but whose rank captain Carteret soon found to be superior to his appearance, came down to the cabin; and being asked several questions by captain Carteret, to which he replied with great readiness and ingenuity, contrived to introduce inquiries concerning the streights of Magellan, the hardships which the Swallow had suffered in her voyage, and other topics equally interesting. These questions the captain endeavoured to elude as long as it was possible; but the queries of the young Frenchman becoming too particular and troublesome, having desired to know on what side the equator the Swallow had crossed the south seas, the captain rose up abruptly with some marks of displeasure. His visiter was going to make an apology, to prevent which captain Carteret desired him to present his compliments to Mr. Bougainville, and in return for his obliging civilities, present him with one of his arrows with which the Indians had wounded some of the English.

When the captain came on deck, he was asked by his lieutenant whether the Frenchman had entertained him with an account of his voyage. This led him to explain the general purport of their execution, upon which the lieutenant observed, that the boat's crew had not kept their secret as well as their officer, but given sufficient intimation, that they had been round the world, mentioning the different places they had touched at, and many particulars of their voyage. This disingenuous artifice of Mr. Bougainville, to draw captain Carteret into a breach of his obligation to secrecy, was unworthy of that spirit of enterprise which led him to undertake so dangerous a navigation, which he has related with so much elegance.

According to his own account, he sailed from France in November, 1766, in the frigate la Boudeuse; and having spent some time on the coast of Brazil, and at Falkland islands, got into the southern ocean, by the streights of Magellan, in January, 1768. In this ocean he discovered the four Facardines, the isle of Lanciers, Harp island, Thrum Cap, and Bow island.

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About twenty leagues farther to the west he discovered four other islands, and afterwards fell in with Otaheite, isles of Navigators, and Forlorn Hope, which to him were new discoveries. He then passed through between the Hebrides; discovered the Shoal of Diana, the land of Cape Deliverance; several small islands to the north; passed the coast of New Ireland; touched at Batavia; and arrived in France in March, 1769, about the same time that captain Carteret arrived in England.

The brilliant discoveries of captain Wallis, who returned to England in May, 1768, inspired the most sanguine hopes of completing the great purpose for which all these voyages had been undertaken. Many southern lands were already discovered, which heightened the probability of finding at length the great *Terra Australis incognita*, which had been so long sought for in vain. Among the countries which captain Wallis had discovered and explored was the island of Otaheite, the situation of which appeared extremely proper for answering a particular purpose, which the admiralty had in their view in the present expedition, besides the general design of discovering unknown lands. The year 1769 was rendered remarkable by the transit of the planet Venus over the disk of the sun; a phenomenon of the greatest importance to the sciences of astronomy, geography and navigation; and which every where engaged the attention of the learned in those branches of knowledge. In the beginning of the year 1768 the royal society presented a memorial to his majesty, setting forth the advantages to be derived from accurate observations of this transit in different parts of the world; particularly from a set of such observations made in a southern latitude, between the 140th and 180th degrees of longitude, west from the royal observatory at Greenwich; but that the society were in no condition to defray the expence necessary for equipping vessels to convey the observers to their destined stations. In consequence of this memorial the admiralty were directed by his majesty to provide proper vessels for the purpose. Accordingly, the Endeavour bark, which had been built for the coal trade, was purchased and fitted out for the southern voyage, and the command of her entrusted to lieutenant (now captain) Cook, himself a distinguished member of the royal society, and appointed by his associates, in conjunction with Mr. Charles Green the astronomer, to make the requisite observations on the transit.

Captain Cook sailed from Deptford the 30th of July, 1768, with instructions to proceed directly to Otaheite; and, after the astronomical observations should be completed, to prosecute the design of making discoveries in the Pacific ocean, by proceeding southward to the latitude of 40 degrees, and if he did not find land to continue his voyage to the west, between the latitudes of 40 degrees and 35 degrees south, till he fell in with New Zealand, which

which he was directed to explore ; and thence to return to England by such route as he should judge most convenient.

In executing these instructions, Mr. Cook endeavoured to make a direct course to Otaheite, and in part succeeded ; but when he came within the tropic he fell in with several islands, which had not been before discovered. He remained three months at Otaheite, and then visited many neighbouring islands, till then unknown. On the 6th of October, 1769, he fell in with the east side of New Zealand, and continued exploring the coast of this country till the 31st of March, 1770. He then proceeded to New Holland, and surveyed its eastern coasts, which had not been before visited ; and passing between its northern extremity and New Guinea, afterwards touched at the island of Savu, Batavia, the Cape of Good Hope and St. Helena, and arrived in England on the 12th of July, 1771.

Besides the astronomical purposes which were answered by this voyage, and the important discoveries of new lands, made in the course of the longest navigation hitherto undertaken, the expedition of captain Cook was distinguished by another circumstance particularly interesting to the lovers of philosophy. The expedition was adorned by the presence of Mr. Banks, a man of letters as well as of fortune, who was accompanied by Dr. Solander, an accomplished disciple of Linnæus. Both these gentlemen were remarkable for an extensive and accurate knowledge of natural history, and being otherwise men of liberal education and principles, they were led to make various observations, not only on the natural curiosities and productions, but on the manners, policy, religion and language of the several countries which they visited. Seldom have men of such talents possessed that spirit of daring enterprise which prompts to the discovery and examination of unknown lands. Seldom have distant countries been visited and described by philosophers ; for avarice and ambition, and not the thirst of knowledge, have generally excited to such undertakings men of a bold and hardy, but of narrow and illiberal spirit. The ingenious observations made during the course of the present voyage tend to fill up the picture of which former navigators had only sketched the outlines.

The reception which captain Cook and his companions met with from the Portuguese at Rio de Janeiro, where he put in the 13th of November in order to purchase provisions and necessaries, was most unworthy of the design in which they were engaged. That ignorant superstitious people could form no idea of the object of their voyage. The purpose of making philosophical discoveries they treated with the utmost contempt, and watched the persons of the English travellers with all the jealous severity of fear and ignorance. Mr. Cook continued his
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voyage to the Streights of Le Maire, which separates Staten Island from Terra del Fuego. He arrived at the entrance of the Streights the 14th of January, which is near the middle of summer in those parts. As the weather was calm Mr. Banks was desirous of examining the coast of the main land, and ascending a mountain which appeared at a little distance in search of plants. This was effected; but so excessive is the cold in the southern hemisphere, that, at a degree of latitude which in the summer months is temperate in Europe, all those who undertook this expedition were in danger of being frozen to death; and several of Mr. Banks's attendants actually perished.

In this miserable climate the inhabitants appeared to be the most destitute and forlorn of all human beings. They have no dwelling but a wretched hovel of sticks and grass, which not only admits the wind, but the snow and the rain. They are destitute of every convenience that is furnished by the rudest art, having no implement even to dress their food. They have no other cloathing than the skin of the seal, which is thrown over their shoulders, drawn over their feet, and worn round the waists of the women as a succedaneum for a fig-leaf. Shell-fish seems to be their only food, which being in no great plenty in any particular place, obliges them to wander perpetually in small hordes over those dreary and inhospitable regions, which appear so ill fitted to be the habitations of men. Yet these savage tribes are, perhaps, only miserable in the imaginations of those who survey them, and who, placing themselves in their situation, conceive what exquisite sufferings they would feel if reduced to the same manner of life. The wandering inhabitants of Terra del Fuego are contented with their lot. Though deprived of whatever is comfortable, they are studious to adorn their persons. Their faces are painted in various forms; the region of the eye generally white, and the rest of the face diversified with streaks of red and black.

The captain fell in with the island of Terra del Fuego about twenty leagues to the westward of the Streight of Le Maire. The Streight itself is about five leagues long and as many broad; and has a bay in the middle of it, which affords good anchorage, as well as excellent wood and water. The doubling of Cape Horn has been so much dreaded, that, in the general opinion, it is more eligible to pass through the Streight of Magellan; but captain Cook's experience seems to prove the contrary; for he was no more than thirty-three days in coming round the land of Terra del Fuego, from the east entrance of the Streight of Le Maire; whereas captain Wallis employed above three months in getting through the Streights of Magellan in the same season of the year.

Captain

Captain Cook, continuing his voyage in a north-westerly direction, observed the latitude, on the 24th of March, 1769, to be 22 degrees 11 minutes south, and longitude 127 degrees 55 minutes west. Some of the people, who were upon watch in the night, reported that they saw a log of wood pass by the ship, and that the sea, which was rather rough, became suddenly as smooth as a mill-pool. However, they fell in with no land till the 4th of April, when an island of an oval form appeared at the distance of a few leagues. They approached it on the north side within a mile, but found no bottom with 130 fathom of line. The whole is covered with trees, especially palms and cocoa-nut trees; among the groves of which the natives were seen walking in great numbers. The captain named this Lagoon island. It is situated in latitude 18 degrees 47 minutes south, and longitude 139 degrees 28 minutes west. In pursuing his voyage westward he fell in with several other inconsiderable islands at no great distance from the former. These were Thrumb-Cap, The Group, Bird Island, and Maitea, to which captain Wallis gave the name of Osnaburgh.

On the 11th of April land was seen a-head, which was known by its situation to be Otaheite, the same which is described in the voyage of captain Wallis, to which he gave the name of King George the Third's island. When the ship came near to the shore, it was immediately surrounded by the natives in their canoes, who offered cocoa nuts, fruit resembling apples, bread fruit, and some small fishes, in exchange for beads and other trifles. Soon after arrived other canoes, in which were some of those Indians who had maintained a good deal of intercourse with the crew of captain Wallis's ship, and who were immediately known to Mr. Gore, the second lieutenant, who had gone round the world with that captain. One of these ancient acquaintance came on board, and as soon as the ship was properly secured, went on shore with the captain and the other gentlemen. They were all received with many marks of friendship by the hospitable Indians, and a treaty was ratified between them by exchanging the green branches of a tree, which was the symbol of peace among many ancient and powerful nations. The ship continued on the coast of Otaheite three months, trading with the natives, and examining the island. The ordinary rate of traffic was a spike nail for a small pig, and a smaller nail for a fowl; a hatchet for a hog; and twenty cocoa nuts, or bread fruit, for a middling-sized nail. Looking-glasses, knives, and beads, are excellent articles of commerce, and for these every thing may be obtained which the natives can bestow. During the whole time that the English continued here, they lived in the most friendly intercourse with the Indians; and considered the

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Though Otaheite lies within the tropic of Capricorn, it is one of the most healthy and delightful spots in the world. The heat is not troublesome, and the air is so pure that fresh meat will keep very well for two days, and fish one day. The winds generally blow from the divisions between east and south; the tide rises but little, and being governed by the winds is extremely uncertain. The coast is of a bold elevation, rises like an amphitheatre, and the mountains every where covered with wood, present to the view the most captivating prospect. The stones all over this island appear to have been burnt; and there are other marks of violent concussions and subterraneous fires, by which the face of nature has been altered in this and the neighbouring isles. The exterior ranges of hills are sometimes barren, and contain a great quantity of yellowish clay, mixed with iron ore; but this excepted, there are no other indications of metals, or valuable minerals of any kind.

The soil of Otaheite is a rich black mould, producing spontaneously a great variety of the most excellent fruits; sugar canes, which the inhabitants eat raw; ginger, turmeric, and a great number of other excellent roots, which are unknown in other climates. The trees are the greatest curiosity of Otaheite. The Chinese paper-mulberry tree is that of which the natives make their cloth. The trunk of the bread-fruit tree, which furnishes nourishment to the whole island, is six feet in the girth, and about twenty feet to the branches. There is a species of the fig, the branches of which bending down, take fresh root in the earth, and thus form a congeries of trunks, united by a common vegetation, which have the appearance of one stock of astonishing magnitude. Another tree, covered with a dark-green foliage, bears golden apples, which resemble the anana or pine-apple in juiciness and flavour. The most beautiful tree in the world received the name of *Barringtonia*; the natives call it *buddoo*; it had a great abundance of flowers, larger than lillies, and perfectly white, excepting the tips of their numerous chives, which were of a bright crimson. The fruit, which is a large nut, has the property of various plants of tropical climates, of intoxicating fish, so that they come to the surface of the water, and suffer themselves to be taken by hand. There is a great variety of excellent fish, which, as they form the principal object of luxury, the catching of them is the main occupation of the natives. There are no venomous reptiles or troublesome insects, but ants and musquitos. Besides poultry exactly like those of Europe, there are wild ducks; beautiful green turtle doves; large pigeons of a deep blue plumage; parquets valued for their red falkers, and often seen tame in the

houses of the natives. There are no quadrupeds in the island, but hogs, dogs and rats; all which are extremely numerous.

The persons of the inhabitants being examined with particular attention, there was no occasion to alter the idea which captain Wallis had given of them. Captain Cook rather seems to heighten the panegyric; and Mr. Bougainville affirms, that were a painter to delineate an Hercules or a Mars, it would be impossible to discover more advantageous models. The women of the lower ranks are of a smaller stature than the rest, which is attributed to their early and promiscuous intercourse with men; for the better sort, who do not gratify their passions in the same unbridled manner, are above the middle stature of Europeans. The men of consequence in the island wear the nails of their fingers long, which they consider as a very honourable distinction, since only such people as have no occasion to work can suffer them to grow to that length. The women always cut their hair short round their heads. Both men and women have the hinder part of their thighs and loins marked with black lines in various directions, by striking the teeth of an instrument somewhat like a comb through the skin, and rubbing into the punctures a kind of paste made of soot and oil, which leaves an indelible stain. This custom, which is called tattowing, is common to all persons beyond the age of twelve years; and the legs of people of superior rank and authority are chequered with the same decorations. Both sexes are not only decently but gracefully clothed with the stuff above-mentioned. The dress of the better sort of women consists of several pieces; one is wrapped round the waist, so as to hang down in the form of a petticoat, and being of a thin pliable texture, displays an elegant figure to the greatest advantage. "The women of Otaheite," says Mr. de Bougainville, "have features as agreeable as those of the Europeans; and are unrivalled in the symmetry and beautiful proportion of their limbs. The men who live much on the water are of a redder complexion than those who chiefly reside on shore. Some have their hair brown, red or flaxen, in which they are exceptions to all the natives of Asia, Africa, and America, who have their hair universally black."

Their houses are nothing more than a roof, scarcely four feet from the ground, raised on three rows of pillars, one row on each side, and one in the middle. The covering consists of palm leaves, the pillars of wood, and the floor is strowed with hay or covered with mats. These simple habitations contain no other furniture except a few blocks of wood, which serve them as pillows, and their ordinary apparel is made use of instead of blankets and sheets. The size of the house is proportioned to the number which constitutes the family, and is seldom occupied except

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except during the hours of repose. In these dormitories it is the established rule for the master and mistress to sleep in the middle, round them the married people, in the next circle the unmarried women, and the servants at the extremity of the shed, or in fair weather in the open air.

They are quite unacquainted with the method of boiling water, as they have no vessels among them that will bear the heat of the fire. Their meat is always broiled or roasted. They use shells for carving, but eat with their fingers. Some attempted the use of the knife and fork, in imitation of the English, but we are told by Mr. Hawkesworth, that they could not guide these implements; by the mere force of habit, the hand came always to the mouth, while the food at the end of the fork went to the ear. Their general drink is water, or the milk of the cocoa nut. They have a plant called *ava ava*, of an intoxicating quality, which the men make use of sparingly; the women never; and they testified aversion for the strong liquors which were offered them. They eat alone, or at least only in company with a guest that happens to come in; and the men and women never sit down together to a meal. Persons of rank are constantly fed by their inferiors, frequently their women, and this custom is so strongly confirmed, that a chief who dined on board the Endeavour would have returned without his meat, if one of the servants had not fed him. The origin of these singular customs has not been explained. The idea of cleanliness to which these people are so strongly attached, that they perform their ablutions several times every day, may perhaps account for the great men's requiring to be fed. But that a people remarkably fond of society, and particularly that of their women, should exclude its pleasures from the table, where, among all other nations, whether civil or savage, they have been principally enjoyed, is truly inexplicable. Captain Cook imagined this strange singularity among the inhabitants of Otaheite must have arisen from some superstitious opinion; but they constantly affirmed the contrary. They eat alone, they said, because it was right; but why it was right to eat alone they never attempted to explain.

These islanders, who lie on the ground, and inhabit huts exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather, are remarkably healthy and vigorous, and generally attain to old age, without feeling the inconveniencies of this melancholy period of life. Mr. de Bougainville describes an old man, whom they saw on their landing, who had no other character of old age, than that remarkable one which is imprinted on a fine figure. His head was adorned with white hair, and a long white beard; all his body was nervous and fleshy; he had neither wrinkles, nor showed any other token of decrepitude. This venerable

man seemed displeased at the arrival of these strangers, retired without making any return to the courtesies which they paid him, and instead of taking part in the raptures which the multitude expressed, his thoughtful and suspicious air seemed to indicate a fear, that the society of a new race of men might disturb the uninterrupted happiness which he had so long enjoyed. They are utterly destitute of medical knowledge, which they hold in contempt; but they are good proficient in surgery, the operations of which they often experience to be useful. One of the English seamen, when on shore, ran a large splinter into his foot, which his companion, after giving him exquisite pain, vainly attempted to extract with his pen-knife. An old Indian, who happened to be present, called a man from the other side of the river, who, having examined the lacerated foot, fetched a shell from the beach, which he broke to a point with his teeth; with which instrument he laid open the wound, and extracted the splinter: whilst this operation was performing, the old man went a little way into the wood, and returned with some gum, which he applied to the wound, upon a piece of the cloth that was wrapped round him, and in two days time it was perfectly healed. The gum was produced by the apple tree; the surgeon of the ship procured some of it, and used it as a vulnerary balsam with great success.

The language of the inhabitants of Otaheite is soft and melodious, abounding with vowels, which renders its pronunciation easily acquired. It is almost totally without inflexion either of nouns or verbs; but a sufficient acquaintance with it has not been attained to determine whether it is copious or otherwise. It was impossible to teach the Indians to pronounce the English names of their guests, but they did not fail to come as near to it as possible, the giving of the name being an indispensable ceremony, which they never omitted when they introduced a new acquaintance. They converted the English names into words resembling Spanish or Italian; Cooke they called Toote; Hicks, Hete; Mr. Gore, Toarro; Dr. Solander, Torano; Parkinson, Patini; Mr. Monkhouse, a midshipman, they called Matté, which signifies in their language dead, because he commanded a party that killed a man for stealing a musket. The nearest imitation they could reach of King George, was by calling him Kihiaro. They are not destitute of genius for the sciences, though they have no opportunity of cultivating them. A map of Otaheite, engraved for captain Cook's first voyage, was taken out and laid before Tuahow, the high admiral, without informing him any thing of what it was. He presently discovered its meaning, and was overjoyed to see a representation of his own country. These people have a remarkable sagacity in foretelling the weather, particularly the quarter from whence the wind

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will blow. In their long voyages they steer up by the sun in the day, and in the night by the stars; all of which they distinguish separately by names; and know in what part of the heavens they will appear in any of the months, during which they are visible in their horizon; nor are they less acquainted with the periods of their annual appearance. They reckon time by moons, thirteen of which compose the year. They divide the day and the night, each into six parts. They judge of the time of the day by the height of the sun. It is said, that the highest number for which they have names is 200. They express the distance from one place to another by the time it would take to run over it. They entertain no notion of the baneful influence of comets, but they consider those meteors which are called shooting stars, as evil genii.

The government of the inhabitants of Otaheite is compared by Dr. Hawkesworth to the early state of every nation in Europe under the feudal system. There is a king or sovereign in each of the two peninsulas into which the island is divided; with the lands of the different districts, whose possessions are cultivated by their vassals and villeins. The king possesses far less authority over the whole society, than each chieftain possesses in his own district, and the nobles are nearer on a footing with their sovereign than the lower ranks are with the nobles. Intermarriages are not permitted between the nobles and the vulgar; every advantage and honour is confined to the former; and even such articles of food as are reckoned delicacies, pork, fish and fowl, are only to be used by the nobility. Of these there are different orders, as in all the feudal kingdoms. There are different liveries, so to speak, to distinguish these orders; and the rank of every individual is ascertained by the height at which their servants wear their sashes. Like the ancient nobility of Europe, they enjoy the right of private war; and each nobleman, at the head of his vassals, repels injuries, and maintains his rights, by the decision of arms. Their influence, indeed, over their followers is most powerful. They have intelligence of every event; they receive notice of every crime that is committed; they bestow reward, inflict punishment, and their decisions are submitted to with the most passive and unreserved obedience. Otaheite, therefore, affords in miniature, the picture of two feudal kingdoms, for the whole inhabitants, including women and children, do not exceed 6000. One circumstance alone, as it is related by Dr. Hawkesworth, is peculiar to this people. The child of the prince, or of the baron, succeeds to the titles and honours of his father as soon as it is born; so that a baron who was yesterday distinguished by epithets of honour, and approached with the ceremony of lowering the garments and uncovering the upper part of the body, is

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to-day, if his wife be delivered of a son, reduced to the rank of a private person; all marks of respect being transferred to the child, though the father still continues to possess and administer the estate. If this circumstance be authentic, it furnishes a remarkable distinction between the government of Otaheite and that of the feudal nations of Europe. In these, force generally prevailed over right. The weakness of age and sex often excluded from the succession those who were naturally entitled to it. The estate of a child or of a woman was often acquired by a distant collateral relation; even the destination of royalty proceeded not in a regular line, the uncle often usurping the rights of a son, the brother those of a daughter.

The religion of these islanders is not the circumstance which first attracts the attention of travellers. Captain Wallis, who first visited and described them, is inclined to believe, that they had not any religious worship or belief. But subsequent accounts inform us of their religious tenets, which are as superstitious and absurd as those of other pagan nations. They admit that great and primitive truth, that all is derived originally from one first cause. But they suppose the Supreme Being to have impregnated a rock, which brought forth the year; which daughter, embraced by the father, produced the thirteen months; which, in conjunction with each other, produced the days. In the same manner were the stars and all the other objects of nature created, so that the idea of generation runs through the whole, an idea impressed with peculiar force on the imagination of these Indians, who of all men are particularly the most addicted to the sensual pleasures. They believe the existence of the soul after death, and of a greater or less degree of happiness to be then enjoyed; but they are said to have no conception of a state of punishment or reward hereafter. The share of happiness in a future life, they imagine, will be proportioned not to the merit but to the rank of individuals; the nobles enjoying the first distinction of felicity, while their vassals and villeins must be satisfied, even in the region of spirits, with a subordinate lot. This religious tenet is evidently derived from their political usages. The priesthood, as in many ancient countries, is hereditary. The priests are professedly the men of science, but their knowledge is altogether frivolous, consisting in being conversant in the names and rank of the subordinate divinities, and the opinions concerning the origin of the universe, handed down from one generation to another, by real tradition, in detached sentences, and in a phraseology unintelligible to those who do not belong to the sacred families.

The general manners and character of the people are such as naturally result from the limited state of society in which they live, and the faint gradations of improvements to which they have

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have attained. Their passions, like those of children, are violent, but transitory. They pass suddenly, yet without any apparent cause, from an excess of grief to the transports of joy. Their propensity to particular friendships, like that of all rude people, is strong; and their fidelity inviolable. When the English visited them for the second time, every Indian chose his friend. With a disposition naturally generous, they discovered a singular propensity to theft. Of this there are innumerable examples in all the accounts which are related of them. But perhaps it has not been sufficiently attended to, that their inclination to this vice might depend less on the depravity of their moral principles, than on their limited notions of property. Even after they had experienced the power of their new visitors, they continued to pilfer as assiduously as before; and persons who, in other respects, displayed no small elevation of character, had a particular predilection for riches acquired by stealth.

Another trait of their character, which had been in some measure mistaken by the first travellers into their country, is the licentiousness of their amours. Mr. de Bougainville and Dr. Hawkesworth assert, that there were no women in the island who had the smallest pretensions to chastity. This assertion, however, captain Cook discovered to be too general. The women of rank, that is, all the female noblesse, are not devoid of honour; although they do not imagine their inferiors ought to be condemned for yielding to promiscuous love. But, notwithstanding the exception which the captain has discovered, it must be acknowledged, that their manners in this particular are such as could scarcely escape observation and censure. When the Dolphin first appeared on the coast, a great number of women appeared on the beach, and were very importunate with the men in the boat to come on shore. They stripped themselves naked, and endeavoured to allure them by wanton gestures; and when they found, that notwithstanding all their endeavours to detain them, the boat was putting off, they pelted them with apples and bananas, shouting and showing every possible sign of derision and contempt. After this, canoes, with a number of women, came close by the side of the ship, where the same wanton gestures were repeated. A regular traffic being established on shore, it was settled that a river should separate the natives and the strangers, and a few only of the former should cross at a time, for the purpose of trading. Several young women were then permitted to cross the river, who, though they were not averse to the granting of personal favours, were tenacious of making the most of them. An iron nail was commonly the price of beauty; and in proportion to the charms of the damsel was the size of the nail which she received. The men scrupled not to promote this kind

kind of dealing, for fathers and brothers would bring their daughters and sisters, for the purpose of prostitution to the sailors. When they presented the girl, they showed a stick of the size of the nail which was demanded for her, and he who came up to the price was entitled to the merchandize.

From the unbridled licentiousness of the inhabitants of this island, the French gave it the name of the new Cythera. When Mr. de Bougainville arrived on this shore, he was received with the same lascivious compliments which had been lavished on the English. "It was very difficult," says that officer, with such "seducing incitements, to keep at their work 500 young French soldiers, who had been deprived of the sight of women for six months." Notwithstanding the endeavours used to keep the crew in order, the captain's cook found means to escape on shore. He had no sooner singled out a fair one, than he was immediately encircled with a large party of natives, who stripped him of his clothes from head to foot, and with great tumult and violent exclamations, examined every part of his body very minutely. When their curiosity had been fully gratified they restored his clothes, and handing the girl to him, signified by signs sufficiently expressive, that she was very much at his service. But by this time the ardour of the Frenchman had subsided, and every tumultuous passion was absorbed in that of fear. He entreated them, as the only favour they could bestow, to convey him on board, and he reached the ship more dead than alive.

When captain Cook lay off this shore, the women of Otaheite had so totally divested themselves of all apprehensions of ill treatment from the English sailors, that great numbers of the lower class remained on board the ship, after the numerous tribe of visitants had returned on shore in the evening. They ventured, without scruple, to pass the night on board, having studied the disposition of British seamen so well as to know that they ran no risk by confiding in them, but, on the contrary, might make sure of every bead, nail and hatchet that their lovers could muster. The evening, therefore, was as completely dedicated to mirth and pleasure, as if the ship had been at Spithead instead of Otaheite. Before it was perfectly dark the women assembled on the fore-castle, and one of them blowing a flute with her nostrils, all of them danced a variety of dances usual in their country, most of which were little consistent with European ideas of delicacy. Even the better sort are not entirely exempted from the national weakness. A chief named O-tai came on board, accompanied by his wife and two sisters; one of whom, named Morarai was a most graceful figure, with the most delicate and beautiful *contours* of the hands and all above the zone; an ineffable smile sat on her countenance; her admira-

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ration at seeing the new objects aboard the ship displayed itself in the liveliest expressions; nor was she satisfied with looking round the decks, but descended into the officers' cab attended by a gentleman of the ship. Having curiously examined every part, Morarai took a particular fancy to a pair of sheets which she saw spread on one of the beds, and made a number of fruitless attempts to obtain them from her conductor, to whom they belonged. He proposed a special favour as the condition. She hesitated some time, and at last, with seeming reluctance, consented. But when the yielding nymph was about to surrender, the ship struck violently on the reef, and the affrighted lover, more sensible to danger than to his fair mistress, quitted her unruffled charms, and flew upon deck. Repeated shrieks made the condition of the ship more alarming; every person on board exerted himself to the utmost on this emergency; at length they brought her again to float. When the danger was over, the officer bethought himself of the abandoned fair one; but on visiting his cabin he found her gone, and his bed stripped of its sheets. Morarai, however, had conducted the theft with such dexterity, as would have rendered it not only excuseable but praise-worthy among the Spartans; having appeared on deck, and continued a considerable time, without exciting any mistrust of her acquisition. Four days after this adventure, the same officer, accompanied by several others, strolling about the country, came to the spot where O-tai and his fair sister resided. He thought it to no purpose to inquire after his lost bed linen, but chose rather to renew his solicitations to the lady. Beads, nails and various trifles were presented to her, which she readily accepted, but remained inflexible to the passionate addresses of her lover. She was already in possession of the sheets, which were the only wealth of sufficient value in her eyes to induce her to admit the transient embraces of a stranger; though she was accused by her countrywomen of admitting tow-taws, or men of the lowest rank, to her bed at night; and thus imposing on her brother, who would have been highly offended at the prostitution, not of her person, but of her dignity.

Though it be evident that the general character of the natives of Otaheite is extremely deficient in point of modesty, yet many of their customs, perhaps, are more immodest in appearance than in reality. The usual way of expressing their respect to strangers is by uncovering themselves to the middle; and a ceremony of a similar kind, but expressive only of respect, was used by Oorattao, a woman of rank, who visited Mr. Banks. After laying down several plantain leaves, a man brought a large bundle of cloth, of the manufacture of that country, which having opened, he spread it piece by piece upon the ground,

ground; in the space between Mr. Banks and his visitants. There were in all nine pieces, but having spread three pieces one upon another, the lady came forward, and stepping upon them, took up her garments all around her to the waist; she then turned about three times with great composure and deliberation, and with an air of perfect innocence and simplicity, which having done, she dropped the veil: when other three pieces were spread, she repeated the same ceremony; and so the third time, when the last three pieces were laid out; after which the cloth was again rolled up, and delivered to Mr. Banks, as a present from the lady, who, with her attending friend, came up, saluted him, and received such presents in return as he thought proper to offer them. Examples of this kind would lead us to believe, that the indecency of the natives of Otaheite, like that of most nations who have made small advancements in the arts of social life, proceeds less from a natural propensity to voluptuous excess, than from their imperfect notions of propriety. As what has appeared in them a strong inclination to the vice of stealing, arises, probably in some degree, from their limited ideas of property, so the apparent licentiousness of their manners, with regard to the fair sex, may proceed from a want of those cultivated notions of delicacy which prevail in polished countries. They see nothing indecent in the unreserved intercourse of the sexes; among them Venus is the goddess of hospitality; her worship is celebrated without mystery; and every passion is gratified before witnesses, without any more signs of shame, than appears in other countries when people associate at a meal. Yet it must not be dissembled, that some of their customs discover a certain refinement in sensual pleasure, which is the characteristic of a degree of depravity that could hardly be expected in their simple state.

We return from this digression, in which we have endeavoured to reduce into a small compass the various accounts of Wallis, Cooke, Foster, and Bougainville, concerning the manners and character of a people, whose discovery is one of the most brilliant that has been made by modern navigation. The island, indeed, is more interesting to the philosopher than to the merchant, as it produces nothing that can be converted into an article of distant traffic, and can be useful only in affording refreshments to shipping, in their voyages through those seas. Captain Cook took his leave of Otaheite the 13th of July, 1769, having carried with him Tupia, one of the natives, who informed him that four of the neighbouring islands lay at the distance of less than two days sail. The names of these were Ulietea, Hyahaine, Otaha, and Bolabola. The first is about twenty-one leagues in circuit. Its productions are the same as those of Otaheite, nor is there any thing to distinguish the appearance and manners

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manners of its inhabitants from those of that island. The same may be said of the other three, as well as of the small islands of Tubai and Maurua; to all of which, as they lie contiguous to each other, captain Cook gave the name of the Society Islands, but did not think it necessary to distinguish them separately by any other names, than those by which they are known to the natives. They are situated between the latitudes of 16 degrees 10 minutes, and 10 degrees 55 minutes south, and between the longitudes of 150 degrees 17 minutes, and 152 degrees west, from the meridian of Greenwich. Ulitea and Otaha lie at the distance of two miles from each other, and are both inclosed within one reef of coral rocks, so that there is no passage for shipping between them. Ulitea affords a great many good harbours both on the east and west sides; the entrances into them, indeed, are but narrow; but when a ship is once in, nothing can hurt her. The northernmost, on the west side, in which the ship lay, is called Ohamaneno; the channel leading into it is about a quarter of a mile wide, and lies between two low sandy islands. This harbour, though small, is preferable to the others, because it is situated in the most fertile part of the island, and where fresh water is easily to be got. Otaha also affords two good harbours, one on the east side and the other on the west. The island of Bolabola lies north-west and by west from Otaha, distant about four leagues. It is surrounded by a reef of rocks, and several small islands, in compass together about eight leagues. This island is rendered remarkable by a high craggy hill, which appears to be almost perpendicular, and terminates at the top in two peaks, one higher than the other. The captain did not take time to examine the harbours, but understood that Bolabola is not deficient in this particular. The island of Houaheine is situated in the latitude of 16 degrees 43 minutes south, and longitude 150 degrees 52 minutes west, distant from Otaheite about thirty-one leagues, and about seven leagues in compass. The harbour, which is called by the natives Owalle, lies on the west side, under the northernmost high land. The climate is more forward than that of Otaheite, and the country abounds with provisions. The inhabitants of all these islands treated the English with the most courteous hospitality; and testified great sorrow at the departure of their guests, which, however, did not take place till captain Cook had, with the usual formality, taken possession of their territories in the name of his majesty King George.

The captain left these shores the 9th of August, 1769, and met with nothing remarkable in his course till the 13th about noon, when he saw land bearing south-east, which Tupia told him was an island called Oheteroa. It is situated in the latitude of 22 degrees 27 minutes south, and in the longitude of 150 degrees

44 minutes west, about thirteen miles in circuit, and the land rather high than low, but neither populous nor fertile in proportion to the other islands which had been discovered in those seas. The chief produce seems to be a tree of which they make their weapons, called in their language Etoa; many plantations of it were seen along the shore, which is not surrounded, like the neighbouring islands, by a reef. The ship, or boats, made the whole circuit of Oheteroa, and found there was neither harbour nor anchorage about it; and the hostile disposition of the natives rendering it impossible to land without bloodshed, the captain determined not to attempt it, having no motive that could justify the risk of life.

Tupia mentioned several islands lying at different distances and in different directions from this, between the south and the north-west; and that, at the distance of three days sail, there was an island called Mancoa, or Bird Island. But so many discoveries of this kind had already been made, that the captain purposed to spend no more time in search of islands, only in examining those which he happened to fall in with during his course, and to proceed southward in search of a continent. After a navigation of above six weeks land was discovered, which became the subject of much eager conversation, it being generally believed to be the *Terra Australis Incognita*. It was indeed the coast of New Zealand, which, ever since it had been discovered by the Dutch navigator Tasman, in 1642, has passed with most geographers for a part of the great southern continent. But captain Cook discovered that New Zealand consisted of two islands, divided by a Streight which is called after his name, and situated between the latitudes of 34 degrees 22 minutes and 47 degrees 25 minutes south, and between the longitudes of 166 degrees and 180 degrees east. This indefatigable navigator employed almost six months in fully exploring the coast of both islands, of which he distinguished the several bays, rivers, capes, &c. by particular names. The first place where he anchored, on the northernmost island, he called Poverty Bay, because he found in it no refreshments, nor any thing except wood necessary for a ship. From hence he proceeded southward almost to the forty-first degree of latitude; and then reversing his course, sailed to the north-eastern point of land, and the broadest part of the whole island. He afterwards anchored in a port, situated in latitude 56 degrees 54 minutes south, and in longitude 184 degrees 4 minutes west, which, as he here made an observation of the transit of Mercury over the sun, he called Mercury Bay. The river which empties itself into the head of this bay he called the Thames, on account of its resemblance to the English river of that name. The banks of this river are represented as the most eligible place in those islands for settling

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settling a colony. More to the north-west is the Bay of Islands, so named from the great number of little islands that line its shore, forming several harbours equally safe and commodious, where there is depth and room for any number of shipping. Captain Cook, in doubling the northern extremity of New Zealand, met with a gale of wind, which, for its strength and continuance was such as he had never experienced before. He was three weeks in making ten leagues, and five weeks in making fifty. Having doubled this cape he proceeded along the western shore, which is extremely barren, consisting of banks of white sand, and which he therefore called the desert coast. The southern part of this coast bends towards the west, and is distinguished by a remarkably high peak of a most majestic appearance, covered with perennial snow. This peak, which received the name of Mount Egmont, is surrounded by a flat country of a pleasant appearance, clothed with wood and verdure. Having coasted this shore, the captain entered the Streight which divides the northern from the southern island. The latter underwent a very accurate survey. On the eastern coast he discovered a small island of a circular form, in the latitude of 43 degrees 44 minutes south, which he called Banks's Island. Proceeding southward he found the extremity of the land almost separated from the rest, it being joined by a long and narrow isthmus. The south-east side is of very dangerous navigation, on account of the ridges of rocks which rise for many leagues out of the sea. But the western extremity affords a commodious bay, with many harbours and coves scattered on different parts of it, where good anchorage may be found. On the shore, the soil is a deep black mould, formed of decayed vegetables. The trees gradually diminish in height and circumference, in receding from the shore, contrary to what is observed in other parts of the world. The captain having left the above mentioned bay, (which he called *Dusky Bay*), proceeded along the western coast, and entered Cook's Straights by the south-west point of land, behind which he anchored in a fine harbour, which he named Admiralty Bay. A little more to the eastward is Queen Charlotte's Sound, the entrance of which lies in latitude 41 degrees south, longitude 175 degrees 25 minutes east. This Sound is three leagues broad at its mouth, and contains a collection of the finest harbours in the world. There are a great number of small islands lying at the entrance, and the land about it is so high as to be seen at the distance of twenty leagues. Here the sailors caught near three hundred weight of fish, and found wood and water in abundance. The captain ordered the water-caiks to be filled in this neighbourhood, and prepared to leave New Zealand on the 30th of March, having circumnavigated the whole coast, and made frequent excursions into the interior parts of the country.

These

These islands produce no quadrupeds but dogs and rats ; there are few species of birds, and of these none, except perhaps the gannet, is the same with those of Europe. For this scarcity of animals upon the land, the sea makes an abundant recompence ; every creek swarming with fish, equally wholesome and delicious. The ship seldom anchored in any station, or with a light gale passed any place, which did not afford enough of fish with hook and line to serve the whole ship's company ; the seine seldom failed of producing a still more ample supply ; and the variety of species was equal to the plenty. There are mackarel of many kinds, one of which is exactly the same as we have in England ; and the other species of fish unknown to the European seas, were distinguished by the names of those kinds to which they bear the nearest resemblance, and they do honour to the comparison. Among the vegetable productions of New Zealand, the trees claim a principal place ; there being forests of vast extent, full of the straightest, the cleanest, and the largest timber, any where to be seen. The trees here, however, are too hard and too heavy to be made into masts ; but for every other purpose they seem to be exceedingly fit, on account of their size, their grain, and their apparent durability. There are few eatable vegetables in New Zealand, except wild celery, and a kind of cresses, which grow in great abundance upon all parts of the sea-shore. Of the esculent plants raised by cultivation, there are only yams, sweet potatoes, and cocoas. Gourds are cultivated by the natives for the sake of the fruit, which furnishes them with vessels for various uses. There is a plant that serves the inhabitants instead of hemp and flax, which excels all that are put to the same purposes in other countries. Of this plant there are two sorts ; the leaves of both resemble those of flax, but their flowers are smaller, and their clusters more numerous ; on one kind they are yellow, on the other a deep red. Of the leaves of these plants, with very little preparation, they make all their common apparel, as well as their strings, lines and cordage for every purpose, which are so much stronger than any thing we can make with hemp, that they will not bear a comparison. Of the leaves of this plant, without any other preparation than that of splitting them into proper breadths, and tying the stripes together, they make their fishing nets, some of which are of an enormous size.

From the populousness of the sea-coasts, it was at first imagined, that the natives of New Zealand were extremely numerous. But it was afterwards found, that the interior parts were entirely destitute of inhabitants, or very thinly peopled ; for the principal food of the New Zealanders consisting in fish, they are afraid to remove to a great distance from the chief source of their subsistence.

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sistence. The flesh of dogs, and the few vegetables above-mentioned, are the only succedaneum they have to support life ; so that when the dry stock fails in the season when few fish are caught, the distress is dreadful ; and this calamity, which too often happens, accounts for a practice prevalent in New Zealand of fortifying every village with the utmost care, and the horrid custom of eating those who are killed in battle. The New Zealanders rather exceed the European size ; they are stout, well limbed and fleshy ; exceedingly active and vigorous ; and discover great manual dexterity in all the arts to which they apply. Their colour resembles the brown hue of the Spaniards ; the women have not a feminine delicacy in their appearance, but their voice is remarkably soft ; and by this they are principally distinguished, the dress of both sexes being the same. This dress is to a stranger the most uncouth that can be imagined. It is made of the leaves of the hemp plant, split into three or four slips, interwoven with each other into a kind of stuff between netting and cloth, with all the ends, which are eight or nine inches long, hanging out on the upper side. Of this singular cloth two pieces serve for a complete dress ; one of them is tied over their shoulders with a string, and reaches as low as the knees ; to the end of this string is fastened a bodkin of bone, which is easily passed through any two parts of this upper garment to keep them together. The other piece of cloth, or lower garment, is wrapped round the waist, and reaches nearly to the ground. When they have only the upper garment on, (for the lower is not so constantly worn), and sit upon their hams, they bear a resemblance to a thatched house ; but however ugly their dress, it is a proper defence against the inclemencies of the weather to men who often sleep in the open air.

These people being inured to war, and accustomed to consider every stranger as an enemy, were always disposed to attack the English until they were intimidated by their manifest superiority. But when they were convinced of the power of fire-arms, and observed the clemency of their enemies in forbearing to make use of these dreadful weapons, except in their own defence, they became at once friendly and affectionate ; and when an intercourse was established, were rarely detected in any act of dishonesty. They excel the inhabitants of Otaheite as much in modesty, as they fall short of them in the cleanliness of their persons, and the convenience of their habitations. The women, however, were not impregnable ; but the terms and manner of compliance were as decent as those in marriage among us, and according to their notions, the agreement was as innocent. The consent of friends was necessary to obtain the personal favours of a young woman, and by the influence of a proper present this consent might generally be obtained.

The

The ingenuity of these people appears principally in the construction and management of their canoes, and in whatever relates to war or fishing. The larger canoes are 68 feet long, 5 feet broad, and 3 and a half feet deep; each side consisting of one entire plank, 63 feet long, fitted and lashed to the bottom with great dexterity and strength. They have no defensive armour; although they have a great variety of those which are fitted for destruction. The principal of these are spears, darts, battle-axes, and the patoo-patoo, which is fastened to their wrists by a strong strap, lest it should be wrenched from them, and which the principal people generally wear sticking to their girdles, considering it as a military ornament, and part of their dress, like the poniard of the Asiatic, and the sword of the European. Tillage, weaving, and the other arts of peace seem to be best known and most practised in the northern part of this country. They have an instrument which serves at once for spade and plough. The ground is rendered as smooth as in a garden, and every root has its small hillock, ranged in a regular quincunx by lines, which were seen with the pegs remaining in the ground. The religion, government and language of the New Zealanders bear a remarkable resemblance to those of the natives of Otaheite. Tupia understood their discourse, and was perfectly understood by them. This similarity of dialogue proves a common origin; but which of the two countries was first peopled; whether they were peopled from one another, or both from some more ancient mother-land; and what this land is—are questions which in all probability will never be resolved.

Captain Cook sailed from New Zealand the 31st of March, 1770, and made the coast of New Holland the 19th of April. It was in latitude 37 degrees 58 minutes south, and longitude 210 degrees 39 minutes west, when he first discovered land. The southernmost point of land in sight at this time was judged to lie in latitude 38 degrees, longitude 211 degrees 7 minutes, beyond which, although the weather was very clear, nothing could be observed. The great body of Van Diemen's land, however, ought, according to the maps, to have borne due south; but the captain not having seen it, does not determine whether it joins the point now discovered or not. Standing to the northward he observed a bay, which seemed to be well sheltered from all winds, and into which he determined to go with the ship. There he anchored in the afternoon under the south shore, about two miles within the entrance, in six fathom water, the south point bearing south-east, and the north point east. This place was a-breast of a small village, consisting of about six or eight houses; and while the sailors were preparing to hoist out the boat, they saw an old woman, followed by three children,

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children, come out of a wood. She was loaded with fire-wood, and each of the children had also its little burden. She often looked at the ship, but expressed neither fear nor surprise. Some canoes returned from the fishing; the men landed, and the old woman having kindled a fire, they began to dress their dinner, to all appearance wholly unconcerned about the ships. They were all stark naked, the woman herself being destitute even of a fig-leaf. It was natural to imagine that these savages, who seemed to pay no regard to the ship's coming into the bay, would have paid as little attention to the people's coming on shore. But as soon as the boat approached the rocks, two of the men came down upon them to defend their coast, and the rest ran away. Each of the two champions was armed with a lance about ten feet long, and a short stick, which he seemed to handle as if it was a machine to assist him in throwing his lance. They called out in a loud harsh tone, and in a language which none of those in the boat, although Tupia was of the party, understood a single word. The courage of these Indians was remarkable, as they were but two against forty in the boat; which the captain ordered to lie on her oars, while he endeavoured to obtain the good-will of his opponents by throwing them nails, beads, and other trifles, which they took up, and seemed to be well pleased with. When he made signs to them that the ships wanted water, they waved with their hands, which he interpreted as an invitation to land. But this was not their meaning, for when the boat began to advance they renewed their opposition. One appeared to be a youth of nineteen or twenty, and the other a man of middle age, both of such determined obstinacy, that it was necessary to fire a musket between them. Upon the report the youngest dropped a bundle of lances upon the rock, but recollecting himself in an instant, he snatched them up again with great haste, and threw a stone at the boat. A second musket was fired, which struck the oldest on the legs, who immediately ran to one of the houses, distant about an hundred yards, and returned with a shield or target for his defence. A third musket was fired before they betook themselves to flight, and left the boat master of the shore. Here there was abundance of water, and such a variety of plants, that the captain gave it the name of Botany Bay. It lies in latitude 34 degrees south, and longitude 152 degrees 37 minutes east. The country in general is level, low and woody. There are two kinds of trees, larger than the English oak; one of them yields a reddish gum like *sanguis dracanis*, and the wood is heavy, hard, and dark coloured. The woods abound with birds of an exquisite beauty, particularly of the porrot kind; and crows exactly the same with those in England. About the head of the harbour, where there are large

flats of sand and mud, there is great plenty of water-fowl; and on the banks themselves are vast quantities of oysters, muscles and cockles, which seem to be the principal subsistence of the inhabitants.

The captain having left this place, where he could establish no intercourse with the natives, proceeded northwards in order to examine the eastern coast of New Holland, and to distinguish by name the more remarkable places that he met with in his voyage. Having passed what he called Hervey's Bay, distinguished by Mangrove trees, he anchored in Bustard Bay, in latitude 24 degrees 4 minutes south, longitude 151 degrees 42 minutes east. He gave it that name from the great numbers of birds of the bustard species, as large as turkeys, one of which weighed seventeen pounds and a half, and was the most delicate bird that had been met with during the whole voyage. Here are oysters in great numbers, and of various kinds; among others the hammer oyster, and abundance of small pearl oysters. And captain Cook says, that if in deep water there is equal plenty of such oysters at their full growth, a pearl fishery might be established to very great advantage. Proceeding about two degrees farther north, he anchored again in *Thirsty Sound*. From their great variation in the needle, when brought on shore, and from several other observations at this place, it seems probable that iron ore abounds in the hills. Along the whole coast the sea conceals shoals, which suddenly project from the shore, and rocks that rise abruptly like a pyramid from the bottom.

Off *Cape Tribulation*, which lies in latitude 16 degrees 6 minutes south, and longitude 246 degrees 39 minutes east, our intrepid and hitherto successful adventurers were exposed to the most imminent danger. On the 10th of June, at eleven o'clock at night, the ship suddenly struck against a coral rock, and became immoveable except by the heaving of the surge, which beating her against the crags of the rock on which she lay, caused so violent a concussion, that it was with the utmost difficulty any one on board could stand on his legs. At the dawn of day land appeared at eight leagues distance, without any island in the intermediate space upon which they might be set on shore by the boats, and afterwards proceed to the main, if the ship should go to pieces: the wind, however, died away, till it became a dead calm, by which the ship escaped instant, and otherwise inevitable, destruction. At eleven in the forenoon it was high water, but so much shorter was the day-tide than that of the night, that notwithstanding the ship had been lightened near fifty tons, she did not float by a foot and a half. Thus disappointed, they proceeded to lighten her still more, by throwing overboard every thing that could possibly be spared.

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The water now began to rush in so fast, that two pumps could scarcely keep her free. At five in the afternoon the tide again began to rise, and with it the leak increased so fast that it was necessary to man two more pumps, of which one only could be wrought. Three of the pumps, however, being kept going, the ship righted at nine; but by this time the leak had gained so considerably, that it was imagined she must go to the bottom as soon as she ceased to be supported by the rock. The floating of the ship therefore was anticipated, not as an earnest of deliverance, but as a forerunner of destruction. The boats were not capable of carrying all on shore, where, should any of the crew be able to arrive, their fate would be still more melancholy than that of those who perished in the shipwreck. Banished on a coast where even nets and fire-arms could scarcely furnish the means of subsistence, and possessing the means of no effectual defence against the natives, they must speedily fall a prey to indigence or ferocity, or languish during the remainder of life in a desolate wilderness, without the hope of any domestic comfort, and cut off from the society of men. To those only who have waited in such a suspense, death has approached in his wildest terrors; While every one was reading his own sensation in the countenance of his companions the ship floated, and was heaved into deep water. It was no small consolation to find that she did not now admit more water than she had done upon the rock. By the gaining of the leak upon the pumps there were no less than three feet nine inches water in the hold; and the men having endured excessive fatigue of body, and agitation of mind, for more than twenty-four hours, and having but little hope of succeeding at last, began to flag, when this favourite circumstance again animated their vigour, and made them exert the most extraordinary efforts. But none of them could work at the pumps above five or six minutes together, and then, being totally exhausted, they threw themselves down upon the deck, though a stream of water was running over it from the pumps several inches deep. When those who succeeded them had worked their spell, and were exhausted in their turn, they threw themselves down in the same manner, and the others starting up renewed their labour. At eleven o'clock a breeze from the sea springing up, the ship was got under sail, and stood for the land. The exact situation of the leak could not be discovered, and therefore it was impossible to stop it within, and it was as impossible to continue that degree of labour, by which the pumps had been made to work. In this situation a happy expedient was adopted. It is called fothering the ship, and is done by taking a large studding-sail, on which a quantity of oakum and wood chopped small and mixed together, was stitched down in handfuls as lightly as possible; over this the

dung of sheep and other filth was spread; and the sail, thus prepared, was hauled under the ship's bottom by ropes, which kept it extended. When it came under the leak, the suction which carried in the water, carried in with it the oakum and wool from the surface of the sail, which in other parts the water was not sufficiently agitated to wash off. This contrivance succeeded so happily, that one pump was able to reduce the water from the leak: and so susceptible are mankind of sudden joy whenever so partially relieved from imminent danger, that scarcely greater transport could have been felt, if they had been arrived into a safe harbour, than this favourable alteration occasioned. At six in the evening the ship was brought to an anchor for the night in seventeen fathom water, at the distance of seven leagues from the shore, and one from the edge of rocks upon which she had struck. The next morning she came to an anchor within two miles of the shore, no harbour having been discovered. But the day following was most propitious by the discovery of a harbour to leeward, most excellently adapted to the purpose for which it was wanted; and what was no less fortunate than remarkable, in the whole course of the voyage no place had been seen which would have afforded the same relief to the ship in the situation she then was. Three whole days intervened before a favourable wind arose to carry them into their destined haven, in which time they found leisure and inclination to reflect, that there was nothing but a lock of wool between them and destruction. At length these buffeted adventurers set their impatient feet on land, after giving the strongest proof of a manly, inflexible firmness; for, says captain Cook, "Upon this occasion I must observe, both in justice and gratitude to the ship's company and the gentlemen on board, that, although in the midst of our distress, every one seemed to have a just sense of his danger, yet no passionate exclamations or frantic gestures were heard or seen; every one appeared to have the most perfect possession of his mind, and every one exerted himself to the utmost with a quiet and patient perseverance, equally distant from the tumultuous voice of terror, and the gloomy inactivity of despair." Their change of situation was now visible in every countenance, for it was most sensibly felt in every breast. They had sailed three hundred and sixty leagues, with a man continually in the chains having the lead, which perhaps never happened to any other vessel. They had been three months entangled among shoals and rocks that every moment threatened them with destruction; frequently passing the night at anchor, within hearing of the surge that broke over them; sometimes driving towards it even while their anchors were out, and knowing that if by any accident, to which an almost continual tempest exposed them, they

they should not hold, every person on board must inevitably perish.

The harbour which afforded them relief in this extreme emergency, they named after their vessel *Endeavour River*. It lies in latitude 15 degrees 26 minutes south, and its longitude by observation is 214 degrees 42 minutes 30 seconds west. It is only a small bar harbour, or creek, which runs in a winding channel three or four leagues inland, and at the head of which there is a small brook of fresh water. There is not depth of water for shipping above a mile within the bar, and at this distance only on the north side, where the bank is so steep for near a quarter of a mile, that a ship may lie afloat at low water, so near the shore as to reach it with a step, and the situation is extremely convenient for heaving down; but at low water the depth upon the bar is not more than nine or ten feet, nor more than 17 or 18 at the height of the tide; the difference between high and low water, at spring tides, being about nine feet. At the time of new and full moon it is high water between 9 and 10 o'clock. This part of the coast is barricaded with shoals so as to make the harbour exceedingly difficult of access; the safest approach is from the southward, keeping the main land close upon the board all the way; and the situation of the harbour may always be found by the latitude, which has been very accurately laid down.

The captain having refitted at this place, where the principal refreshment to be procured was turtle, and a plant called, in the West Indies, Indian kale, set sail the beginning of August, to examine the northern extremity of the country. The rocks and shoals off this coast are more dangerous, perhaps, than in any part of the globe; for here are reefs of coral rising like an immense wall, almost perpendicularly out of the sea; always overflowed at high water, and at low water, in many places, dry. The enormous waves of the vast southern ocean meeting with so abrupt a resistance break with inconceivable violence, in a surf which no rocks or storms in the northern hemisphere can produce. The danger of navigating the unknown parts of this ocean was greatly increased to our adventurers, by their having a crazy ship, and being short of provisions and every other necessary. "Yet," says captain Cook, "the distinction of the first discoverers made us cheerfully encounter every danger, and submit to every inconvenience; and we chose rather to incur the censure of imprudence and temerity, which the idle and voluptuous so liberally bestow upon unsuccessful fortitude and perseverance, than leave a country which we had discovered, unexplored, and give colour to a charge of timidity and irresolution."

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The captain resolved to keep the main land on board in his future route to the northward; because, if he had gone without the reef, it might have carried him so far from the coast as to prevent his being able to determine whether this country joined to New Guinea. This was a question which former navigators had left undecided, and which captain Cook was determined to decide. In the execution of this enterprize, he braved such dangers as would have appalled the resolution of any man whose spirit for discovery had not extinguished all regard to personal safety. He found the two countries to be divided by a narrow sea, or streight, the north-east entrance of which lies in the latitude of 10 degrees 39 minutes south, and in the longitude of 218 degrees 36 minutes west. It is formed by the northern extremity of New Holland, and a congeries of islands, which, it is probable, extend all the way to New Guinea. These islands differ very much in height and circuit, and many of them seemed to be well clothed with herbage and wood, and well peopled with inhabitants.

To this channel of passage the captain gave the name of Endeavour Streights. Its length from north-east to south-west is ten leagues, and its breadth five leagues, except at the north-east entrance, where it is less than two miles, being contracted by the islands which lye there. On one of these islands the captain took possession of the eastern coast of New Holland, from the latitude of 38 degrees to 10 degrees 30 minutes south, in the name of his majesty king George the Third, and distinguished that immense extent of country by the appellation of *New South Wales*. The ascertaining of the division between New Holland and New Guinea was the last discovery made by captain Cook in this voyage. He was now arrived in seas which had been already navigated, and where every coast had been laid down by Dutch or Spanish navigators. Instead, therefore, of following this judicious and enterprising adventurer in his navigation to the isle of Java, and his voyage homeward, it is proper to look back, and consider the information that may be derived from his discoveries relative to New Holland.

This immense island, for such is the title by which it seems to be improperly distinguished, exceeds in magnitude the habitable parts of the continent of Europe; extending from 10 degrees to 44 degrees south, between 110 degrees and 154 degrees east. It received the name of Holland from its having been chiefly explored by Dutch navigators. The land first discovered in those parts was called *Eeendragt*, or Concord Land, from the name of the ship which made the discovery in 1616. Two years after, another part of this coast was discovered by Zeachen, who gave it the name of *Arnheim* and *Diem*, though a different part from what received the name of *Diemen's Land* from Tasman;

Tasman ; the latter being the southern extremity of the island, whereas the former lies in 15 degrees south. Van Meitz, Carpenter, and Dampier discovered different parts of the coast ; but our information derived from all these adventurers was nothing in comparison of what we have received from captain Cook.

The whole eastern coast of New Holland is well watered by brooks and springs, but there are no great rivers. The face of the country, every where bleak and barren, is considerably less so towards the south, where the trees are taller and the herbage richer ; but no underwood is any where to be seen. There are but two sorts of timber trees, the gum tree and the pine ; the esculent plants are few, but there are a variety of such as gratify the curiosity of the botanist. The species of birds are numerous, and many of exquisite beauty. Venomous serpents abound, and great variety of reptiles, most of which are harmless. The greatest natural curiosity in this country is the ant, of which there are several sorts. One is green, and builds its nest upon trees, by bending down the leaves, and gluing the points of them together, so as to form a purse. The viscus used for this purpose is an animal juice, which nature has enabled them to elaborate. Thousands of these busy insects were seen using all their strength to hold the leaves in a proper position, while other industrious multitudes were employed within, in applying the gluten. " To satisfy ourselves," says captain Cook, " that the leaves were bent and held down by these diminutive artificers, we disturbed them in their work, and as soon as they were driven from their station, the leaves in which they were employed sprung up with a force much greater than we could have thought them able to conquer by any combination of their strength. But though we gratified our curiosity at their expence, the injury did not pass unrevenge, for thousands immediately threw themselves upon us, and gave us intolerable pain with their stings, especially those which took possession of our necks and our hair, from which they were not easily driven. There is another species, possessing no power of tormenting, and resembling the white ants of the East Indies. These construct nests upon the branches of trees three or four times as big as a man's head ; the materials of which are formed of small parts of vegetables kneaded together with a glutinous matter, with which nature has furnished them. Upon breaking the outside crust of this dwelling, innumerable cells, furnished with inhabitants, appear in a great variety of winding directions, all communicating with each other, and with several apertures which lead to other nests upon the same tree. They have also another house built upon the ground, generally at the root of a tree ; and formed like an irregularly sided cone, sometimes

times more than six feet high, and nearly as much in diameter. The outside of these is composed of well tempered clay, about two inches thick, and within are the cells, which have no opening outward. Between these two dwellings, one of which is their summer, and the other their winter residence, there is a communication by a large avenue, or covered way, leading to the ground by a subterraneous passage. The fish here are of kinds unknown to Europe, except the shell-fish and the mullet. Upon the shoals and reef are the finest green turtle in the world, and oysters of various kinds, particularly the rock oyster, and the pearl oyster. In the rivulets and salt creeks are alligators.

This extensive country is very thinly inhabited, and that by men in the lowest stage of savage life. On the coast the natives never appeared in larger companies than thirty together, and the ground being entirely uncultivated, they drew their principal subsistence from the sea. It is probable that the inland parts of the country are totally destitute of inhabitants. The only tribe with which any intercourse was established, consisted of 21 persons, 12 men, 7 women, a boy and a girl. The men are middle sized, clean limbed, and remarkably vigorous and nimble. Their countenances are expressive; their voices soft and effeminate; their bodies encrusted with dirt, which makes them appear almost as black as negroes. They crop their black hair, and keep their beards short by singeing them. The women were never seen but at a distance, for when the men crossed the river to the ship they left them behind. Neither sex have any conscious sense of indecency in discovering the whole body. They received the things that were given them, but were insensible to all the signs that were made that something was expected in return. Many of the trinkets that had been given them were afterwards found thrown negligently away in the woods, like the playthings of children, which please only when they are new. The bodies of many were marked with large scars, inflicted with some blunt instrument, and which they signified by signs to have been memorials of grief for the dead. There was no appearance of a town or village in the whole island; their houses were framed without art or industry; some of them only sufficient for a man to stand upright in, but not large enough for him to extend his length in any direction. They are built with pliable rods, about the thickness of a man's finger, in the form of an oven, and covered with palm leaves and bark. The door is a large hole. Under these houses or sheds they sleep, coiled up with their heels to their head, in which position one of the houses will hold three or four persons. Towards the north of the island these houses were made still slighter; one side being entirely open, and none of them above four feet deep. These hovels were set up occasionally by a wandering horde, in any place

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place that would furnish them for a time with subsistence, and left behind them when they removed to another spot. When they mean to continue only a night or two at a place, they sleep without any shelter except the bushes and grass, the latter of which is here near two feet high. They have a small bag, about the size of a moderate cabbage net, which the men carry upon their back by a string that passes over their heads. It generally contains a lump of paint and rosin, some fish-hooks and lines, shells of which their hooks are made, a few points of darts, and ornaments of shells and bones, with which they adorn their wrists and noses. This is the whole inventory of the richest man among them. They are unacquainted with the use of nets in fishing. Their fish-hooks are neatly made, and some of them extremely small. For striking turtle they have a peg of wood, about a foot long, and well bearded; this fits into a socket at the end of a staff of light wood, as thick as a man's wrist, and eight feet long. To the staff is tied one end of a loose line, about four fathoms long, the other end of which is fastened to the peg. To strike the turtle the peg is fixed into the socket; and when it has entered his body, and is retained there by the barb, the staff flies off, and serves for a float to chase their victim in the water. It assists also to tire him, till they can overtake him with their canoes, and haul him ashore. Their lines are made of the fibres of a vegetable, and are from the thickness of half an inch to the fineness of an hair. They bake their provisions by the help of hot stones, like the inhabitants of the south sea islands. They produce fire with great facility, and spread it in a wonderful manner. For this purpose they take two pieces of dry soft wood. The one is flat, the other a stick with an obtuse point at one end. This they press upon the other, and turn it nimbly by holding it between both hands as we do a chocolate mill. By this method they get fire in less than two minutes, and from the smallest spark increase with great speed and dexterity. "We have often seen," says captain Cook, "one of them run along the shore, to all appearance with nothing in his hand, who stooping down for a moment, at the distance of every fifty or an hundred yards, left fire behind him, as we could see, first by the smoke, and then by the flame among the drift wood, and other litter that was scattered along the place. We had the curiosity to examine one of the planters of fire when he set off, and we saw him wrap up a small spark in dry grass, which, when he had run a little way, having been fanned by the air which his motion produced, began to blaze. He then laid it down in a place convenient for his purpose, inclosing a spark of it in another quantity of grass, and so continued his course." Their weapons are spears or lances; some have four prongs pointed with bone

bone and barbed. To the northward the lance has but one point; the shaft is made of cane, straight and light, from eight to fourteen feet long, consisting of several joints, where the pieces are let into each other and bound together. The points of these darts are either hard heavy wood, or bones of fish: those of wood are sometimes armed with sharp pieces of broken shells stuck in, and at the junctures covered with rosin. The canoes to the northward are not made of bark, but of the trunk of a tree hollowed by fire; and none of them carry more than four people. The only tools seen among them are the adze, wretchedly made of stone; some small pieces of stone in the shape of a wedge; a wooden mallet, and some awkward instruments, or rather fragments of shells and coral. The uncultivated state of the inhabitants of New Holland; their total ignorance of agriculture, and the arts most necessary to human life, accounts for their being found in very small numbers together. They could not live in large societies without being exposed to perish for want of the necessaries of life. But it is hard to say how there comes to be so very few of these little wandering communities in a country of such amazing extent; and whether they are thinned by civil broils, excited by the horrid appetite of devouring each other, that prevails in New Zealand, or that their population is prevented by any other causes, cannot be ascertained. Though their country is at so little distance from New Guinea, they have never in all probability visited that island. If they had, the cocoa nuts, bread fruits, plantains and other vegetables which abound there, would naturally have been transplanted to New Holland. But no traces of them are to be found; and the miserable inhabitants, destitute of all necessaries but what they procure by fishing, unacquainted with the use of clothes to defend them against the rigour of the elements, and unprepared to live in such numbers together, as might enable them to obtain the smallest degree of knowledge even in the rude arts of uncultivated life, are reduced to the lowest condition in which the human species have ever been discovered in any part of the globe. Yet men sunk in this humiliating state, present us with the rudiments of all the arts and passions which distinguish the greatest and most polished nations. Their contrivances for fishing prove them capable to attain the highest pitch of mechanical ingenuity. Their regard to separate property shows them as susceptible of avarice as they are sensible to the dictates of justice; and their attempts, however awkward, to adorn their persons, indicate a desire to please, and to render themselves mutually agreeable. One advantage of these voyages into distant lands is to furnish materials for the history of man. They prove, beyond the possibility of dispute, the elevation and dignity of his nature; for how unfortunate

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fortunate soever his external circumstances, he discovers himself, by the plainest marks, to possess the seeds of all those various attainments which distinguish the heroes and sages of the most enlightened periods.

It is equally agreeable to the writer and reader to dwell on the brilliant and useful discoveries of British navigators in distant parts; and it is extremely mortifying to be obliged to return from this pleasing theme, to record the unhappy measures of the British administration, which have involved the navy, the army, and the whole empire in circumstances not less disgraceful than calamitous and afflicting. It would not, however, be agreeable to the truth of history entirely to ascribe the distressing scenes which followed, to the negligence and incapacity of ministers. Notorious as these have appeared, the situation and behaviour of the nation at large, seemed to forebode some fatal calamity. Intoxicated with more than expected prosperity, the people, at the close of the late war, were seized with an extravagant degree of giddy insolence, which made them despise the rest of mankind. In an overgrown and wealthy capital, where every capricious absurdity is apt to be carried to the most vicious excess, the vulgar were taught to spurn at regularity, subordination and law. From resentment, envy, and the worst passions incident to the human frame, the meanest of mankind were capable of throwing the nation into confusion; of heaping an oppressive weight of popular odium on the servants of the crown; and, however defective their dexterity, yet working with such sturdy engines as the ignorant prejudices of a licentious rabble, they were able to divide the one half of the island against the other. Our enemies saw with pleasure the effect of their wretched cabals, which were not more despicable in themselves than destructive in their consequences: France and Spain learned with inexpressible joy the respectable employment of the British parliament in the never-ending debates concerning the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes; in which, in their opinion, the question was, to decide whether an out-law, a bankrupt, and an impious blasphemer, should be appointed to defend the laws, the property and religion of England. They were charmed with the petitions and remonstrances of the city of London; and were glad to find the English ministers too much employed in an altercation with the magistrates of the metropolis, and in quieting the unhappy riots which clamorous incendiaries had excited among the people at home, to engage in vigorous measures for re-establishing their authority in America.

The conduct of administration, with regard to this country, was beyond any thing that their most sanguine wishes could have hoped. Contradictory instructions given to the governors; taxes imposed and repealed again and again; assemblies called and dissolved,

dissolved, and allowed to sit again without disavowing the measures which had occasioned their former dissolution; troops sent, driven out, with many alternate proposals of violence and submission; treasons charged, adopted by parliament, not proved, nor attempted to be proved, neither detected nor punished.—The administration of Lord North, who, already chancellor of the exchequer, was in the beginning of 1770, appointed first Lord of the treasury, did not announce any alteration in the hesitating, ambiguous conduct which had been hitherto maintained. The first measure which he adopted relative to America was to bring in a bill for a repeal of part of an act passed in the seventh of his present majesty, establishing duties on paper, painters colours, glass and tea. The duties on the other articles were abolished, that on tea only was continued. The motives assigned for the bringing in this bill, were the dangerous combinations which these duties had given birth to beyond the Atlantic, and the dissatisfaction which they had created at home, among the merchants trading to the colonies. It did not fail to be remarked on this occasion, that while the minister condemned these duties in the gross, and the law upon which they were founded as so absurd and preposterous that it was astonishing how it could originate in a British house of commons, yet he, notwithstanding this decisive declaration, proposed a repeal of but part of the law, and still continued the duty on tea; lest he should be thought to give way to American ideas, and to take away the impositions, as having been contrary to the rights of the colonies. Another inconsistency, not less glaring, and of still more importance, was the declaring the law of taxation, while no vigorous step was taken to enforce it.

Great Britain, disturbed by factious riots at home, and threatened with a rebellion in America, was to be insulted by the unprovoked hostility of foreign powers. Our unhappy intestine divisions, which had gradually spread from the corners of the capital to the remotest parts of the empire, had so filled the hands and engaged the thoughts of government, that little attention either had or could for some time past have been given to our foreign interests. Thus convulsed at home, and in a state of contention with our colonies, already productive of the most alarming appearances, it was not to be supposed, from the known systems of policy established and practised among rival states, that such evident opportunities of advantage would be overlooked by the natural and ever watchful enemies of Great Britain. The state of France, indeed, being nearly as unfortunate as our own, prevented that kingdom from expressing her secret animosity. But the principles of the family compact actuated every member of the house of Bourbon; and a stroke was at this time aimed by

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Spain which affected the honour of the British flag, and tarnished the recent glory of the nation.

The first discovery, the situation and the importance of Falkland islands, have already been described. Gold and silver being almost the only objects which excited the attention of the first discoverers and conquerors of the new world, these islands producing nothing of this kind were neglected for almost two centuries. Experience, and the extension of commerce, have at length shewn the probability that the southern parts of the new world afford other commodities, which may be turned to as great advantage by industrious nations as mines of gold and silver. In particular it is thought, that the greatest and most advantageous fishery in the world might be established there; and navigators say, that an hundred whales are to be met with in the high southern latitudes, for one that is to be found on the coast of Greenland. Besides this motive, which was alone sufficient to excite the enterprize of a commercial nation, Lord Anson's voyage fully explained the advantages that would result to England in time of war, from having a friendly port and place of refreshment considerably more to the south, and much nearer Cape Horn than the Brazils. The zealous and disagreeable character of the American Portugeze, which rendered it desirable to avoid all dependence on such insidious and contemptible allies; the great length of the voyage, by which the vigour and health of the men, as well as water and other provisions, were exhausted before they arrived at the place of action; were the principal inducements mentioned by Lord Anson for carrying this measure into execution. He pointed out the place most proper for forming the establishment, and, when at the head of the admiralty, made preparations for sending frigates to make discoveries in those seas, and particularly to examine the condition and circumstances of the above-mentioned islands. But this project was not so cautiously conducted as to escape the vigilance of the court of Spain, who made such representations on this subject to the British ministry, that the scheme was for the present laid aside, and continued dormant till the conclusion of the present war, when it was again revived by the earl of Egmont, who then presided in the admiralty. Accordingly commodore Byron was sent out in the year 1764, the success of whose expedition we have already related. About the same time Mr. Bougainville sailed into those seas to make discoveries for the crown of France, and touched at Falkland's Islands. But in a requisition of the court of Spain, the French easily sold or ceded all right to any property in what is called the Magellanica regions; with which sale or disposition it appears that Great Britain was not acquainted, nor even with any settlements for ever formed there by the French.

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In the year 1769 there was an English frigate and a sloop upon that station; and captain Hunt of the Tamer frigate cruising off Falkland's Islands fell in with a Spanish schooner belonging to Port Solidad taking a survey of them. The English captain, according to the orders which he had received, desired the Spaniard to depart from that coast as belonging to his Britannic majesty. The schooner departed, but returned in two days after, and brought on board an officer with letters and a present from Don Philip Ruez Puente, the Spanish governor of Port Solidad. These letters were couched in terms of apparent civility. Don Ruez affected to disbelieve the report of the captain of the schooner, and attributed captain Hunt's being in those seas to chance or stress of weather. He offered him upon that presumption every refreshment, and all acts of kindness in his power; but if the improbable account which he had received should happen to be true, he warned the English captain of his danger, reminded him of the violation of treaties, and the sole dominion of the king of Spain in those seas; and at the same time authorized the Spanish officer to order the English subjects immediately to depart.

Captain Hunt, in answer to the Spanish officer, with whom the governor had desired him to correspond, asserted the sole dominion of his Britannic majesty, as well by right of discovery as settlement, and warned the Spaniards in his name, and by his orders, to depart the islands, and allowed them six months from the date of the letter to prepare for their departure. The Spanish officer made a formal protest, as well upon the grounds already mentioned as upon captain Hunt's refusing to allow him to visit the settlement, and threatening to fire into the Spanish schooner upon her attempting to enter the harbour; he also protested against the captain's going to Solidad, which he had proposed in an amicable manner, and declared that it should be considered as an insult.

About two months after this transaction, two Spanish frigates of considerable force, with troops on board for the new settlement, arrived at Port Egmont, the principal place in Falkland's Islands; under pretence of wanting water. The commander in chief wrote a letter to captain Hunt, in which he expressed great astonishment at seeing an English flag flying, and a kind of settlement formed; charged him with a violation of the last peace, and protested against the measure in all its parts, at the same time declaring he would abstain from any other manner of proceeding until he had acquainted his Catholic majesty with this disagreeable transaction. Captain Hunt, as before, founded his possession on the claim of right, justified his conduct by the orders of his sovereign, and again warned the Spaniards to depart totally from those islands.

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The Spanish frigates having continued eight days at Port Egmont, during which time they were supplied with water, and treated with great civility by our people, departed seemingly without any hostile intention. But captain Hunt, dreading the consequences which soon followed, thought proper to return as soon as possible to England, to give an account of what had passed to the admiralty. He was succeeded at Port Egmont by the Favourite sloop, captain Maltby, which, with the Swift, captain Farmer, each of 16 guns, formed the whole force upon that station. Even this was unfortunately lessened, the Swift being overfet in the Streights of Magellan, where she had gone to make discoveries. The people, except three, were happily saved, by the fortitude and constancy of a few of their number, who, in an open cutter, undertook a voyage of three weeks in a most boisterous sea. They arrived at Port Egmont, and brought the Favourite to the relief of their distressed companions.

It was not long after this unexpected deliverance, when a Spanish frigate came into the same port, under pretence that she had been fifty-three days from Buenos Ayres, and was distressed for water; but three days after, her consorts, consisting of four frigates, also arrived, and it soon appeared that they had been only 26 days at sea, had parted from the first in a gale of wind, and, instead of being in their way to Port Solidad, were now arrived at their place of destination. These five frigates carried 134 pieces of cannon, and had on board between 16 and 1700 men, including soldiers and marines; besides which they had brought with them a train of artillery, and other materials sufficient to have invested a regular fortification.

A Spanish broad pendant was immediately hoisted on the arrival of the four last frigates, and as no doubt of their intentions now remained, captain Farmer ordered most of the officers and men who had belonged to the Swift, to come on shore to the defence of the settlement, while captain Maltby began to bring the Favourite nearer to the Cove. Upon the first motion of the Favourite one of the Spanish frigates sent an officer on board to acquaint the captain that if he weighed they should fire into his vessel. He, however, got under sail, regardless of this menace: the frigate fired two shot, which fell to leeward of him; and three of the Spanish vessels got under way, and worked to windward as he did.

The whole strength of the English in the island consisted in a wooden block-house, which had not even a port-hole in it, and only four pieces of cannon, which were sunk in the mud, to defend it. From the first appearance of the Spanish forces, captain Farmer had been active in clearing the stores out of the block-house, and in endeavouring to make it as defensible as its nature

nature would permit. He raised the cannon, cleared the platform, and cut out port-holes. In the mean time letters were sent from the Spanish commodore to both the captains separately, requesting them in the politest terms to consider his great power, and their own defenceless situation; and that they would, by quitting the place, prevent his being under the disagreeable necessity to proceed to hostilities. These were followed by another the next day, in which he offered, if they would quietly, and with good-will, abandon Port Egmont, he would peaceably put his troops on shore, and treat them with all the consideration which the harmony subsisting between the two powers required; that he would allow them to carry away all their property, and give them a receipt for any part of it they might chuse to leave behind, in order that the matter might be amicably adjusted between their respective courts. If, contrary to expectation, they should endeavour to maintain the settlement, he would then proceed to the accomplishment of his orders; and in that case threatened them with an attack by sea and land, expatiating in a pompous style on the spirit and brilliancy which they would experience in his military and naval forces. He concluded by requiring a categorical answer in fifteen minutes after the receipt of his letter.

To this arbitrary summons the British officers replied, that words are not always deemed hostilities, and that it was impossible for them to believe he should venture in a time of profound peace, and when by his own acknowledgment the most perfect harmony subsisted between the two courts, to commit an act of the most fatal tendency. That the king of Great Britain was able to defend the honour of his flag, and to protect the security of his dominions in all parts of the world: and had even a shorter time than fifteen minutes been allowed them to deliberate, it could not alter their determined resolution to defend the charge entrusted to them to the utmost of their abilities.

Previous to the designed attack the Spanish commodore desired that some of our officers might be sent to view the number and condition of the troops and artillery which he intended to land, in order to persuade the English captains of the inefficacy of their obstinate resistance to his commands. This was complied with; but without shaking the British resolution. The Spanish frigates then warped in close to the shore, and moored head and stern opposite to the block-house and battery. The same evening, the 9th of June, captain Malby came on shore with fifty of the *Favourite's* men, who brought with them two six pounders, ten swivels, and a quantity of small arms and ammunition. The next morning a part of the Spanish troops and artillery landed, about half a mile to the northward of our people; and when they had advanced half way from the place

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of their landing, the rest of the boats, with the remainder of the troops and artillery, put off from one of the Spanish frigates, and rowed right in for the Cove, being covered by the fire of the frigates, whose shot went over the block-house.

The English fired some shot; but seeing the impossibility of defending the settlement, and the Spaniards having now broke through all the limits of peace and amity, so that their hostility could neither be denied nor explained away, our officers with great address having brought the affair to that point which they desired, determined with equal propriety to save the valuable lives of the people, who must have been unavoidably cut off in this unequal contest. Accordingly they hung out a flag of truce, and demanded articles of capitulation.

The substance of these articles, concluded between the English captains on one hand, and Don John Ignatio Madariaga, major general of the royal navy of Spain, on the other, was, that the British subjects should be allowed to depart in the Favourite, and to take with them such of their stores as they thought proper; that an inventory should be made of the remainder, which were to be deposited in the hands of the governor of Solidad, who became answerable for them; that the English flag should continue flying on shore and on board the sloop; but that they were to exercise no jurisdiction except over their own people; nor to appear under arms until the time of embarkation, to which they were to march out with drums beating and colours flying. There was a restriction with regard to the time of their departure, until the governor of Solidad, or his deputy, should arrive to make the inventories, and to take charge of the stores. For the better security of this limitation a new and wanton insult was offered to the British flag, the Favourite's rudder being forcibly taken away, and kept on shore during the time of their detention. The account of the violent transactions of the Spaniards at Falkland's Islands, previous to this open and unprovoked hostility, was brought to England by captain Hunt, early in the month of June. The nation heard the news with indignation and resentment; especially as they had already much reason to complain of the ungenerous conduct of the Spaniards in detaining some thousands of English prisoners, seized under pretence of carrying on an illicit trade by the Spanish guarda costas. The necessity of putting ourselves in a respectable condition of defence was insisted on by the most popular members in both houses. Their partizans clamoured against the tameness of administration, and maintained the necessity of an immediate declaration of war, in order to disappoint the perfidious designs of our ancient and inveterate enemies.

The malignant nature of these designs, it was said, appeared too evidently in a dreadful national calamity, which happened

about this time, in the conflagration at Portsmouth. An event so prejudicial to our maritime strength, attended with such critical circumstances, was considered as a part of a great and settled plan for the reduction of our power and opulence. The fire which happened about the same time in Peterburgh, and which was also accompanied by some alarming particulars, did not lessen the suspicion on this occasion; and the reward of a thousand pounds offered by government, in the Gazette, for the discovery of those who had occasioned the fire in the dock-yard at Portsmouth, added a new cause of jealousy and distrust.

The loss sustained by the fire was supposed, according to the first loose calculations, to amount to half a million, but by latter and more accurate estimates, is made to be only 150,000*l.* which is comparatively nothing to the dreadful consequences that must have ensued, without a speedy and effectual assistance. The quantity of stores consumed was supplied with great expedition from the other docks; the public buildings and work-houses were soon restored; and the loss thus rendered of very little consequence to our marine in general.

Notwithstanding the alarm occasioned by these transactions in the nation, the ministry made little preparation for war. Some ships indeed were put into commission, and there was a greater bustle in the dock-yards than in the time of profound tranquillity. It was not, however, till the latter part of August, that houses were opened at the ports for manning sixteen sail of the line, and press warrants were not issued till near a month after. Much about this time the Favourite returned with our people from Falkland's islands; but notwithstanding the melancholy story which they told, to the disgrace of the English name, such was the licentiousness and depravity of the times, that even the manning of the navy met with great difficulties. The legality of press warrants was publicly called in question, and the opinions of counsel applied to the subject. In the city of London, upon the election of alderman Crosby to the mayoralty, that magistrate totally refused to back the press warrants, and asserted, that the considerable bounty granted by the city was intended to prevent such violences. Alderman Wilkes had before discharged an impressed man. Such transactions will transmit in proper colours to posterity the names of those patriotic magistrates, who did their utmost to impede the public service, when the security of the British dominions and the dignity of the crown were at stake.

When the parliament was assembled the 13th of November, 1770, the speech from the throne took notice that an immediate demand had been made from the court of Spain of such satisfaction as there was a right to expect for the injury received; and

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and at the same time declared, that the preparations for war should not be discontinued, until further reparation should be continued. The addresses of both houses of parliament were spirited, and the strongest and most unreserved assurances were given, that every degree of requisite support should be cheerfully granted. At the same time that the blessings of peace were acknowledged, the fullest confidence was placed in his majesty, that he would never be induced, by a mistaken tenderness for the present ease of the people, to sacrifice their most essential and more lasting interests. So early as the 29th of November 40,000 men were voted for the sea service; extensive grants were afterwards passed for the ordinary and support of the navy; the land forces for home service were augmented from about 17,000 to above 23,000 effective men; a new battalion was added to the ordnance, and a small addition made to the pay of the subaltern officers belonging to that corps.

As the session advanced, the prospect of peace seemed gradually to diminish. The negotiation and the tranquil intentions of Spain, which had been alledged by the ministry in answer to the clamours for immediate war, were no longer heard of, and a state of hostility with that country seemed to be considered as the probable issue of this affair. In fact, the negotiation was for a considerable time interrupted, and only renewed through the mediation of France, and finally concluded at the earnest desire of that court, and the terror inspired into the Spaniards by the vigour of the British preparations.

About a fortnight before the arrival of our people from Falkland's islands, a letter was received at the office of Lord Weymouth, secretary of state for the southern department, from Mr. Harris our minister at Madrid, acquainting government, that a ship had arrived from Buenos Ayres, with an account of the intended expedition, its force, and the time fixed for its sailing. At the same time prince Masserano, the Spanish ambassador acquainted his lordship, that he had good reason to believe the governor of Buenos Ayres had taken it upon him to make use of force, in dispossessing our people of Port Egmont; and that he was directed to make this communication to prevent the bad consequences of its coming through other hands; at the same time expressing his wishes, that whatever the transactions at Port Egmont may have been, in consequence of a step taken by the governor, without any particular instruction from his Catholic majesty, they might not be productive of measures dangerous to the good understanding between the two crowns.

Lord Weymouth replied, that if force had been used it was difficult to see how the fatal consequences could be avoided; that the instructions given to the British officers at Falkland's

islands were of the most pacific nature; but that still the circumstance of Mr. Buccarelli, the governor of Buenos Ayres, having acted without orders, left an opening for conciliation, provided the ambassador would disavow the conduct of that gentleman. Prince Masserano, however, declared, that he had no instructions to that purpose, but deprecated all resolutions and measures that might involve the two crowns in a war.

Upon a second conference with the ambassador, lord Weymouth demanded, in his majesty's name, as a specific condition of preserving the harmony between the courts, a disavowal of the proceedings at Port Egmont, and that the affairs of that settlement should be restored to the precise state in which they were previous to these proceeding. He at the same time sent instructions to Mr. Harris, to inform Mr. Grimaldi the Spanish minister of state of what had passed here, and of the proposed satisfaction, which alone could put it in his majesty's power to suspend his preparations for hostility. Mr. Grimaldi at first expressed himself in very vague terms. He had reason to foresee that some disagreeable event would happen in the south seas, from the notorious disapprobation of the court of Spain to any British establishments in those parts. He could not blame the conduct of Mr. Buccarelli, as it was founded upon the laws of America. At the same time he wished to have prevented this conduct, and had actually, upon the first surmise of the design, dispatched a vessel from the Groyne, to hinder it from being put in execution; that the Spanish nation had so little to get and so much to lose by a war, that nothing but the last extremity could reduce them to so violent a measure; and that the king his master wished only to act consistently with his own honour, and the welfare of his people, and that so far as our demand was compatible with those two points, there was no doubt of its being agreed to. In a subsequent meeting he assured the British envoy, that his Catholic majesty was determined to do every thing in his power to terminate this affair in an amicable manner: that instructions for this purpose had been transmitted to prince Masserano at the court of London, differing from the requisition of that court in terms only, and not essentially, so that he had no doubt the proposals which they contained would readily be adopted.

Prince Masserano, accordingly, proposed a convention to lord Weymouth, in which the king of Spain disavowed any particular orders given to Mr. Buccarelli, at the same time that his majesty allowed that governor had acted agreeably to his general instructions, and to the oath which his office obliged him to take. He further stipulated the restitution of Falkland's islands without prejudice to his Catholic majesty's right; and he expected that the king of Great Britain would disavow captain

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Hunt's menace, which, he said, gave immediate occasion to the steps taken by Mr. Buccarelli. To this it was answered, that when his Britannic majesty's moderation condescended to demand redress for the injury which his crown had received, he could not possibly accept as a convention that satisfaction to which he had so just a title without entering into any engagement in order to procure it. That the idea of his majesty's becoming a contracting party upon this occasion, is entirely foreign to the case, for having received an injury, and demanded the most moderate reparation of that injury his honour can permit him to accept, that reparation loses its value if it is to be conditional, and to be obtained by any stipulation whatsoever on the part of his majesty.

Upon this answer prince Masserano told lord Weymouth, that he had no power to proceed in this affair, except by convention, without farther instructions from Madrid. While the ambassador sent for these, lord Weymouth dispatched an express to Mr. Harris, to lay before the Spanish minister the unexpected obstacles that had arisen in this affair, and to demand a direct answer to the object of his first requisition. For several days, however, no answer was returned; but at length Mr. Grimaldi intimated, that the king his master had sent instructions to prince Masserano, by which he was empowered to treat again, and to grant every reasonable satisfaction for the supposed insult; that his Catholic majesty was willing to come into any method regarding the manner of giving the satisfaction that should appear the most eligible to the king of Great-Britain; expecting, however, that as he went such a length to save his honour, his own should also be considered, so far as it did not interfere with the satisfaction that was to be offered.

Nothing could appear to be more satisfactory than these pretended instructions given to prince Masserano. Mr. Grimaldi's answer was given the 7th November, and was received in London the 19th; but it soon appeared that the conduct of prince Masserano did not at all accord with the pacific intentions and conciliatory sentiments professed at Madrid. The earl of Rochfort, who succeeded lord Weymouth in office, wrote a letter to Mr. Harris, dated the 21st December, in which he informed him, that all negotiations with the Spanish ambassador had for some time been at an end, the answer to the king's demand being totally inadmissible; and that being inconsistent with his majesty's honour to make any farther proposal to the court of Spain, he was desired to withdraw from Madrid with all convenient speed.

Thus was the negotiation entirely broken off. How it came again to be renewed seems to have been better known in all the coffee-houses of Europe, than to the English secretaries of state.

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No document relative to its renewal has ever been laid before parliament or the public, but it is reasonable, from the duplicity and design discovered by Spain, in the whole transaction, to look for the motives of conciliation in every other quarter, rather than in the pacific or friendly dispositions of the court of Madrid.

The family compact, by which the different branches of the House of Bourbon engaged to employ their whole force in the mutual support and assistance of each other, was proposed, and carried into execution by the wisdom and address of the duke of Choiseul. That able minister little imagined a compliance with the terms of this formidable union might become extremely inconvenient to France, for the interest of which it had principally been formed. It did not occur to him, that the haughty spirit of Spain, exasperated by the disgraceful wounds received in the war with Great Britain, would prompt her to take the first opportunity of seeking revenge; while France, exhausted in her resources; without money or credit; convulsed by the most violent dissensions between the first orders of the state, while the people were ripe for sedition from the want of the first necessaries of life, might be in no condition to afford Spain that assistance which had been so stipulated between them. The credit of the duke who had contrived the family compact, long considered as a master-piece of policy, but now found to be attended with consequences in every view disgraceful to France, began to decline: he was soon after removed from his employment and obliged to retire. Other councils prevailed, more agreeable to the pacific dispositions of an aged prince, who had nothing farther in view but to end his days in the bosom of ease and tranquility.

The interval that passed between the breaking off of the negotiation between Great-Britain and Spain, with the transactions of which the public has never been informed by authority, was probably filled up by listening to the mediation of France, which disarmed the ardent hostility of her southern ally, and persuaded her, much against her own inclination, to propose an accommodation, in form at least, less offensive to the dignity of Great-Britain. It was not till the first day of the meeting of parliament, January 22d, 1777, after the Christmas recess, that, instead of a convention, a declaration was proposed and signed by prince Mafferano, and accepted by the earl of Rockford. By the former the ambassador, in the name of his master, disavows the violence used at Port Egmont, and stipulates that every thing shall be restored there precisely to the same state in which it was before the reduction; but at the same time declares, that this restoration is not in any wise to affect the question of the prior

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prior right of sovereignty of those islands; and by the acceptance, the performance of these stipulations is to be considered as a satisfaction for the injury done to the crown of Great-Britain. This transaction was immediately announced to both houses. While the friends of administration proposed an address of thanks to his majesty for having supported the honour of the crown of Great-Britain by a firm and unvaried adherence to his just demand of satisfaction, and for not having too hastily engaged the nation in the hazards and burdens of war, the gentlemen in opposition affirmed, that the whole transaction was equally unsafe and disgraceful; that instead of having provided a reparation for former hostilities, or a security against future, it contained in itself the genuine seeds of perpetual hostility and war. That it is as dishonourable to the crown itself as to the nation, and admitting the fashionable language, that the dignity of the former, and the reparation to it, are the only objects of consideration, it will be found as shamefully deficient in this respect as in every other. Thus, by this infamous accommodation, the honour of the crown of England had not been put on the same footing with that of inferior kingdoms. The French king, for a small violation of territorial right in the pursuit of an outlawed smuggler, had thought it necessary to send an ambassador extraordinary to the king of Sardinia to apologize for it in the most solemn and public manner. When the English fleet under admiral Boscawen destroyed some French ships on the coast of Portugal, Great Britain sent an ambassador extraordinary to the court of Lisbon, to make reparation in honour; but when the Spaniards insult the British flag, and commit the most outrageous acts of hostility on British subjects, they propose a declaration, in which the right to employ the same violence again is maintained and defended. For though the court of Spain had disavowed the act of hostility as proceeding from particular instructions, she continued to justify it under her general instructions to her governors, under the oath by them taken, and under the established laws of America; and that this justification of an act of violence under general orders, established laws and oaths of office, is far more dangerous and injurious to this kingdom than the particular enterprise which has been disavowed, as it most evidently supposes, that the governors of the Spanish American provinces are not only authorised, but required, to raise forces by sea and land, and to invade our possessions in those parts, in the midst of profound peace. Many other objections of equal weight were urged against the acceptance of the Spanish declaration, in a strong, animated, eloquent and argumentative protest of the house of peers, which will remain to all posterity to their immortal honour.

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The same measures of government, however, were adopted by a great majority. During the recess of parliament, September 16, 1771, Spain fulfilled her engagements contained in the declaration, by the restoration of Port Egmont, which was delivered up to captain Scott, who was sent thither with a small squadron for that purpose. Ministry seemed to think all was secured by an amicable termination of this dispute; and parliament was not called till after the Christmas holidays, 21st January, 1772. The late meeting of this assembly, which indicated that no urgent business required an early attendance, and the pacific declaration from the throne, were sufficient to lull the nation into the most perfect security. What, therefore, must have been their surprise and indignation, when a motion was made so early as the 29th of January, that 25,000 seamen should be voted for the service of the ensuing year. It was urged, in support of this motion, that the French having sent a considerable fleet to the East-Indies, we were obliged upon that account to augment our naval force there. That a larger squadron was now employed for the protection of Jamaica and our other West-India islands, than in former years of peace; as the importance of our valuable possessions in that quarter, the probability of the Spaniards making their first attempt upon them in case of a war, and the considerable fleet which they kept up in those seas, rendered an augmentation of our maritime strength on that station a matter of the most evident necessity. That the war between the Turks and Russians made it also necessary to employ a greater number of ships for the protection of our commerce in the Mediterranean and Archipelago than had been customary in times of general peace. Besides these general reasons for augmentation, much stress was laid upon the great reform with regard to the guard ships, it being acknowledged, that for several years past these ships had been exceedingly neglected, and considered merely as jobs; so that at the time of the late expected war there were neither ships nor men fit for service. But that now things were so much altered for the better, that twenty of the best ships in the navy were kept upon that duty; and were in such complete condition, and so nearly manned, that a slight press would at any time enable them in a very few days to put to sea. That the rest of the fleet was also in good condition, and in about a year we should have near eighty ships of the line at home fit for service, besides those that were upon foreign duty. Many pointed and severe sarcasms were levelled at the ministry for accompanying a speech, which breathed nothing but effusions of peace, with all the actual preparations for war; some gentlemen in opposition declared for the motion, upon the avowed principle that the supplies demanded were not in any degree to be considered as a peace establishment; while

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the greater part of these gentlemen arraigned the adding to the burdens of a nation already sinking under the weight of an overgrown and monstrous public debt. They observed that our peace establishment was every year increasing, and that arguments similar to those at present alledged could never be wanting to oppose any diminution of it.

The progress of the Russians in the Mediterranean rendered it necessary for both France and Spain to stand on their guard, and to watch the growing greatness of these new and formidable allies of Great Britain. But, in the beginning of the year 1773, there were more extraordinary preparations in the French and Spanish ports than any apprehension of this kind could account for. Those preparations were carried on with the utmost vigour and industry, not only in the ports of the Mediterranean but in those of the ocean, and afforded room for suspecting the most hostile intentions. Strong remonstrances on this subject were made on the part of Great Britain at the courts of Paris and Madrid, accompanied with a declaration, that if such measures were continued, his Britannic majesty would be under a necessity of sending such a fleet of observation into the Mediterranean, as should effectually frustrate any attempts that might be made against the Russians. In the mean time a powerful fleet was equipped, and ordered to rendezvous at Spithead, and those warlike preparations were for some time continued on all sides. The rapidity with which Great Britain assembled such a naval force as was sufficient to contend with that of all her enemies united, and the magnificence and military pomp with which her mighty preparations were displayed, restrained the hostile dispositions which had begun to prevail at Paris and Madrid, and prevented the prosecution of measures, which must have involved all Europe in their consequences.

The conduct of administration will be an enigma to posterity. Possessed of a naval force that made the greatest princes of Europe tremble, they have been so far from quieting the dissensions which prevailed in America, that they have totally alienated from Great Britain those flourishing and wealthy provinces, and reduced their country to that state of despair in which we now live. Two roads were open before them, either of which might have been followed, if not with equal glory, yet with an equally assured prospect of success. By disregarding the clamours of an interested opposition, and making use of the power in their hands, they might, while all Europe were silent in our presence, have inflicted whatever punishment became necessary to reduce the rebellious provinces to an humble sense of their duty. But this method was so far from being adopted, that a first lord of the treasury talked of compelling the Americans to submit to taxes without bloodshed; and a first lord of the admiralty,

miralty, upon the appearances of measures which indicated vigour, voted a reduction of 4000 seamen; assuring the house, that the low establishment proposed would be fully sufficient for conquering the Americans; of whose power and courage he spoke with the utmost contempt, affirming that they were not disciplined nor capable of discipline, and that formed of such materials, and so indisposed to action, the numbers of which such boasts had been made, would only facilitate their defeat.

Another road, which might have been pursued with universal applause, would have been to abandon that odious measure of taxing a free people without their own consent. Had that been done, the weight of opposition would have been removed at once, and the Americans, if they still continued refractory, might have been compelled by force of arms to acknowledge the supremacy of the mother country without one sympathizing voice in Europe to condole with them for the rigours of a punishment which they had justly drawn on their own heads. But neither of these methods being adopted, the ministry hesitated between peace and war; and their tame, equivocal, temporizing conduct brought the Americans to a maturity of resistance and rebellion, the effects of which we should now proceed to describe and deplore, if, in deducing a chronological account of the naval transactions of Great Britain, there were not some intervening events, which deserve to be related.

These are the discoveries which continued to be made by our navigators in the years 1773, 1774, and 1775. They were not, as of late years, confined entirely to the southern ocean. While captain Cooke was employed in exploring this part of the globe, the honorable Constantine Phipps, now Lord Mulgrave, was sent to examine how far navigation was practicable towards the north pole. This was done in consequence of an application to Lord Sandwich, first Lord of the admiralty, from the Royal Society. His lordship laid the request of the Society before the king, who ordered the Racehorse, and Carcass, bombs, to be fitted out for the expedition. The command of the former was given to captain Phipps, and of the latter to captain Lutwidge. The idea of a passage to the East Indies by the north pole, was suggested as early as the year 1727, by Robert Thorne, a merchant of Bristol, who addressed a paper to Henry the Eighth on that subject; but Henry as usual, was involved in a multiplicity of affairs, which prevented him from giving any attention to this application. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth Sir Hugh Willoughby made the attempt with three ships, anno 1553. He proceeded to the latitude of 75 degrees north, but being obliged to winter in Lapland, he and all his company perished miserably. Three years afterwards captain Burroughs failed on the same design, and advanced to 78 degrees north. To him succeeded

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captains Jackman and Pell in 1580, in two ships; the latter of whom, with his ship, was lost. The Dutch began to pursue the same discovery in 1595, and successive voyages were made, which tended rather to prove the impracticability of sailing to high northern latitudes, than the probability of finding the passage, which was the object of these daring enterprises. In 1607 Henry Hudson was equipped by a company of London merchants, to discover a passage by the north pole to Japan and China. He penetrated to 80 degrees 23 minutes north, and was then stopped by the ice. Two years after another ship was sent out by the Russian Company of merchants in London; the ship was commanded by Jonas Poole, who could not with his utmost endeavours advance farther than 79 degrees 5 minutes north. In the year 1614 another voyage was undertaken, in which Baffin and Fotherby were employed, but without success; and next year Fotherby, in a pinnace of 20 tons, with ten men, was equally unsuccessful. John Wood, with a frigate and a pink, failed in 1676, but returned without effecting any thing. Most of these voyages having been fitted out by private adventurers, for the double purpose of discovery and present advantage, it was natural to suppose, that the attention of the navigators had been diverted from the more remote and less profitable object of the two, and that they had not prosecuted the chief purpose of discovery with all the care that could have been wished. "But," says captain Phipps, "I am happy in an opportunity of doing justice to the memory of these men, which, without having traced their steps, and experienced their difficulties, it would have been impossible to have done. They appear to have encountered dangers, which at that period must have been particularly alarming from their novelty, with the greatest fortitude and perseverance, as well as to have shewn a degree of diligence and skill, not only in the ordinary and practical, but in the more scientific parts of their profession, which might have done honour to modern seamen, with all their advantages of later improvements. This when compared with the state of navigation, even within these forty years, by the most eminent foreign authors, affords the most flattering and satisfactory proof of the very early existence of that decided superiority in naval affairs, which has carried the power of this country to the height it has now attained."

The captain sailed in February 1773, and after passing the islands of Shetland, the first land he made was Spitzbergen, in latitude 77 degrees, 59 minutes, 11 seconds north, and longitude 9 degrees, 13 minutes east. The coast appeared to be neither habitable nor accessible, but formed of high black rocks, without the least marks of vegetation, mostly bare and pointed, in some places covered with snow, and towering above the clouds.

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The vallies between the high cliffs were filled with snow or ice. "This prospect," says captain Phipps, "would have suggested the idea of perpetual winter, bright sun-shine, and constant day-light, give a cheerfulness and a novelty to the whole of this striking and romantic scene. The height of one mountain seen here was found to be 1503 yards. The harbour of Smeerenberg, lying in latitude 79 degrees, 44 minutes north, longitude 9 degrees, 50 minutes, 45 seconds east, has good anchorage in fifteen fathoms. Close to this harbour is an island, called Amsterdam island, where the Dutch used formerly to boil their whale blubber, and the remains of some conveniencies erected by them for that purpose are still visible. They attempted once to form an establishment here, and left some people, who all perished in the winter. The Dutch ships still resort to this place for the latter season of the whaling fishery. The most remarkable views which these dreary regions present, are what are called the ice-bergs. These are large bodies of ice, filling the vallies between the high mountains. Their face towards the sea is nearly perpendicular, and of a very lively green colour. One was about 300 feet high, with a cascade of water issuing out of it. Large pieces frequently break off from the ice-bergs, and fall with great noise into the water."

Captain Phipps has been very accurate in describing the few animals which these inhospitable regions produce, and was at pains to examine the vegetable and mineral productions. He proceeded afterwards to Moffen Island in latitude 80 degrees north, longitude 12 degrees, 20 minutes east, which is of a round form, about two miles in diameter, with a lake in the middle, frozen with eternal ice. At the Seven Islands which lie in latitude 81 degrees, 21 minutes north, the two ships became suddenly fast in the ice on the 31st of July. These islands and north-east land, with the frozen sea formed almost a basin, having but about four points open for the ice to drift out in case of a change of wind. The passage by which the ships had come in to the westward became close, and a strong current set in to the east, by which they were carried still farther from their course. The labour of the whole ship's company to cut away the ice proved ineffectual; their utmost efforts for a whole day could not move the ships above 300 yards to the westward through the ice, whilst the current had at the same time driven them far to the north-east and eastward. Appearances remained thus threatening for four or five days, the safety of the crew seemed all that could possibly be effected. As it had been foreseen that one or both of the ships might be sacrificed in the prosecution of the voyage, the boats for each ship were calculated, in number and size, to be fit in any emergency to transport the whole crew.

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crew. Driven to this state of danger and suspense, on the 6th of August the boats were hoisted out, and every possible method taken to render them secure and comfortable; but the next day the wind blew eastwardly, and the ships were moved about a mile to the westward. But still they run not so far west by a great way as when they were first beset with the ice; however, on the 9th of August, the current had visibly changed, and run to the westward, by which both the ships had been carried considerably in that direction. On the 10th a brisk wind at north-north-east accomplished their deliverance, and freed them from the dreadful prospect of perishing, as many former adventurers had done in those polar regions. Having found it impracticable to penetrate any farther towards the north, they returned to the harbour of Smeerenberg; having, in the prosecution of this voyage, reached 81 degrees, 36 minutes north latitude, and between the latitudes of 79 degrees 50 minutes, and 81 degrees, traversed 17 degrees and a half of longitude, that is, from 2 degrees east to 19 degrees, 30 minutes east.

While lord Mulgrave was employed in ascertaining the limits of navigation towards the north, captain Cook was indefatigable in examining the respective dominions of land and ocean in the southern hemisphere. Notwithstanding the various voyages, in which this part of the globe had been traversed in the many different directions, all tending to render the existence of a southern continent more improbable, the fact was not yet brought to a clear and demonstrative evidence. To determine this point was the main object of the present voyage, on which captain Cook sailed in the *Resolution*, accompanied by captain Fourneaux in the *Adventure*, the 2d of April, 1772. The ships in which they embarked were the most proper that could be contrived for such a dangerous undertaking; captain Cook in the clear, simple, and manly narrative which he has published of his proceedings, having proved beyond the possibility of a doubt, that north-country vessels, or such as are built for the coal trade, are the fittest for pursuing with success the discovery of remote countries. To the nature of his ships, which were of this safe and commodious construction, rather than to his own nautical skill and abilities, he modestly ascribes the singular felicity of his voyage, which was far beyond the experience or hopes of former navigators.

Besides the advantages arising from the form of the vessels, and the skill of the commander, the provision of every sort exceeded all that had been known on any former occasion. Every circumstance and situation that could be foreseen or apprehended was provided for with unexampled liberality. A considerable sum of money was allotted by parliament to encourage two gentlemen, eminent in natural history, to sacrifice their time, and
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encounter the toils and dangers of such a voyage. With the same generous spirit for the improvement of knowledge, a landscape-painter of merit, and two able astronomers, were also engaged. Nor was any attention omitted which could be deemed necessary for the subsistence, security, health, or comfort of all the voyagers.

Having sailed with so many circumstances in their favour, they reached the Cape of Good Hope without meeting with any remarkable occurrence, and departed from thence the 22d of November, 1772. They returned to the same place the 22d of March, 1775, having sailed no less than 20,000 leagues in two years and four months; an extent of voyage nearly equal to three times the equatorial circumference of the earth, and which, it is highly probable, never was traversed by any other ship in an equal period of time. When we take into computation the voyage to and from the Cape to England, the whole time consumed is above three years, during which they experienced every variety of climate from 52 degrees north latitude to 71 degrees south, and were continually exposed to all the hardships and fatigue inseparable from a seafaring life; and yet what is most extraordinary, the numerous ship's company on board the *Resolution* preserved a more uninterrupted state of good health, than perhaps they could have enjoyed on shore in the most temperate climate of the earth. In that long and various course, of 118 persons only four were lost; and of that four only one fell a victim to sickness; a fact unparalleled in the history of navigation.

In the most healthy climates no bills of mortality have produced such an instance amongst an equal number of men during a like period. When, therefore, we consider the numbers of brave seamen who perished by marine diseases under Anson and other navigators, the greatest praise is due to Captain Cook for his judicious management in preserving the health of the men under his command. The chief preservative against the scurvy, used by this judicious commander, was sweet wort, which was given not only to those who were afflicted with that distemper, but likewise to those who were thought likely to take it. Portable soup and four krout were also used with success in preserving the health of the seamen. The ship's company were kept in constant exercise, and their cleanliness contributed not a little to their health. The ship was frequently purified by fires, a practice much recommended by captain Cooke. Fresh water was also an object of particular attention. Not satisfied with having plenty of that necessary article, he would always have the purest, and therefore, when ever an opportunity offered, he emptied what he had taken in a few days before, and filled his casks anew. As a testimony of regard for these important improve-

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ments for preserving the health of seamen, the Royal Society was pleased to bestow Sir Godfrey Copley's medal upon captain Cook.

The first cruize from the Cape of Good Hope, November 22d, 1772, was employed in ascertaining the great question concerning the *Terra Australis incognita*. The two ships sailed in company, and the 10th of December following, being in latitude 50 degrees, 40 minutes south, saw the first ice. The mass was about 50 feet high, and half a mile in circuit, flat at top, and its sides rose in a perpendicular direction, against which the sea broke exceedingly high. From this time the icy mountains began to be very frequent, exhibiting a view as pleasing to the eye as terrible to reflection; "for," says the captain, "were a ship to get against the weather-side, of one of these masses of ice, when the sea runs high, she would be dashed to pieces in a moment." On the 14th, being in latitude 54 degrees, 50 minutes south. 21 degrees, 34 minutes east, they were stopped, in their route to the southward, by an immense field of low ice, to which no end could be seen to the south east or west. In different parts were hills of ice, like those that had been before found floating in the sea; and the ship's company were often amused with the flattering prospect of land, which turned out to be fog-banks. A boat was here hoisted out to try the direction of the current, and Mr. Wales the astronomer, accompanied by Mr. Foster the naturalist, took the opportunity of going in her to make experiments on the temperature of the sea at different depths. A thick fog came on, which blackened into such a degree of obscurity, that they entirely lost sight of both the ships. In a four-oared boat, in an immense ocean, far from any hospitable shore, surrounded with ice, and destitute of provisions, their situation was as frightful as any that can well be imagined. In this dreadful suspense, they determined to lie still, hoping that, provided they preserved their places, the sloops would not abandon them. The most delightful musick they ever heard was the jingling of the bell of the Adventure, which took them on board. The ships then changed their course to the eastward, where the large islands of ice were hourly seen in all directions; so that they became as familiar to those on board as the clouds and the sea. A strong reflection of white on the skirts of the sky was a certain indication of these islands; although the ice itself is not entirely white, but often tinged, especially near the surface of the sea, with a beautiful berylline blue. This colour sometimes appeared 20 or 30 feet above the surface, and was most probably produced by some particles of sea-water dashed against the mass in tempestuous weather. Different shades of white were frequently observed in the larger islands, lying above each other in strata of a foot high, which confirms captain Cook's

Cook's opinion concerning the formation and increase of these masses, by heavy falls of snow at different intervals. The 26th the islands still surrounded them, behind one of which, in the evening, the setting sun tinged its edges with gold, and brought upon the whole mass a beautiful suffusion of purple. "Although," says captain Cook, "this was the middle of summer with us, I much question if the day was colder in any part of England; the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer constantly kept below the freezing point. The shooting at penguins afforded great sport but little profit, the birds diving so frequently in the water, and continuing so long under it, that the fowlers were generally obliged to give over the pursuit. Their thick glossy plumage turned off the small shot, and it was necessary to attack them with ball."

Having hitherto met with no land, captain Cook determined, January 2d, 1773, to go in search of Cape Circumcision, which is laid down by Bouguer in 58 degrees, 53 minutes south, 10 degrees 6 minutes east; but as he saw no appearance of it in that situation, although the weather was very clear, he supposed it to have been nothing but fields and mountains of ice. January 9th, three boats were hoisted out, and in a few hours took up as much ice as yielded fifteen tons of good fresh water. The salt which adhered to the ice was so trifling as not to be tasted, and entirely drained off by lying a short time on the deck. Crantz some years ago advanced in his history of Greenland, that those great masses of ice in the northern seas dissolved into fresh water, from which he inferred, that they owed their origin to the vast rivers of those hyperborean regions; but it was reserved to captain Cook to establish the doctrine, that the freezing of sea-water into ice, not only deprives it of all its salt particles, but that it will thaw into soft, potable, and most wholesome water. He has also proved by experience that the bad qualities which for so many ages have been attributed to melted snow and ice-water are destitute of all foundation. This happy discovery of deriving the greatest advantage from the ice in mountains, which seem to threaten our navigators with nothing less than destruction, enabled them to persevere in their voyage for a length of time that would have been otherwise impossible, and contributed to that unparalleled degree of health, which they so fortunately enjoyed.

January 17th they crossed the Antarctic circle in longitude 39 degrees, 35 minutes east, which till then remained impenetrable to all former navigators. The ice-islands became more and more numerous; and in longitude 67 degrees, 15 minutes south, an immense field of congelation extended to the southward as far as the eye could reach, which obliged captain Cook to put about, and stand north-east by north. Here were seen many whales

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playing about the ice, and various flocks of brown and white pintadoes, which were named Antarctic peterels, because they seemed to be natives of that region. January 31st, two islands of ice were seen in latitude 50 degrees, 50 minutes south, one of which appeared to be falling to pieces by the crackling noise it made; and this was the last ice seen, until they returned again to the southward. In the neighbourhood of this latitude they fell in with the islands discovered by Messrs. Thirguelen, St. Allouard and Marion, French navigators, all of which were islands of considerable extent, high, rocky, destitute of trees, and almost entirely barren. It was supposed that the French had discovered the north cape of a great southern continent; but though that land was not found by captain Cook, his long navigation proves, that their discovery, if not an ice field, could only be a small island.

The Resolution lost sight of the Adventure the 8th of February, and the two sloops continued separate for the rest of the cruise, but afterwards met in Queen Charlotte's sound in New Zealand. They proceeded together to Otaheite, and other islands within the tropics, and again separated near to Cook's freights, and never more joined during the voyage. Captain Furneaux returned a second time to the place of rendezvous at Queen Charlotte's sound, but his consort having left that place a considerable time before his arrival, he, after refreshing his crew, set sail for England, which he reached in July 1774.

The Resolution continuing her voyage, in 58 degrees south, Captain Cook observed for the first time, on February 17th, the Aurora Australis, a phenomenon which had never before been taken notice of by any navigator in the southern hemisphere. It consisted of long columns of a clear white light, shooting up from the horizon to the eastward, almost to the zenith, and spreading gradually over the whole southern part of the sky. These columns differed from the southern lights in being always of a whitish colour. The sky was generally clear when they appeared and the air sharp and cold, the thermometer standing at the freezing point. In March 26th, captain Cook made the coast of New Zealand, and anchored in Dusky bay, after having been one hundred and seventeen days at sea, without having once seen any land, in which time they had sailed three thousand six hundred and sixty leagues.

The captain continued during the following months, which are the winter season in that climate, to visit his old friends at Otaheite, the Society and Friendly Islands; and after examining a space of more than forty degrees of longitude between the tropics, he returned to Queen Charlotte's sound. There he changed the fair-weather rigging of his ship for such

as might resist the storms and rigours of the high southern latitudes, and set sail the 27th November to explore the unknown parts of the Pacific Ocean. On December 6th he reached the 51st degree, 32 minutes south latitude, and the 180th degree east longitude, consequently the point of the antipodes of London. December 15th, in 66 degrees south, and 159 degrees west, the farther course to the southward was interrupted by the ice-islands, among which they were almost embayed, which obliged them to tack to the north, and soon after they got clear of all the ice, but not without receiving several knocks from the larger pieces, which would have destroyed any vessel less carefully prepared to resist those repeated shocks. They crossed the Antarctic circle a second time on December the 20th, in the longitude of 147 degrees, 46 minutes west. The next morning they saw innumerable ice-islands, high and rugged, their tops formed into various peaks, which distinguished them from those hitherto observed, which were commonly flat at the top. Many of those now seen were between two and three hundred feet in height, and between two and three miles in circuit, with perpendicular cliffs or sides, astonishing to behold. Most of their winged companions had now left them, except the grey albatrosses, and instead of the other birds, they were visited by a few Antarctic peterels, two of which were shot. From the appearance of the former, captain Cook says, "we may with reason conjecture that there is land to the south." December the 22d, they had penetrated to 67 degrees, 31 minutes south, being the highest latitude they had yet reached. The longitude was 142 degrees, 54 minutes west. They celebrated Christmas day the 25th with great festivity, the sailors feasting on a double portion of pudding, and regaling themselves with the brandy which they had saved from their allowance several months before, being solicitous to get very drunk. The sight of an immense number of ice-lands, among which the ship drifted at the mercy of the current, every moment in danger of being dashed in pieces, could not deter them from indulging in their favourite amusement; as long as they had brandy left, they would persist to keep Christmas, though the elements had conspired together for their destruction.

January 3d, 1774, being in latitude 56 degrees south, and longitude 140 degrees 31 minutes west, the wind obliged them to steer more to the north-east than they would have chosen, by which they left unexamined a space of 40 degrees of longitude, and 20 degrees of latitude; which, however, was afterwards explored on the return of the Resolution next year, and likewise by captain Furneaux in the Adventure much about this time. The wind increased so much on January the 15th, that it was very doubtful whether our navigators would return to give an

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account of their voyage. At nine at night a huge mountainous wave struck the ship on the beam, and filled the deck with a deluge of water, which poured into the cabin, extinguished the lights, and left the gentlemen there in doubt whether they were not entirely overwhelmed, and sinking into the abyss. They passed for a third time the Antarctic circle on January 26th, in longitude 109 degrees west, when they found the mildest sunshine that had been experienced in the frigid zone. This led them to entertain hopes of penetrating as far towards the south pole as other navigators had done towards the north; but the next day they discovered a solid ice field before them of immense extent, bearing from east to west. A bed of fragments floated all round this field, which seemed to be raised several feet high above the level of the water. Whilst in this situation, they observed the southern part of the horizon illuminated by the rays of light reflected from the ice to an amazing height. Ninety-seven ice-islands were counted within the field, beside those on the outside; many of them were large, and looked like a ridge of mountains, rising one above another till they were lost in the clouds. The outer or northern edge of this immense field was composed of loose or broken ice close packed together; so that it was not possible for any thing to enter it. Captain Cook, however, is of opinion, that there must be land to the south behind this ice; but adds, "It can afford no better retreat for birds, or any other animals, than the ice itself, with which it must be entirely covered. I, who was ambitious not only of going farther than any body had gone before, but as far as it was possible for man to go, was not sorry at meeting with this interruption; as it in some measure relieved us, and shortened the dangers and hardships inseparable from the navigation of the southern polar regions. Since then we could not proceed farther to the south, no other reason need be assigned for my tacking and standing back to the north, being at this time in the latitude of 71 degrees, 10 minutes south, and longitude 106 degrees, 54 minutes west."

Captain Cook then went in search of the land, said to have been discovered by Juan Fernandez about a century ago, in latitude 38 degrees, and laid down by Mr. Dalrymple in 90 degrees west, but no such land was found in this situation: if there is any land in the neighbourhood, it can be nothing but a small island. The captain then proceeded to the Marquesas islands discovered by Mendana in 1595, and visited a second time during this voyage the queen of tropical islands, Otaheite; where, having refreshed, he sailed for the new Hebrides, which though discovered as early as 1606 by that great navigator Quiros, had never been sufficiently explored. Captain Cook, besides ascertaining the extent and situation of the islands of this Archipelago, which

which had been barely seen by others, added the knowledge of several before unknown, which entitled him to give the whole the appellation which they now bear. They are situated in the direction of north-north west and south-south east, between the latitudes of 14 degrees, 29 minutes, and 20 degrees, 4 minutes south, and between the longitudes of 166 degrees, 41 minutes, and 170 degrees, 21 minutes east, extending 125 leagues. Of all these islands *Tierra del Espiritu Santo* is the most westerly and the largest, being twenty-two leagues in length, and twelve in breadth. The lands, especially on the west side, are exceedingly high and mountainous, generally covered with wood, and the vallies uncommonly luxuriant, watered by streams and chequered with plantations. On the west side is a large and safe bay, the two points which form its entrance lying at the distance of ten leagues from each other. The inhabitants are of a stout make, dark colour, with woolly hair; though almost naked, their persons are adorned with shells and feathers; round their middle they wear a narrow belt, from which is hung a matted belt which covers them behind and before as low as the knees. They had no other arms but spears with two or three prongs, which seemed rather intended for attacking fish than men. The second day after the ship arrived on their coast they were with much difficulty prevailed on to approach near enough to receive some presents, of which nails were accepted with the greatest pleasure. They fastened a branch of the pepper plant to the rope by which the nails were let down, which was the only return they made for the generosity of the strangers. Their language bears some resemblance to that of the Friendly Islands.

Mallicollo is the most considerable island next to *Espiritu Santo*, being 18 leagues in length, and 8 at its greatest breadth. It is not only fertile, but appears to have been very anciently inhabited, as the natives called it by nearly the same name which *Quiros* had received 160 years ago. The people here are described as the most ugly and ill-proportioned that can well be imagined, and differing in almost every respect from the other islanders in the South Sea. They are of a dark colour, and diminutive size, long heads, monkey faces, their hair black and curly, but not so soft or woolly as that of a negro. The men go quite naked; and what increases their natural deformity is a rope as thick as a man's finger tied round the belly, cutting a deep notch across the body, which seems divided into two parts by this tight and unnatural ligature. Most other nations invent some kind of covering from motives of shame, but here a roll of cloth, continually fastened to the belt, rather displays than conceals, and is the opposite of modesty. They are armed with spears, bows and arrows; but are of a more pacific disposition

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tion than most other savages, having ventured to the ship without much invitation, and received with much complacence the presents offered them, for which they made a suitable return. When they returned on shore the sound of singing and beating their drums was heard all night. Mr. Foster supposes there may be 50,000 inhabitants on this extensive island, which contains more than 60 square miles, covered for the most part with a continued forest, of which a few insulated spots only are cleared, which are lost in the extensive wild like small islands in the Pacific Ocean.

Very few women were seen, but those few were no less ugly than the men; of a small stature, their heads, faces, and shoulders painted red. Their food consists principally of vegetables, which they cultivate with much care; hogs and fowls abound, and by means of their canoes they draw a considerable supply of fish from the ocean. When the Resolution was about to depart, captain Cook says, "the natives came off in canoes, making exchanges with still greater confidence than before, and giving such extraordinary proofs of their honesty as surprised us. As the ship at first had fresh way through the water, several of the canoes dropped astern after they had received goods, and before they had time to deliver theirs in return; instead of taking advantage of this, as our friends at the Society Islands would have done, they used their utmost efforts to get up with us, and deliver what they had already been paid for; one man in particular followed us a considerable time, and did not reach us till it was calm, and the thing was forgotten; as soon as he came along-side he held up the article, which several on board were ready to buy, but he refused to part with it till he saw the person to whom he had before sold it; this person not knowing the man again, offered him something in return, which he constantly refused, and showing him what had been given before, at length made him sensible of the nice point of honour by which he was actuated." Besides excelling all their neighbours in probity, they appeared the most intelligent of any nation that had been seen in the South Sea. They readily understood the meaning conveyed by signs and gestures, and in a few minutes taught the gentlemen of the ship several words in their language, which is wholly distinct from that general tongue of which so many dialects are spoken at the Society Islands, the Marquesas, Friendly Isles, Easter Island and New Zealand. They were not only assiduous in teaching, but had great curiosity to learn the language of the strangers, which they pronounced with such accuracy, and retained with such force of recollection, as led their instructors to admire their extensive faculties and quick apprehension; so that what they wanted in person or beauty was amply compensated

penfated to them in acuteness of understanding, and probity heart.

Captain Cook continued sixteen days at another island called Tanna, distinguished by a furious volcano, which was seen burning at a great distance at sea. The soil of this island is composed of decayed vegetables intermixed with the ashes of the volcano, and the country is in general so covered with trees, shrubs, and plants, as to choak up the bread-fruit and cocoa nuts. The natives are not numerous, but stronger and better proportioned than the Mallicollese. Not one single corpulent man was seen here; all are active and full of spirit. Their features are large, the nose broad, but the eyes full and generally agreeable. They seem to excel in the use of arms, yet they are not fond of labour; they never would put a hand to assist in any work the ship's company was carrying on, which the Indians of other islands used to delight in: here they throw all the laborious drudgery on the women, many of whom were seen carrying a child on their backs, and a bundle under their arm, and a fellow strutting before them with only a club or a spear. The plantations consist of yams, bananas, eddoes and sugar canes, all which being very low, permit the eye to take in a great extent of country. There are plenty of hogs, but very few domestic fowls. Rats of the same species common in the other islands were seen running about in great numbers. They particularly frequent the fields of sugar canes, where they make destructive depredations.

Captain Cook continued surveying these islands during the month of August, 1774; from which he set sail the 1st of September, and having stood to south-west all night, next day no more land was to be seen. On the 4th of September, being in the latitude of 19 degrees, 14 minutes south, and the longitude of 165 degrees east, land was discovered bearing south-south-west, for which he continued to steer till five in the evening. The ship had hardly got to an anchor on the 5th before it was surrounded by a great number of canoes, carrying the natives, most of whom were unarmed. They were prevailed on to receive some presents, lowered down to them by a rope, in return for which they tied two fish that stunk intolerably. These mutual exchanges brought on a degree of confidence; several came on board, and stayed dinner, but could not be persuaded to eat any thing but yams. They were curious in examining every part of the ship, which they viewed with uncommon attention. They were fond of spike nails, and pieces of coloured cloth, especially red. After dinner the captain went on shore with two armed boats, carrying with him one of the natives, who had conceived an attachment for him. They landed on a sandy beach before a vast number of people, who had

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assembled merely from curiosity. The captain made presents to all those his friend pointed out, who were either old men, or such as seemed to be persons of some note : he offered to make presents to some women who stood behind the crowd, but his friend restrained him from this act of complaisance. A chief, named Teabooma, then made a speech consisting of short sentences, to each of which two or three old men answered by nodding their heads and giving a kind of grunt, significant of approbation. This speech was made on account of the strangers, to whom it seemed to be very favourable. The captain having then inquired by signs for fresh water, some pointed to the east, and others to the west. His friend undertook to conduct him to it in the boats ; and having rowed about two miles up the coast to the east, where the shore was mostly covered with mangrove trees, they entered by a narrow creek, which led to a little straggling village, near which was abundance of fresh water. The ground near this village was finely cultivated, being laid out in plantations of sugar cane, plantains, yams and other roots, and watered by little rills, artfully conducted from the main stream which flowed from the hills. Here were some cocoa-nut trees, which did not seem burdened with fruit : the crowing of cocks was heard, but none of them were seen. In proceeding up the creek, Mr. Foster shot a duck, which was the first use these people saw of fire-arms. The captain's friend was at much pains to explain to his countrymen how it had been killed. "The day being far spent," says the captain, "and the tide not permitting us to stay longer in the creek, we took leave of the people, and got on board a little after sun-set. From this little excursion I found we were to expect nothing from these people but the privilege of visiting their country undisturbed. For it was easy to see they had little more than good nature to bestow. In this they exceeded all the nations we had yet met ; and although it did not satisfy the demands of nature, it at once pleased, and left our minds at ease."

The captain continued the greatest part of the month in examining this island, to which he gave the name of New Caledonia. It is the largest of all the tropical islands in those parts, and, excepting New Holland and New Zealand, is the largest that has been discovered in the south Pacific Ocean. It extends from 19 degrees, 37 minutes, to 22 degrees, 30 minutes south latitude, and from 163 degrees, 37 minutes, to 167 degrees, 14 minutes east longitude ; being twelve degrees distant from New Holland ; and the country bearing a strong resemblance to those parts of New South Wales that lie under the same parallel of latitude. The whole coast seems to be surrounded by reefs and shoals which render the access to it very dangerous ; but at the same time

time guard the coasts against the violence of the wind and sea, cause them to abound with fish, and secure an easy and safe navigation for canoes. These Indians are stout, tall, and in general well proportioned; their beards and hair black and strongly frizzled, so as to be almost woolly in some individuals. They are remarkably courteous and friendly; but their appearance is very indecent, every Caledonian being, like the natives of Tanna and Mallicollo, an ambulant statue of the Roman garden-god. Yet there was not a single instance of the women permitting any improper familiarities. They sometimes indeed mixed in the crowd, and amused themselves with encouraging the proposals of the seamen, beckoning them to come along the bushes; but as soon as the sailors followed, they gave them the slip, running away with great agility, and laughing very heartily at their ridiculous disappointment.

Their houses or huts are circular as a bee-hive, and full as close and warm. The entrance is by a square hole, big enough to admit a man bent double; the side-walls four feet and a half high, the roof more lofty, peaked at the top, and supporting a post of wood ornamented with carving or shells. They commonly erect several huts in the neighbourhood of each other, under a cluster of thick fig-trees, whose foliage is impervious to the rays of the sun. The ship did not continue long enough on this coast for the captain to acquire any certain knowledge concerning the language, government, and religion of the natives. They are governed by chiefs, like the inhabitants of the New Hebrides, and pay a great degree of deference to old age. No circumstance was observed in their behaviour which denoted the smallest superstition of any kind.

After leaving New Caledonia, the Resolution, steering southward, fell in with an uninhabited island the 10th October, 1774, which the captain named Norfolk Isle, in honour of the noble family of Howard. It lies in latitude 29 degrees 2 minutes south, longitude 168 degrees 16 minutes east. It is about three miles long, very steep, covered with cypress trees, abounding in a red porous lava, which indicates that this island had been a volcano. The productions of New Zealand are here combined with those of the New Hebrides and Caledonia, for the cypress of the one, as well as the cabbage palm of the other, flourish in great perfection; the former yielding timber for the carpenter, and the latter affording a most palatable and wholesome refreshment. The fish caught here, together with the birds and vegetables, enabled the ship's company to fare sumptuously every day during their stay. Here is likewise the valuable flax plant of New Zealand; all which circumstances, if the island were a little larger, would render it an unexceptionable place for an European settlement.

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The greatest defect of Norfolk island, as well as of all those lately visited, is the scarcity of animal food, with which, however, they might easily be stored in great abundance. But this circumstance obliged the captain to sail again for New Zealand, where he came to an anchor in Queen Charlotte's Sound the 19th October, 1774. Here he continued till the 10th of November, when, having already satisfied himself of the non-existence of an undiscovered continent in the Pacific Ocean, he proceeded to examine the Magellanic regions, and by exploring the unknown parts of the Atlantic and Indian oceans, to complete the survey of the southern hemisphere. The first object of this cruise was to discover an extensive coast laid down by Mr. Dalrymple, between 40 and 53 degrees west longitude, and in the latitude of 54 and 58 degrees south, in which he places the bay of St. Sebastian. But no such coast was to be found; and as captain Furneaux in the *Adventure* passed across that part where the eastern and western shores are laid down, it appears that no such land exists in the situation assigned to it in the English or French charts. On January 14th, 1775, land was discovered in latitude 53 degrees 56 minutes south, longitude 39 degrees 24 minutes west; the mountains appeared of an immense height, covered with snow and ice to the water's edge. Towards the south several low lands were seen, which appeared to have some verdure upon them, and were therefore called the Green Islands. This land, which was at first supposed to be part of a great continent, was found at length to be an island of 70 leagues in circuit, between the latitudes of 53 degrees 57 minutes and 54 degrees 57 minutes south, and the longitudes of 38 degrees 13 minutes and 35 degrees 34 minutes west. It is not easy to conceive any thing more dismal than the face of nature in this island. Though it was in the midst of the summer of that climate, the island seemed in a manner walled round with ice, and must have been nearly inaccessible in any other season. Captain Cook landed in a bay on the northern side, which he called Possession Bay, because here he took possession for his majesty of this dreary mansion of sterility under the name of Southern Georgia. The head of the bay, as well as two places on each side, were terminated by perpendicular cliffs of great height, such as are found in the harbour of Spitzbergen in the northern hemisphere. Pieces were continually breaking off, and floating out to sea; and a great fall happened while the ship was in the bay, which made a noise like cannon. The other parts of the country were not less savage and horrible. The wild rocks raised their lofty summits till they were lost in the clouds, and the vallies lay involved in snow, affording no trees nor shrubs, nor the least signs of vegetation. Captain Cook examined also the southern parts of this island, which afforded nothing but a strong-

strong-bladed grass growing in tufts, wild burnet, and a plant of the mossy kind springing from the rocks. Seals, sea-lions, and penguins were the only appearances of animated nature in this land of desolation, which the captain left on the 26th of January, intending to steer east-south-east until he arrived in 60 degrees latitude, beyond which he meant not to proceed, unless he discovered certain signs of falling in with land. In the prosecution of this design he met with nothing but thick fogs and continual islands of ice, the unintermitting aspect of which at length tired even this persevering adventurer. Many on board were at this time afflicted with severe rheumatic pains and colds, and some were suddenly taken with fainting fits, since their unwholesome, juiceless food could not supply the waste of animal spirits. When the hope of reaching a milder climate diffused a general satisfaction, another frozen country rose to their view the 31st January. Captain Cook gave the name of Sandwich Land to this discovery, which may possibly be the northern point of a continent; for he is of opinion, that there is a tract of land near the pole, which is the source of most of the ice that is spread over this vast southern ocean. He likewise thinks that it extends farthest to the north, opposite the southern Atlantic and Indian oceans, because ice was always found more to the north in those seas than in the southern Pacific, which he imagines would not happen unless there was land of considerable extent to the south. But the danger of exploring these unknown regions of winter is so great that he concludes, seemingly on good grounds, that no man will ever venture farther than he has done. The most southern extremity that was seen lies in latitude 59 degrees 30 minutes south, longitude 27 degrees 30 minutes west. To this he gave the name of Southern Thule, beyond which nothing, perhaps, will ever be discovered. It is impossible to conceive any prospect more inexpressibly horrid than the appearance of this country; a country doomed by nature never to feel the genial warmth of the sun's rays, and where all life and vegetation are for ever shut up in eternal frost. This forbidden coast admitted of no anchorage; every place that looked like a harbour being blocked up with ice. Captain Cook having thus fully accomplished the design of his voyage, proceeded northward, and arrived at the Cape of Good Hope as above mentioned.

Before we conclude the history of this voyage, it must not be omitted that captain Cook, when he returned to Otaheite, April 1774, had an opportunity of examining with more accuracy than had been hitherto done, the naval force of this island. Having gone by appointment to the district called Opparee, to pay a visit to Otoo the king, he observed a number of large canoes in motion; all of which, to the number of three hundred

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and thirty, drew up in regular order, completely manned and equipped. The vessels were decorated with flags and streamers, so that the whole made a more splendid appearance than could have been expected in those seas. Their instruments of war were clubs, spears, and stones; the canoes were ranged close along side of each other with their heads ashore, and the stem to the sea; the admiral's vessel being nearly in the centre. Besides the vessels of war, there were an hundred and seventy sail of smaller double canoes, all with a little house upon them, and rigged with masts and sail, which the war canoes had not. The former must have been intended for transports and victuallers, for in the war canoes there was no sort of provisions whatever. In all the three hundred and thirty vessels the captain guessed there might be seven thousand seven hundred and sixty men, a number which, he says, appears incredible, especially as he was told the whole belonged to two districts, the island being divided into more than forty. In this computation, however, he allowed but forty men, troops and rowers, to each of the larger canoes, and eight to each of the smaller; an estimate which all his officers agreed rather to fall short of, than to exceed the truth. The fleet was going out to attack the inhabitants of Eimeo, who had ventured to provoke the Otaheiteans to a naval engagement. The captain was obliged to depart before he saw the conclusion of this affair; but the marine strength which he witnessed led him to important reflections concerning the populousness of Otaheite. "It had been observed," he says, "that the number of war canoes belonging to the districts of Attahourou and Ahopata was an hundred and sixty; to Tettaha forty, and to Matavai ten; and that this district did not equip one fourth part of that number. If we suppose every district in the island, of which there are forty-three, to raise and equip the same number of war canoes as Tettaha, we shall find, by this estimate, that the whole island can raise and equip 1720 war canoes, and 68,000 able seamen; allowing forty men to each canoe. And, as these cannot amount to above one third part of the number of both sexes, children included, the whole island cannot contain less than 200,000 inhabitants; a number which at first sight exceeded my belief. But, when I came to reflect on the vast swarms which appeared wherever we came, I was convinced that this estimate was not much, if at all, too great. There cannot be a greater proof of the richness and fertility of Otaheite, (not forty leagues in circuit), than its supporting such a number of inhabitants." We now return from describing the discoveries of this enterprising and judicious commander, to relate the sequel of our domestic misfortunes.

It has been already observed, that although the ministry had given way to the refractory spirit of the colonies in many other in-

instances, yet the odious and ill-judged tax on tea imported into America was still supported by the force of an act of parliament. This regulation, which had been much objected to at home, was universally obnoxious on the other side of the Atlantic. The Americans foresaw, that if the tea was once landed, and in the hands of consignees appointed by the East-India company, which had lately fallen under the direction of government, it would be impossible to prevent its sale and consumption, and they therefore considered the duty on this commodity as a measure calculated to deceive them into a general compliance with the revenue laws, and thereby to open a door to unlimited taxation. Besides, all the dealers both legal and clandestine, who, as tea is an article of such general consumption in America, were extremely powerful, saw their trade at once taken out of their hands. Views of private interest thus conspiring with motives of public zeal, the spirit of opposition universally diffused itself throughout the colonies, who determined to prevent the landing of the tea by every means in their power.

Mean while the tea ships had sailed from England, October, 1773, with the following destinations: For Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, three ships, each loaded with 600 chests of tea; for Charlestown and Rhode-Island, two ships, loaded with 200 chests each; the whole amounting to 2200 chests. As the time of their arrival approached, the people assembled in different places in great bodies in order to concert measures for preventing this dangerous importation. The consignees appointed for vending the tea by the East-India company, were compelled, in most places, at the risk of their lives and properties, to relinquish their employments. Committees were appointed by the people to propose tests, and to punish those who refused subscribing whatever was proposed, as enemies to their country. In the tumultuary assemblies held on these occasions innumerable resolutions were passed derogatory to the legislative power of Great Britain. Inflammatory hand-bills and other seditious papers were published at New York, Charlestown, and Philadelphia; but Boston, which had so long taken the lead in rebellion, was the scene of the first outrage. The ships laden with tea having arrived in that port, were boarded (18th December, 1773) by a number of armed men, under the disguise of Mohawk Indians, who in a few hours discharged the valuable cargoes into the sea. Charlestown in South Carolina followed this pernicious example. At New York alone the tea was landed under the cannon of the men of war.

When the American dispatches arrived, March 7, 1774, and brought advice of the outrages committed against the tea-ships at Boston, his majesty sent a message to both houses, in which they are informed, that in consequence of the unwarrantable practices

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practices carried on in North America, and particularly of the violent proceedings at the town and port of Boston, with a view of obstructing the commerce of this kingdom, and upon grounds and pretences immediately subversive of its constitution; it was thought fit to lay the whole matter before parliament; that they may enable his majesty to take such measures as may be most likely to put an immediate stop to those disorders, and consider what farther regulations may be necessary for securing the execution of the laws, and the just dependence of the colonies upon the crown and parliament of Great Britain. The minister who delivered this message allowed, that the destruction of the tea at Boston might have been prevented by calling in the assistance of the naval force which lay in the harbour; but as the leading men in that city had always made great complaints of the interposition of the army and navy, and charged all disturbances of every sort to their account, this assistance had with great prudence been declined; the Bostonians were left to the free exercise of their own judgment, and the result had given the lie to all their former professions.

The message and declaration seemed to be at variance with each other. In the former his majesty desires the parliament to empower him to stop the course of disorders, which the minister allows might have been prevented by the exertion of that force with which he was already entrusted. But it seems that government had not as yet been sufficiently persuaded of the evil intentions of the inhabitants of Boston, and wished to give them a farther opportunity of displaying the most extensive depravity of their political characters. This being now evident to every unprejudiced mind, the minister opened his plan for the restoration of peace, order, justice, and commerce in the Massachusetts Bay. He stated, that the opposition to the authority of parliament had always originated in that colony, which had been instigated to a rebellious conduct by the irregular and seditious proceedings of the town of Boston. That therefore, for the purpose of a thorough reformation, it became necessary to begin with that town, which by a late unparalleled outrage had led the way to the destruction of commerce in all parts of America. That, had such an insult been offered to British property in a foreign port, the nation would have been entitled to demand satisfaction. He proposed, therefore, that the town of Boston should be obliged to pay for the tea which had been destroyed, and to give security in future, that trade may be safely carried on, property protected, laws obeyed, and duties regularly paid. For this purpose, he said, it would be necessary to take away from Boston the privilege of a port until his majesty should be satisfied in these particulars. Upon these arguments leave was given to bring in a bill (March 14th) "for the immediate removal of the officers
"concerned

" concerned in collecting the customs from the town of Boston
 " in the province of the Massachuset's Bay in North America,
 " and to discontinue the landing and discharging, lading and
 " shipping of goods, wares, and merchandise at the said town
 " of Boston, or within the harbour thereof." This bill passed
 in the house of commons the 25th of March; and, after being
 carried up to the lords, received the royal assent the 31st of
 March.

This law forms the æra at which has been dated the decisive
 resolution of parliament to proceed to extremities with the pro-
 vince of Massachuset's Bay. Besides the ships of war already
 in America, the Preston, admiral Graves, with the Royal Oak,
 Worcester, and Egmont, were ordered to repair with all con-
 venient speed to Boston. But at the same time that these reso-
 lutions were taken, general Gage was appointed governor of the
 obnoxious colony, a gentleman who had long resided there, and
 was well acquainted with the inhabitants, with whom he had
 formed the most intimate connections. This to many afforded
 a proof that the ministry had fallen back into their former irre-
 solution; and the Bostonians threatened on the one hand with
 an act which deprived them of their ordinary means of subsist-
 ence, and soothed on the other by the appointment of a gover-
 nor most agreeable to their wishes, maintained their wonted
 spirit, and continued to defy the equivocal, temporizing timidity
 of the mother country. They ventured to hold a town-meeting,
 at which they resolved to invite the other colonies to stop all im-
 ports and exports to and from Great Britain, Ireland, and the
 West Indies, until the Boston port bill should be repealed. They
 artfully connected the safety of the liberties of North America
 with the punishment of one rebellious city, and, expatiating on
 the injustice and cruelty of the odious bill, appealed from it to
 God and the world. The governor arrived the middle of May,
 and was received at Boston with the usual honours. He laid
 nothing before the provincial assembly but what the ordinary bu-
 siness required; but gave them notice of their removal to the
 town of Salem on the first of June, in pursuance of the late act
 of parliament.

Mean while the Boston port bill, as well as the resolutions
 taken at the town-meeting, were dispatched to every part of the
 continent. These, like the Fury's torch, set the countries every
 where in a flame through which they passed. At New York the
 populace had copies of the bill printed upon mourning paper,
 which they cried about the streets, under the title of a barbarous,
 cruel, bloody, and inhuman murder. The house of burgesses in
 Virginia appointed the first of June, the day on which the Bos-
 ton bill was to have effect, to be set apart for fasting, prayer,
 and humiliation; an example which was followed by almost eve-

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ry province of North America. Even the inhabitants of Salem who derived evident advantage from the degradation of a neighbouring town, declared that they must be dead to every idea of justice, and lost to all the feelings of humanity, if they could indulge one thought to seize on wealth, and raise their fortunes on the ruins of their suffering neighbours.

Thus the Boston port bill, unassisted by those active exertions of the military or naval power of Great Britain which might have rendered it an object of terror, raised a flame from one end to the other of the continent of America, and united all the old colonies in one common cause. They all agreed in determining not to submit to the payment of any internal taxes that were not imposed by their own assemblies, and to suspend all commerce with the mother country, until the American grievances in general, and those of Massachusetts Bay in particular, were fully redressed. Nor were they less unanimous in entering into a general agreement, which was formed at Boston under the name of a solemn league and covenant, for mutually supporting each other, and maintaining what they deemed the rights of freemen, inviolate. They soon after appointed deputies from each province to attend a General Congress, which should contain the united voice and wisdom of America, and which they agreed should be held at Philadelphia the 5th of September, 1774. Among the first acts of this assembly was a declaration in which they acknowledge their dependence, but insist on their privileges. They cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of the British legislature as are confined to the regulation of their external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country: but they insist, that the foundation of the English constitution and of all free government, is a right in the people to participate in their legislative council, and as the colonies are not, and from various causes cannot be represented in the British parliament, they are intitled to a free and exclusive legislation in their several provincial assemblies, in all cases of taxation and internal policy. They recommend to the several provinces the continuance of the measures which they had already adopted, for establishing a powerful national militia, and for raising money to pay those brave troops who would at every hazard defend the privileges of America.

The General Congress gave a consistence to the designs of twelve colonies differing in religion, manners and forms of government, and infected with all the local prejudices and aversions incident to neighbouring states. The strength which all derived from this formidable union might have been sufficient to alarm Great Britain; but the ministry, instead of fleets and armies, continued still to fight the Americans with acts of parliament.

ment. For this purpose the first lord of the treasury moved, 10th of February, 1775, for leave to bring in a bill to restrain the trade and commerce of the province of Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire, as well as of the colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Island; and to prohibit these provinces from carrying on any fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, and other places therein mentioned. Upon the third reading of this bill a motion was made for an amendment, that the colonies of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, should be included in the same restrictions with the New England provinces. This amendment, however, was over-ruled; although it could hardly be denied that these provinces had rendered themselves equally culpable with those of New England. Nearly about the same time, parliament voted an augmentation of 4383 soldiers, and 2000 seamen; and it was intended that the troops at Boston should amount to full ten thousand, a number deemed more than sufficient for quelling the present disturbances. While the nation seemed in general heartily to concur in those vigorous measures, they were not a little astonished at the famous conciliatory motion made by Lord North, containing the following resolution: "That when the governor, council and assembly of any colony should be willing to contribute their proportion to the common defence, and for the support of the civil government, such proportion to be raised under the authority of the assembly of that province, it will be proper to forbear imposing or levying any tax, duty or assessment from the said province, excepting only such duties as it may be expedient to impose for the regulation of commerce." This proposition was considered by many of those who supported the general measures of government, as a dereliction of those rights which they had hitherto contended to be essential to the British legislature; while the opposition asserted, that it would be received by the same indignation by the Americans, as every other measure intended to disunite their interests.

This law, which occasioned great discontents in England, met not with the smallest regard in America. While the Parliament were employed in enacting it, the ill humour that prevailed among the troops and inhabitants at Boston, broke out into action. It is still undecided which party commenced hostilities; but the skirmishes at Lexington and Concord, proved the bravery of the Provincials far superior to the ideas generally entertained of it. The blood shed on these occasions excited the greatest indignation in the other colonies, and they prepared for war with as much eagerness and dispatch, as if an enemy had already appeared in their own territories. In some places the magazines were seized, in others the treasury, and without waiting for any account or advice, a stop was almost every where

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were put at the same time to the exportation of provisions. The governor and forces at Boston, as well as the inhabitants, continued closely blocked up by land; while they were excluded from all supplies of fresh provisions, which the neighbouring countries could have afforded them by sea. As the military stores began to be exhausted without the possibility of receiving any speedy supply, the governor thought proper to enter into a capitulation with the Bostonians, by which, upon condition of delivering up their arms, they were allowed to depart with all their other effects. Though all the poor and helpless were sent out, and many others obtained passports both then, and at different times afterwards, yet the greater part of the inhabitants were upon different grounds obliged to remain in the city, which breach of faith, as the Americans termed it, on the part of general Gage, is described with great indignation in all their subsequent publications.

The Continental Congress met at Philadelphia May 10th, 1775, and adopted such measures as confirmed the people in their warlike resolutions. They provided for the array and support of an army, named generals, established a paper currency, for the realizing the value of which the "Twelve United Colonies" became securities; soon after Georgia acceded to the Congress, from which time they were distinguished by the name of the "Thirteen United Colonies." It was said, that in the whole extent of North America, from Nova Scotia, to Florida, near 200,000 men were training to arms under the auspices of the Congress. This assembly took measures not only for defending themselves, but for distressing their enemies. They strictly prohibited the supplying of the British fisheries with any kind of provision; and to render this order effectual, stopt all exportation to those colonies and islands which still retained their obedience. This prohibition occasioned no small distress to the people at Newfoundland, and to all those employed in the fisheries; insomuch, that, to prevent an absolute famine, several ships were under a necessity of returning light from that station, to carry out cargoes of provisions from Ireland.

In the mean time, several private persons, belonging to the back parts of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New York, without any public command, or participation that has hitherto been discovered, undertook an expedition of the utmost importance, and which threatened to deprive Great Britain of every single possession which she held in North America. This was the surprise of Ticonderoga, Crown-Point and other fortresses, situated upon the lakes, and commanding the passes between the ancient English colonies and Canada. These adventurers, amounting in the whole to about 240 men, seized Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, in which they found about 200 pieces of



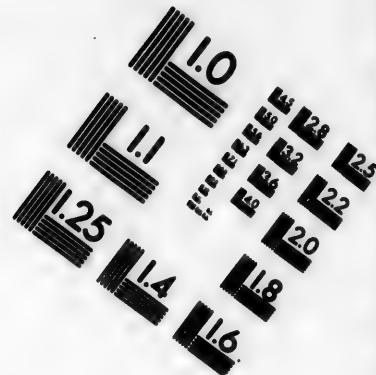
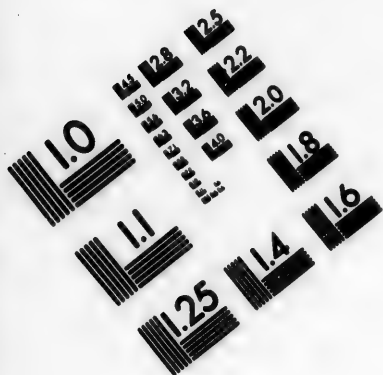
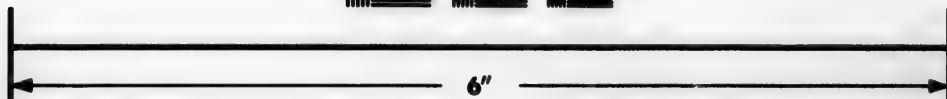
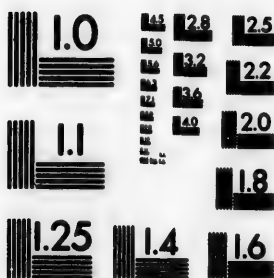


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cannon, besides mortars, howitzers, and large quantities of various stores; they also took two vessels, which gave them the command of Lake Champlain, and materials ready prepared at Ticonderoga for the equipping of others.

Although the troops at Boston were greatly reinforced by the arrival of the generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, a considerable body of marines, and several regiments from Ireland, they continued patiently to submit to all the inconveniences of a blockade; nor did they receive any considerable assistance from the great number of ships of war which almost surrounded the peninsula. The Congress published a resolution, June 8th, importing the compact between the crown and the people of Massachusetts Bay, to be dissolved. This was followed by a proclamation of general Gage, (June 12th), by which a pardon was offered in the king's name, to all those who should forthwith lay down their arms, and punishment denounced against those who obstinately persisted in disobedience. They were to be treated as rebels and traitors; and as the regular course of justice was stopped, martial law was to take place until the rules of civil equity were restored to their due efficacy.

The Provincials considering this proclamation as an immediate prelude to hostility, determined to be before hand with their enemies. Having made the necessary preparations for seizing the port of Charlestown, they sent a number of men with the greatest privacy in the night, to throw up works upon Bunker's Hill. This was effected with such extraordinary order and silence, and such incredible dispatch, that none of the ships of war which covered the shore, heard the noise of the workmen, who by the morning had made a small but strong redoubt, considerable intrenchments, and a breast-work, that was in some parts cannon proof. The sight of these works was the first thing that alarmed the Lively man of war, and her guns called the town, camp, and fleet to behold a sight, which seemed little less than a prodigy. A heavy and continual fire of cannon, howitzers, and mortars, was from this time carried on against the works, from the ship, and floating batteries, as well as from the top of Cop's Hill in Boston. About noon, general Gage caused a considerable body of troops to be embarked under the command of major-general Howe, and brigadier-general Pigot, to drive the Provincials from their works. These troops, consisting of ten companies of grenadiers, as many of light infantry, and the 5th, 38th, 43d, and 52d battalions, with a proper train of artillery, were landed and drawn up without opposition, under the fire of the ships of war. The two generals found the enemy so numerous, and in such a posture of defence, that they thought it necessary to send back for a rein-

a reinforcement according to the necessities, and the men.

The army, consisting of the enemy, the works, and however, done honor to Charlestown who came the same morning this troops, that large in the colony one day shot until where a sand of the hottest troops were ment general engagement them into with fixed every quarter as they aded, they was engaged two floating cannon, wounded.

The position of Bunker's quarters the strength of this advantage which the Provincials opposed was still invested situation insulted

a reinforcement before they commenced the attack; they were accordingly joined by two companies of light infantry and grenadiers, by the 47th regiment, and by the first battalion of marines, amounting in the whole to something more than 2000 men.

The attack began by a most severe fire of cannon and howitzers, under which the troops advanced slowly towards the enemy, to afford an opportunity to the artillery to ruin the works, and to throw the Provincials into confusion. These, however, sustained the assault with a firmness that would have done honour to regular troops, and detached a body of men to Charlestown which covered their right flank. General Pigot, who commanded the right wing, was thus obliged to engage at the same time with the lines and with those in the houses. During this conflict, Charlestown was set on fire; whether by the troops, or by carcases thrown from the ships, is uncertain, but that large and beautiful town, which, being the first settlement in the colony, was considered as the mother of Boston, was in one day burnt to the ground. The Provincials did not return a shot until the king's forces had approached almost to the works, where a most dreadful fire took place, by which above a thousand of our bravest men and officers fell. In this action, one of the hottest ever known, (considering the number engaged), our troops were thrown into some disorder; but in this critical moment general Clinton, who arrived from Boston during the engagement, rallied them by a happy manœuvre, and brought them instantaneously to the charge. They attacked the works with fixed bayonets and irresistible bravery, and carried them in every quarter. The Provincials fought desperately, but being, as they affirm, destitute of bayonets, and their powder expended, they were obliged to retreat over Charlestown neck, which was enfiladed by the guns of the Glasgow man of war, and of two floating batteries. The king's troops took five pieces of cannon, but no prisoners except 30, which were so severely wounded, that they could not escape.

The possession of part of the peninsula of Charlestown, and of Bunker's Hill, which was immediately fortified, enlarged the quarters of the troops, who had been much incommoded by the streightness in which they were confined in Boston; but this advantage was counterbalanced by the great additional duty which they were now obliged to perform. Besides, the Provincials lost no time in throwing up works upon another hill opposite to Bunker's, on the side of Charlestown neck, which was still in their possession. The troops were thus as closely invested in this peninsula as they had been in Boston. Their situation was irksome and degrading, being surrounded and insulted by an enemy whom they had been taught to despise, and

cut off from all those refreshments of which they stood in the greatest need.

The resentment occasioned by their sufferings probably engaged them to continue a great cannonade upon the works of the Provincials, which could have little other effect than to inure them to that sort of service in which they were employed. A regiment of light cavalry which arrived from Ireland, increased the wants of the garrison, without being of the smallest use, as the cavalry were never able to set foot without the fortifications. The hay which grew upon the islands in the bay, as well as the sheep and cattle which they contained, became an object of great attention to the king's troops; but the Provincials having prepared a number of whaling boats, and being masters of the shore and inlets of the bay, were, notwithstanding the number of the ships of war and armed vessels, too successful in burning, destroying, and carrying away those essential articles of supply. These enterprises brought on several skirmishes, and the enemy grew at length so daring, that they burnt the light-house situated on an island at the entrance of the harbour, though a man of war lay within a mile of them at the time; and some carpenters being afterwards sent, under the protection of a small party of marines, to erect a temporary light-house, they killed or carried off the whole detachment. From this time a sort of predatory war commenced between the king's ships and the inhabitants on different parts of the coast. The former, being refused the supplies of provisions and necessaries which they wanted for themselves or the army, endeavoured to obtain them by force, and in these attempts were frequently opposed, and sometimes repulsed with loss by the country people. The seizing of ships, in conformity of the new laws for restraining the commerce of the New-England provinces, was also a continual source of animosity and violence, the proprietors hazarding all dangers in defending or recovering their vessels. These contests drew the vengeance of the men of war upon several of the small towns upon the sea coasts, some of which underwent a severe chastisement.

The parliament, which met in October, 1755, seemed more firmly determined than on any former occasion, to pursue what were called vigorous measures by the majority, and which the opposition distinguished by the epithets of cruel, bloody, and unjust. The American petitions addressed to the crown were rejected with contempt or indignation; and it was determined to carry on the war with a spirit that should astonish all Europe, and to employ such fleets and armies in the ensuing year as had never before entered the new world. A motion was made from the admiralty, in the committee of supply, that 28,000 seamen, including 6,665 marines, should be voted for the service of the year

year 1776, the service that the fleet of 78 sail. The seamen procure any professions and what ones were so numerous shortest no could suffer though no guished of terms the and insisted great for a war.

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year 1776. This was accompanied with a general outline of the services to which the navy should be applied; particularly, that the fleet on the North-American station should amount to 78 sail. This would, doubtless, employ the greatest part of the seamen proposed; and happily the affairs of Europe did not require any considerable exertion of our naval strength. The professions of the neighbouring courts were pacific and friendly; and what was of more weight than professions, their preparations were nowise alarming. At any rate our guardships were so numerous and so well appointed, that they might on the shortest notice be rendered superior to any force that our rivals could assemble. The motion for the augmentation was passed; though not without severe animadversion from the most distinguished of our naval commanders, who arraigned in the plainest terms the present government and conduct of our naval affairs, and insisted that the establishment now proposed, though too great for peace, was by no means adequate to the demands of a war.

On the day following, (8th November), the minister of the war department, having laid the estimates for the land service before the committee of supply, shewed that our whole military force would amount to 55,000 men, of which upwards of 25,000 would be employed in America. On this occasion also many gentlemen affirmed, that the proposed force was totally unequal to the purpose of conquering America by force of arms, the measure upon which the ministry seemed now absolutely determined. This was supported by the opinion of a great general officer who had been long in administration; the other military gentlemen were called upon to declare their dissent if they thought otherwise, but they all continued silent.

A few days afterwards, the first lord of the treasury brought in the famous prohibitory bill, totally interdicting all trade and intercourse with the Thirteen United Colonies. All property of Americans, whether of ships or goods, on the high seas, or in harbour, were declared forfeited to the captors, being the officers and crews of his majesty's ships of war; and several clauses were inserted in the bill to facilitate and lessen the expence of the condemning of prizes, and the recovery of prize-money. But, in order to soften these harsh measures, the bill enabled the crown to appoint commissioners, who, besides the power of granting pardons to individuals, were authorised to inquire into general grievances, and empowered to determine whether any part, or the whole of a colony, were returned to that state of obedience which entitled them to be received within the king's peace and protection, in which case the restrictions of the present bill were to cease in their favour.

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After all the boasted preparations for hostility, the seeming contradiction in this bill was thought by many to support the consistent character of administration. It was still the same alternative of war and peace; peace offered by Great Britain who had received the injury, and not by her enemies, on whom she pretended to be ready to wreak the whole weight of her vengeance. This mixed system of war and conciliation was represented as highly improper at the present juncture. The measure adopted, whether of peace or war, should be clear, simple and decided, not involved in doubt, perplexity and darkness. If war is resolved, and it is determined to compel America to submission, let the means of coercion be such as will, to a moral certainty, insure success. Our fleets and armies must command terms, which will in vain be solicited by our commissioners.

While these preparations and debates occupied the British senate, the designs of the Americans gradually became more daring. Their successful expedition to the lakes, with the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, had opened the gates of Canada; and the Congress came to the bold resolution of sending a force to invade and conquer that loyal colony. The generals Schuyler and Montgomery, with two regiments of New-England militia, a body of New-England men, amounting in the whole to three thousand, were appointed to this service. A number of batteaux, or flat-boats, were built at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, to convey the forces along Lake Champlain to the river Sorrel, which forms the entrance into Canada. Having proceeded to the isle Aux Noix, they proposed to attack the fort St. John's, in which they were retarded by a want of ammunition sufficient for carrying on the siege. Their commander Montgomery, who was well qualified for any military service, turned his thoughts to the reduction of the little Fort Chamblée, which lies farther up the country, and was in a very defensible condition. Here he found considerable stores, and 120 barrels of powder, which enabled him to push with vigour the siege of St. John's. General Carleton, the governor of the province, then at Montreal, was equally indefatigable in his endeavours to raise a force sufficient for its relief. With the utmost difficulty he had got together about a thousand men, composed principally of Canadians, with a few regulars, and some English officers and volunteers. With these he intended a junction with colonel M'Lean, who had raised a regiment under the name of Royal Highland Emigrants, consisting of the native mountaineers of Scotland, who had lately arrived in America, and who, in consequence of the troubles, had not obtained settlements. But the designs of general Carleton were defeated by a party of Provincials, who encountered him at Longueuil, and

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and easily repulsed the Canadians. Another party pushed M'Lean towards the mouth of the Sorrel, where the Canadians, by whom he was attended, hearing of the general's defeat, immediately abandoned him to a man, and he was compelled, at the head of his few Scotch Emigrants, to take refuge in Quebec. Mean while Montgomery obtained possession of St. John's, 3d November, 1775, where he found a considerable quantity of artillery, and many useful stores; the garrison, commanded by major Preston, surrendered prisoners of war, and were sent up the lakes to those interior parts of the colonies, which were best adapted to provide for their reception and security.

Upon M'Lean's retreat to Quebec, the party who had reduced him to that necessity immediately erected batteries near the junction of the St. Lawrence and the Sorrel, in order to prevent the escape of the armed vessels, which general Carleton had at Montreal, to the defence of Quebec. Montgomery meanwhile laid siege to Montreal, of which he got possession the 13th November; and Carleton's armament being pursued, attacked and driven from their anchors up the rivers by the Provincials, he himself narrowly escaped in a dark night, in a boat with muffled paddles, and after many dangers arrived at Quebec. His naval force, consisting of eleven armed vessels, fell into the hands of the Provincials.

The city of Quebec was at this time in a state of great weakness, as well as internal discontent and disorder. Besides this, colonel Arnold appeared unexpectedly with a body of New-Englanders at Point Levi, opposite to the town. The river fortunately separated them from the place, otherwise it seems probable that they might have become masters of it in the first surprise and confusion. Several days elapsed before they effected a passage in boats furnished them by the Canadians, notwithstanding the vigilance of the English frigates in the river. The inhabitants of Quebec, however, had by this time leisure to unite for defending their city. When Montgomery, therefore, who with the utmost expedition had pushed forward to join Arnold, attempted on the 31st of December to carry the place by escalade, he met with the most vigorous and unexpected resistance. He himself was slain, Arnold wounded, and a considerable body of the Provincials taken prisoners of war. The remainder did not again venture on any similar attack, but were satisfied with converting the siege into a blockade, and found means effectually to prevent any supplies of provisions or necessities from being carried into Quebec.

While the Provincials obtained these important advantages in Canada, the Virginians obliged their governor, Lord Dunmore, to provide for his safety by embarking on board the Fowey man of war. All connection between Great Britain and that colony was

was dissolved July 18th. The governor in vain emancipated the slaves, a measure which he had so often threatened, that its execution was rendered ineffectual. He determined, however, to do every thing in his power to regain possession of some part of the country which he had governed. Being joined by such persons as were obnoxious on account of their loyalty, and supported by the frigates on the station, he endeavoured to establish such a marine force as might enable him, by means of the noble rivers, which rendered the most valuable parts of Virginia accessible by water, to be always at hand, and to profit by every favourable occasion that offered. But his spirited endeavours to redeem the colony was attended only with disappointment; and his armament, too feeble for any essential service, was distinguished barely by acts of depredation. The unfortunate town of Norfolk, having refused to supply his majesty's ships with provisions, was attacked by a violent cannonade from the Liverpool frigate, three sloops of war, and the governor's armed ship the Dunmore; and the first of January was signalized with burning it to the ground. In South Carolina Lord William Campbell, the governor, after less vigorous exertions, was obliged to retire from Charlestown on board a ship of war in the river; and governor Martin of North Carolina saved himself by the same expedient. The fleet of England served as a peaceable asylum to the expelled magistrates of revolting provinces, while its army was ingloriously cooped up in Quebec and Boston.

The Provincials were not less active in the cabinet than in the field. November 13, 1775, the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay published letters of marque and reprisal, and established courts of admiralty for trying and condemning British ships. The General Congress, (December the 6th,) having previously agreed on articles of confederation and perpetual union, answered with much acrimony the royal proclamation of August 23d for suppressing rebellion and sedition, and declared, that whatever punishment should be inflicted upon any person in the power of their enemies, for defending the cause of America, the same should be retaliated on the British subjects who fell into their hands.

In this state of obstinacy or firmness on the side of the Americans, the distressed army at Boston looked with impatience towards these kingdoms for the arrival of the expected reinforcements. The delays and misfortunes which the transports experienced in their voyage, and the sight of many vessels laden with the necessaries and comforts of life taken in the harbour, heightened the mortification and sufferings of those brave troops, who were kept, by the severity of the season, and the strength of the enemy, in a total inaction during the whole winter. The American

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tican cruizers and privateers, though yet poor and contemptible, being of the greater part no better than whale-boats, grew daily more numerous and successful against the victuallers and store-ships; and, among a multitude of other prizes, took an ordnance ship from Woolwich, containing a large mortar upon a new construction, several pieces of fine brass cannon, a great number of small arms, with abundance of ammunition and all manner of tools, utensils, and machines necessary for camps and sieges. This important prize, which gave a new colour to the military operations of the Provincials, was taken by a small privateer, which excited just indignation against the management of our naval affairs, for hazarding a cargo of such value in a defenceless vessel.

When news of the prohibiting act reached the Congress, they sent orders to general Washington to bring affairs at Boston to as speedy a decision as possible, in order to disengage his army, and to give them an opportunity to oppose the new dangers with which they were threatened. Washington, therefore, opened a new battery, at a place called Phipps's Farm, on the night of the 2d of March, from whence a severe cannonade and bombardment was carried on against the town. This attack was continued till the 5th, when the army, to their incredible surprize, beheld some considerable works upon the heights of Dorchester-point, from which a 24 pound and a bomb battery were soon after opened. The situation of the king's troops was now extremely critical, it being necessary either to abandon the town which began to blaze on every side, or to dislodge the enemy and destroy the new works. The latter, however, general Howe, who had succeeded general Gage in the command, judged to be impracticable, so that nothing remained but to abandon Boston, and to convey the troops, artillery, and stores on board the ships. The embarkation rather resembled the emigration of a nation, than the breaking up of a camp; 1500 of the inhabitants, whose attachment to the royal cause had rendered them obnoxious to their countrymen, encumbered the transports with their families and effects. This inconvenience, joined to scarcity of provisions and ill success, bred much discontent. The troops considered themselves as abandoned, having received no advice from England since the preceding October. Mutual jealousies prevailed between the army and navy; each attributing to the other, part of the uneasiness which itself felt. The intended voyage to Halifax, at all times dangerous, was dreadfully so at this tempestuous equinoctial season, and the multitude of ships, which amounted to 150 sail, increased the difficulty and apprehension. At the same time the king's forces were under the necessity of leaving a considerable quantity of artillery and stores behind. The cannon upon Bunker's Hill, and at Boston Neck,

Neck, could not be carried off. Attempts were made to render them unserviceable; but the hurry which then prevailed, prevented them from having any great effect. Some mortars and pieces of cannon which were thrown into the water, were afterwards weighed up by the inhabitants of Boston; who, the 17th of March, received general Washington's army with drums beating, colours flying, and all the splendour of military triumph.

It was above a week after this time before the weather permitted the fleet to get entirely clear of the harbour and road; but this delay was amply compensated by the voyage to Halifax, which was shorter and more successful than could have been expected. Several ships of war were left behind to protect the vessels which should arrive from England; but the great extent of the bay with its numerous islands and creeks allowed such advantages to the provincial armed boats and privateers, that they took a great many of those vessels, which were still in ignorance that the town had changed masters.

On the side of Canada, general Carleton conducted his operations with more success. All the attempts of the Provincials to take Quebec by storm were rendered abortive; nor did they succeed better in endeavouring by fire-ships and other ways to burn the vessels in the harbour. Such was the constancy and vigilance of governor Carleton, brigadier M'Lean, and the activity of the garrison, that the Americans intended to raise the siege, which was prevented from being carried successfully into execution by the spirit and vigour of the officers and crews of the *Isis* man of war and two frigates, which were the first that had sailed from England with succours, and which having forced their way through the ice, arrived at Quebec before the passage was deemed practicable. The unexpected appearance of the ships threw the besiegers into the utmost consternation, and the command which they obtained of the river cut off all communication between the different detachments of the enemy. General Carleton lost no time in seizing the advantages which the present situation afforded. May 6th, he marched out at the head of the garrison, and attacked the rebel camp which he found in the utmost confusion. Upon the appearance of our troops they fled on all sides, abandoning their artillery, military stores, and all their implements for carrying on the siege. During this transaction our smaller ships of war proceeded up the river with great expedition, and took several small vessels belonging to the enemy, as well as the *Gaspée* sloop of war, which had, a few months before, unfortunately fallen into their hands.

The success at Quebec tended greatly to facilitate the reconquest of Canada, and the invasion of the back part of the colonies by the way of the lakes, which was the first of the three principal

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principal object proposed in the conduct of the British forces in the ensuing campaign. The second was the making a strong impression on the southern colonies, which it was hoped would at least have been attended with the recovery of one of them. The third was the grand expedition against the city and province of New York.

It had for some time been the fate of the fleets, transports, and victuallers which sailed from England to meet with such difficulties, delays, and so many untoward circumstances, as in a great degree frustrated the end of their destination. Sir Peter Parker's Squadron which sailed from Portsmouth at the close of the year, did not arrive at Cape Fear till the beginning of May, where they were detained by various causes till the end of the month. There they found general Clinton, who had already been at New York, and from thence proceeded to Virginia, where he had seen Lord Dunmore, and, finding that no service could be effected at either place with this small force, came thither to wait for them. After this junction, the fleet and army were both sufficiently powerful to attempt some enterprize of importance. Charlestown in South Carolina was the place destined for their attack. The fleet anchored off the bar the beginning of June; but the passing this obstacle was a matter of no small difficulty, especially to the two large ships, which notwithstanding the taking out of their guns, and the using every other means to lighten them as much as possible, both struck to the ground. When this difficulty was overcome, our fleet attacked a fort lately erected upon the south-west point of Sullivan's island, and commanding the passage of Charlestown. The troops commanded by general Clinton, lord Cornwallis, and brigadier-general Vaughan, were landed on Long-Island which lies to the eastward of Sullivan's. The Carolinians had posted some forces with artillery at the north-eastern extremity of the latter, at the distance of two miles from the fort, where they threw up works to prevent the passage of the royal army over the breach. General Lee was encamped with a large body of troops on the continent, at the back and to the northward of the island, with which he held a communication open to the bridge of boats, and could by that means at any time march the whole, or any part of his force, to support the post opposed to our passage from Long Island. This island is a naked burning sand, where the troops suffered much from their exposure to the intense heat of the sun; and both fleet and army were much distressed through the badness of the water, and the defect or unwholesomeness of the provisions.

These inconveniencies rendered dispatch of the utmost importance; but it was not till the 28th of June that, every thing being settled between the commanders by sea and land, the
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Thunder bomb took her station, covered by an armed ship, and began the attack by throwing shells at the fort. The Bristol, Solebay, Experiment, and Active, soon after brought up, and began a most furious and incessant cannonade. The Sphinx, Syren, and Actæon, were ordered to the westward, between the end of the island and Charlestown, partly with a view to enfilade the works of the fort, and, if possible, to cut off all communication between the island and the continent, and partly to interrupt all attempts by means of fire ships, or otherwise, to prevent the grand attack. But this design was rendered unsuccessful by the strange unskilfulness of the pilot, who entangled the frigates in the shoals called the Middle Grounds, where they all stuck fast; and though two of them were speedily disengaged, it was then too late to execute the intended service. The Actæon could not be got off, and was burnt by the officers and crew the next morning, to prevent her materials and stores from falling into the hands of the enemy. Amidst the dreadful roar of artillery and continued thunder from the ships, the garrison of the fort stuck with the greatest firmness and constancy to their guns, fired deliberately and slowly, and took a cool and effective aim. The ships suffered accordingly; and never did our marine, in an engagement of the same nature with any foreign enemy, experience so rude an encounter. The springs of the Bristol's cable being cut by the shot, she lay for some time so much exposed to the enemy's fire, that she was most dreadfully raked. The brave captain Morris, after receiving such a number of wounds as would have sufficiently justified a gallant man in retiring from his station, still disdained, with a noble intrepidity, to quit his station, until his arm being shot off, he was carried away in a condition which did not afford a possibility of recovery. It is said that the quarter-deck of the Bristol was at one time cleared of every person but the commodore, who stood alone, a spectacle of daring, intrepid firmness, which has never been exceeded, seldom equalled. The others on that deck were either killed, or carried down to have their wounds dressed. The fortifications being extremely strong, and their lowness preserving them from the weight of our shot, the fire from the ships produced not all the effect which was hoped or expected. The fort, indeed, seemed for a short time to be silenced, but this proceeded only from a want of powder, which was soon supplied from the continent. The land forces all this while continued inactive; and night at length put an end to the attack of the fleet. Sir Peter Parker finding all hope of success at an end, and the tide of ebb nearly spent, called off his shattered vessels, after an engagement of above ten hours. The Bristol had 111, and the Experiment 79 men killed and wounded; and both ships had received so much damage, that the Provincials conceived strong

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strong hopes, that they could never be got over the bar. The frigates, though not less diligent in the performance of their duty, being less pointed at than the great ships, did not suffer a proportionable loss.

During these transactions the General Congress took an opportunity of preparing the people for the declaration of independency, by a circular manifesto to the several colonies, stating the causes which rendered it expedient to put an end to all authority under the crown, and to take the powers of government into their own hand. The causes assigned were, the contempt of their petitions for redress of grievances, the prohibitory bill by which they were excluded from the protection of the crown, and the intended exertion of all the force of Great Britain, aided by foreign mercenaries for their destruction. The colonies of Maryland and Pennsylvania at first testified a disinclination to the establishment of a new government. Their deputies, however, were at length instructed to coincide in this measure, and on the 4th of July, 1776, the Thirteen United Provinces declared themselves free and independent states, abjuring all allegiance to the British crown, and all political connection with their mother country. A few weeks after this declaration, lord viscount Howe arrived at Halifax, at the head of a powerful squadron, and such a number of land forces as had never before appeared in the new world. Besides the national troops there were 13,000 Hessians and Waldeckers, commanded by able officers of their own country. The whole, composed of the new reinforcements and the troops formerly in America, amounted to an army of 35,000 men; which was superior in number, discipline, and provisions of every kind, to any force the Americans could bring into the field. General Howe had left Halifax a fortnight before his brother's arrival; the latter being impatient of remaining in a place where nothing essential to the service could be performed, and where provisions began to grow scarce, had embarked his troops on board the fleet commanded by admiral Shuldhham, and sailed to Sandy Hook, the first land that is met with in approaching New York from the sea. On his passage he was met by six transports with Highland troops on board, who had been separated from several of their companions in the voyage. It appeared soon after that most of the missing ships, with above 450 soldiers and several officers, had been taken by the American cruizers. The general found every part of the island of New York strongly fortified, defended by a numerous artillery, and guarded by a considerable army. The extent of Long Island did not admit of its being so strongly fortified or so well guarded; it was, however, in a powerful state of defence, having an encampment of considerable force on the end of the island near New York, and several works thrown up on

on the most accessible parts of the coast, as well as at the strongest internal passes. Staten Island, which was of less value and importance, was less powerfully defended; and on this the general landed without opposition. Here he was met by governor Tryon, who like the other gentlemen invested with chief authority in North America, had been obliged to escape on ship-board. Some hundreds of well affected inhabitants from the neighbouring parts also joined the royal standard.

Lord Howe did not arrive at Staten Island till the 14th of July; when he sent to the continent a circular letter setting forth the powers with which he and his brother were invested by the late act of parliament for granting general or particular pardons to all those who, in the tumult and disorder of the times, might have deviated from their just allegiance, and who were willing, by a speedy return to their duty, to reap the benefits of the royal favour. These letters were treated with as little respect as every other proposition of a similar kind, the Americans condemning the idea of granting pardons to those who were not sensible of any guilt. Meanwhile the British armament was joined by the fleet commanded by Sir Peter Parker, as well as by some regiments from Florida and the West Indies. The greatest part of the forces being now united, an attack against Long Island was determined, as being more easy of execution than against the island of New York, and as the former abounded more with those supplies which so great a body of men as were now assembled by sea and land demanded.

The necessary measures being taken by the fleet for covering the descent, the army was landed without opposition on the south-west end of the island. Soon after this was effected, general Clinton, in the night of the 26th of August, at the head of the van of the army consisting of light infantry, grenadiers, light horse, reserve under lord Cornwallis, with fourteen field pieces, advanced towards the enemy's encampment, and seized an important pass which they had left unguarded. The way being thus happily open, the whole army passed the hills without noise or impediment, and descended by the town of Bedford into the level country. The engagement was begun early in the morning, while the ships made several motions on the left, and attacked a battery at Red Hook, which distracted the attention of the enemy, and called off their attention from their right and rear where the main attack was intended. Nothing could exceed the spirit and alacrity shewn by all the different corps of which the British army was composed. They made the enemy retreat on every side, pursued them with great slaughter, and such was the ambition between the British and foreign troops, that it was with difficulty general Howe could restrain their impetuosity in breaking through the American lines.

lines, and cutting to pieces or taking prisoners all those who had escaped the danger of the battle and the pursuit. The victors encamped in the front of the enemy's work on the evening after the engagement, and on the 28th, at night, broke ground in form at 600 yards distance from a redoubt which covered the enemy's left.

During the battle general Washington had passed over from New-York, and saw with great mortification the unhappy fate of his bravest troops. The remainder were as much inferior in number and discipline to the British army, as their inconsiderable batteries were unequal to the assault of the royal artillery. No hopes of safety remained but in a retreat, which might well have appeared impracticable in the face of such a commanding force by land, and a fleet at sea which only waited a favourable wind to enter the East River, which would effectually cut off all communication between the islands. This arduous task, however, was undertaken and carried into execution by the singular ability of General Washington. In the night of the 29th, the Provincial troops were withdrawn from the camp and their different works, and with their baggage, stores, and artillery, conveyed to the water side, embarked, and passed over a long ferry to New York. This was conducted with such wonderful silence and order, that our army did not perceive the least motion, and were surprised in the morning at finding the lines abandoned, and seeing the last of the rear guard in the boats and out of danger. By this successful manœuvre, general Washington not only saved the troops on Long Island from captivity, but fortified the courage and strength of his army at New York, and enabled the Americans to continue the war with unabating ardour. Yet this measure he could not have effected, had the English general allowed his troops to force the enemy's lines, had the ships of war been stationed in the East River, or had the vigilance of the British soldiers watched and intercepted the movements of the Provincials.

After the success attending the superior bravery of the English in the engagement, and that attending the superior wisdom of Washington in the retreat, the commissioners renewed their proposals of conciliation, which were still as fruitless as before. Laying aside, therefore, their pacific character, they again had recourse to their military. The British troops were impatient to meet the enemy, who had escaped so unexpectedly from their hands. A river only divided them, along the banks of which they erected batteries, while a fleet of 300 sail, including transports, hovered round the island of New York, and threatened destruction on every side. The small islands between the opposite shores were perpetual objects of contest, until by dint of a well-served artillery, and the aid of the ships, those were secur-

ed which were most necessary to their future operations. At length, every thing being prepared for a descent, the men of war made several movements up the North river, in order to draw the attention of the enemy to that quarter of the island. Other parts seemed equally threatened, and increased the uncertainty of the real object of the attack. While the rebels were in this state of perplexity, the first division of the army, under the command of general Clinton, embarked at the head of Newtown Bay, which runs pretty deep into Long Island, and where they were entirely out of view of the enemy. Being covered by five ships of war upon their entrance into East River, they proceeded to Kepp's Bay, where, being less expected than in some other places, the preparation for defence was not so considerable. The works, however, were not weak, nor destitute of troops, but the fire from the ships was so incessant and well directed that they were soon abandoned, and the army landed without farther opposition. The enemy immediately quitted the city of New York, and retired towards the north, where their principal strength lay, particularly at King's Bridge, by which their communication with the continent of New York was kept open. General Howe thought the works here too strong to be attacked with any prospect of success; and therefore determined either to bring the rebels to an engagement on equal terms, or to inclose them in their fortresses. While he made what appeared to be the proper dispositions for this purpose, with a fleet and army sufficient to cover and surround the whole island, general Washington, by a most judicious manœuvre, formed his troops into a line of small detached encampments, which occupied every high and strong ground on the land opposite to King's Bridge. He left a garrison to defend the lines there, and Fort Washington; which, after a vigorous resistance, fell into the hands of the British forces. But general Howe could not bring Washington to an engagement, who availed himself of his skill and address while he fled before a superior force, retreating from one post to another, but always occupying more advantageous ground than his pursuers.

The British commander thus disappointed in his design of making any vigorous impression on the main body of the enemy, detached, on the 18th of November, Lord Cornwallis to take Fort Lee, and to advance farther into the Jerseys. The garrison of 2000 men abandoned the place the night before his lordship's arrival, leaving their artillery, stores, tents, and every thing else behind. Our troops afterwards over-ran the greater part of the two Jerseys, the enemy flying every where before them; and at length extended their winter cantonments from New Brunwic to the Delaware. In the beginning of December general Clinton, with two brigades of British, and two of Hessian troops, with a

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squadron of ships of war commanded by Sir Peter Parker, were sent to make an attack upon Rhode Island, in which they succeeded beyond expectation. The general took possession of the island without the loss of a man; while the naval commander blocked up the principal marine force of the enemy, commanded by Hopkins, the admiral of the Congress, who then lay in the harbour of Providence.

On the side of Canada we left general Carleton driving the rebels towards the Lakes Champlain and St. George, of which they had formerly obtained possession, as well as of the important fortrefs of Ticonderago. If the British troops could recover these, and advance as far as Albany, before the severity of the winter set in, they might pour destruction into the heart of the middle or northern colonies, as general Washington could not attempt to hold any post in New-York or the Jerseys against such a superior force as already opposed him in front, and general Carleton's army at his back. Notwithstanding the most unremitting industry in preparing this northern expedition, it was not until the month of October that the English fleet was in a condition to seek the enemy on Lake Champlain. The ship *Inflexible*, which may be considered as admiral, had been re-constructed at St. John's, from which she sailed in twenty-eight days after laying her keel, and mounted 18 twelve pounders. One schooner mounted 14, and another 12 six pounders. A flat-bottomed ra-deau carried 6 twelve pounders, besides howitzers; and a gondola 7 nine pounders. Twenty smaller vessels, under the denomination of gun-boats, carried brass field-pieces from nine to twenty-four pounders, or were armed with howitzers. Several long-boats were furnished in the same manner, and an equal number of long-boats acted as tenders. All these appertained to war; and there were besides an immense number of transports and victuallers destined for the service and conveyance of the army. The armament was conducted by captain Pringle, and navigated by above 700 prime seamen, of whom 200 were volunteers from the transports, who after having rivalled those belonging to the ships of war in all the toil of preparation, now boldly and freely partook with them in the danger of the expedition. The fleet of the enemy was not of equal force, and amounted to only fifteen vessels of different kinds, consisting of two schooners, one sloop, one cutter, three galleys, and eight gondolas. The principal schooner mounted 12 six and four pounders. They were commanded by Benedict Arnold, who was now to support upon a new element the glory which he had acquired by his achievements as a general.

The British armament proceeding up the lake the 11th of October, 1776, discovered the enemy drawn up with great judgment, in order to defend the passage between the island of

Valicour and the western main. A warm action ensued, and was vigorously supported on both sides for several hours. The wind being unfavourable, the ship *Inflexible* and some other vessels of force could not be worked up to the enemy, so that the weight of the action fell on the schooner *Carleton* and the gun-boats. As the whole could not be engaged, captain Pringle, with the approbation of the general, withdrew his advanced vessels at the approach of night, and brought the whole fleet to anchor in a line, as near as possible to the enemy, in order to prevent their retreat.

Arnold being now sensible of his inferiority, took the opportunity which the darkness of the night afforded to set sail, unperceived, hoping to obtain shelter and protection at Crown Point. Fortune seemed at first favourable to his purpose, for he had entirely lost sight of the enemy before next morning. The chase, however, being continued both on that and the succeeding day, the wind, and other circumstances peculiar to the navigation of the lake, which had been at first advantageous to the Americans, became at length otherwise, so that on the 13th at noon they were overtaken, and brought to action a few leagues short of Crown Point. The engagement lasted two hours, during which those vessels of the enemy that were most a-head pushed on with the greatest speed, and, passing Crown Point, escaped to *Ticonderago*; while two gallies, and five gondolas, which remained with Arnold, made a desperate resistance. But their obstinate valour was at length obliged to yield to the superiority of force, skill, and weight of metal by which it was assailed. The *Washington* galley with *Waterburg*, a brigadier-general and the second in command, aboard, struck, and was taken. But Arnold determined that his people should not become prisoners, nor his vessel a prey to the English. With equal resolution and dexterity he run the Congress galley, in which himself was, with the five gondolas, on shore, in such a manner as to land his men safely and blow up her vessels, in spite of every effort that was used to prevent both. Not satisfied with this substantial advantage, which in his situation was more than could have been expected from an experienced commander, he inflexibly persisted in maintaining a dangerous point of honour, by keeping his flag flying, and not quitting his galley till she was in flames, lest the English should have boarded and struck it; an attention which greatly raised his reputation in America.

Thus was Lake Champlain recovered, and the enemy's force nearly destroyed, a galley and three small vessels being all that escaped to *Ticonderago*. The Provincials, upon the rout of their fleet, set fire to the houses at Crown Point, and retired to their main body. *Carleton* took possession of the ruins, and being join-

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ed by his whole army, pushed on towards the enemy. But the post of Ticonderago was too strongly fortified to be taken without great loss of blood; and the benefit arising from success could not be considerable, as the season was too far advanced to think of crossing Lake George, and of exposing the army to the perils of a winter campaign, in the inhospitable wilds to the southward. General Carleton, therefore, reembarked the army without making any attack upon this place, and returning to Canada, cantoned his troops there for the winter.

The Americans seem to have been guilty of an unpardonable blunder in not maintaining a more powerful squadron on the lakes, which laid open the heart of their country. But besides the want of timber, artillery, and other materials necessary for such an equipment, the carpenters, and all others concerned in the business of shipping, were fully engaged in the sea-ports in the construction and fitting out of privateers. To this the force of the rebels was principally bent; and the interest of individuals which was more immediately concerned in the success of particular cruizers, than in supporting the marine strength of the nation, gave redoubled vigour to all the operations of the former.

The West Indies, which in the want of food, and of slaves, the article next in necessity to food, experienced the first melancholy effects of the American war, also suffered the most from the Provincial privateers. The fleet which sailed from Jamaica in August, 1776, being scattered by bad weather, fell a prey to the activity of their cruizers, who had seized the proper station for intercepting their passage. Nor was the trade from the other islands more fortunate. So that though the Americans did not begin their depredations till late in the year, the British loss in captures, exclusive of transports and government store-ships, was estimated considerably higher than a million sterling. Some blame was thrown on the convoy, and much indignation felt that the superintendence of our naval affairs, on which the glory and security of the nation depend, should be entrusted to hands unworthy to hold it. Such a sacred deposit required, it was thought, not only pure but steady hands; the duties of the important office to which it belongs calling for unremitting vigilance and activity, and being totally incompatible with a life of licentious and degrading pleasure. Religious men were not surprized, that under such an inauspicious influence the dignity of the nation should suffer a total eclipse, while the American cruizers swarmed in the European seas, and replenished the ports of France and Spain with prizes taken from the English. These prizes were sold in Europe without any colour of disguise, at the same time that French ships in the West Indies took American commissions, and carried on with impunity a successful war on British trade and navigation.

Mean while the time of the meeting of parliament approached, when it was expected that the line of conduct necessary for a total conquest, or happy conciliation with the colonies, would be clearly pointed out and explained. The great armaments which were continually increasing in the French and Spanish ports, and many other suspicious appearances during the recess, rendered it necessary to put into commission sixteen additional ships of the line, and to increase the bounty to seamen for entering the service to five pounds *per* man. The expences of the navy for the year 1777, including the ordinary at 400,000*l.* and the building and repairing of ships which was voted at 465,500*l.* amounted to no less than 3,205,500*l.* exclusive of 4000*l.* which was afterwards voted to Greenwich Hospital. The supplies for the land-service fell little short of three millions, although the extraordinaries of the preceding year which exceeded 1,200,000*l.* were not yet provided for. In whatever manner administration might employ the force by sea and land, the nation had provided for the support of both, with such liberal magnificence as equalled the supplies during the last war, when the fleets and armies of Britain opposed and defeated the united efforts of the greatest powers in Europe. Soon after the Christmas recess a bill was passed, enabling the admiralty to grant letters of marque and reprisal to the owners or captains of private merchant-ships, to take and make prize of all vessels with their effects belonging to any of the inhabitants of the Thirteen United Colonies. All the powers of the kingdom were thus called forth, affording, as it would seem, a force infinitely more than sufficient, had it been properly directed, to crush this aspiring rebellion.

But unfortunately the star of America still maintained the ascendant. The British troops whom we left in apparent security in their cantonments were assailed on all sides, in the middle of winter, by general Washington, who remedied the deficiency of his force by the manner of applying it, and by attacking unexpectedly and separately those bodies which he could not venture to encounter if united. By some well-concerted and spirited actions this American Fabius, after a retreat which would have done honour to the judgment of the most circumspect of all the Romans, not only saved Philadelphia and delivered Pennsylvania from danger, but recovered the greatest part of the Jerseys, and obliged an army greatly superior in number as well as in discipline to act upon the defensive, and for several months to remain within very narrow and inconvenient limits.

The British nation, how much soever they were afflicted with those misfortunes, still expected that notwithstanding this war of posts, surprizes, and detachments, which had been successfully carried on by the Americans during the winter, the regular forces would

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would prevail in the end. They waited, therefore, with much impatience for the approach of spring, when the mighty armaments which they had raised with so high expectation of victory, might be brought into action. When the time at length arrived, with equal astonishment and indignation, they learned that from some improvidence or inattention, unaccounted for at home, the army was restrained from taking the field for want of tents and field-equipage. The months of March and April, therefore, instead of being employed in such decisive enterprizes as might terminate the war, were confined to some subordinate expeditions in which the naval superiority of Britain was crowned with success. The Provincials had erected mills and established magazines in a rough and mountainous tract called the Manour of Courtland, to which a place called Peek's Kill, lying fifty miles up Hudson's river from New York, served as a kind of port. Courtland Manour was too strong to be attacked with any prospect of success; but Peek's Kill lay within the reach of the navy. On the 23d of March, colonel Bird was sent with 300 men under the conduct of a frigate and other armed vessels, up the North River to destroy the works of the enemy at this place. Upon the approach of the British armament, the Americans thinking themselves unequal to the defence of the port, and being convinced that there was not time to remove any thing but their persons and arms, set fire to the barracks and principal store-houses, and then retired to a strong pass about two miles distance, commanding the entrance into the mountains, and covering a road which led to some of the mills and other deposits. The British troops landed and completed the conflagration, which had already gone too far to allow any thing to be saved. All the magazines were thus destroyed, and the troops, having performed this service, returned after taking several small craft laden with provisions. Another expedition of a similar kind was undertaken against the town of Danbury on the borders of Connecticut, and attended with equal success.

These petty advantages were nothing, compared to the infinite benefit which the Americans derived from the delay of the British army in taking the field. The Provincials were greatly augmented by reinforcements from all quarters to the Jerseys. Those who shuddered at a winter's campaign grew bold in summer; and the certainty of a future winter had no greater effect than distant evils usually have. When general Howe passed over from New York to the Jerseys the middle of June, he found Washington's army, which six weeks before had been nothing to his own in point of force, greatly increased, and stationed in such advantageous and inaccessible posts as defied every assault. All his attempts to bring Washington to an engagement, or to make him quit his defensive plan of conducting the war, proved abortive;

tive; and it appeared the height of temerity to attempt advancing to the Delaware, through so strong a country entirely hostile, and with such an enemy in his rear. Nothing remained, therefore, for general Howe but to avail himself of the immense naval force which co-operated with the army, and which in a country like America, intersected by great navigable rivers, gave him an opportunity of transporting his forces to the most vulnerable parts of the rebellious provinces. The Americans had no force to resist the navigation, and it was impossible for them to know where the storm would fall, or to make provision against it. General Howe, accordingly, passed over with the army to Staten Island, from which it was intended that the embarkation should take place.

For the success of this grand expedition nothing was more requisite than dispatch; yet, notwithstanding the assistance afforded by the crews of 300 vessels, it was not till the 23d of July that the fleet and army were ready to depart from Sandy Hook. The force embarked consisted of thirty-six British and Hessian battalions, including the light infantry and grenadiers, with a powerful artillery, a New-York corps called the Queen's Rangers, and a regiment of light horse. Seventeen battalions with a regiment of light horse, and the remainder of the New-York corps, were left for the protection of that and the neighbouring islands; and Rhode Island was occupied by seven battalions.

Philadelphia, the original seat of the General Congress, but from which that body had retired to Baltimore, was the object of these mighty preparations. The weather being unfavourable, it cost the fleet a week to gain the capes of the Delaware. The information which the commanders received there of the measures taken by the enemy for rendering the navigation of that river impracticable, engaged them to alter their design of proceeding by that way, and to undertake the passage by Chesapeake Bay to Maryland, the southern boundary of which is at no great distance from Philadelphia. The middle of August was passed before they entered this bay, after which, with a favourable wind, they gained the river Elk near its extremity through a most intricate and dangerous navigation. Having proceeded up this river as far as it was possible for large vessels, the army were relieved from their tiresome confinement on board the transports, which was rendered doubly disagreeable by the heat of the season, and landed without opposition at Elk Ferry on the 25th of August. Whilst one part of the army advanced to the head of the Elk, the other continued at the landing-place to protect and forward the artillery, stores, and necessary provisions.

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Mean while general Washington returned with his army from the Jerseys to the defence of Philadelphia. Their force, including the militia, amounted to 13,000 men, which was still considerably inferior in number to the royal army. General Howe, after publishing such proclamations as he thought necessary for quieting the minds of the inhabitants, and inducing them to return to the protection of the crown, began on the 3d of September to pursue his course to Philadelphia. Washington lost no opportunity of harassing him in his march, by every possible means which did not involve the necessity of risking a general engagement. But several considerable actions took place between the troops both before and after general Howe had entered Philadelphia, of which the army became possessed the 26th of September. In these actions victory always inclined to the side of the king's troops, who shewed as much ardour in the attack as Washington discovered wisdom in the retreat, and in avoiding a general engagement. The Provincials had great disadvantage in the use of the bayonet, with which instrument they were ill provided, and which they knew little how to manage. And when this circumstance is considered, it will not appear surprising that the disproportion between their number of slain and that of the king's troops should in every action have been considerable.

When the British troops had taken possession of Philadelphia, their first employment was to erect batteries which might command the river, and protect the city from any insult by water. This was so necessary a measure, that the very day of the arrival of the forces, the American frigate Delaware, of 32 guns, anchored within 500 yards of the unfinished batteries, and being seconded by another frigate, with some smaller vessels, commenced a heavy cannonade, which lasted for several hours. Upon the falling of the tide, however, the Delaware grounded, and was taken; and the batteries newly erected were played with such effect against the other vessels, that they were fortunate to be able to retire.

Mean while Lord Howe being apprized of the determined progress of the army to Philadelphia, took the most speedy and effectual measures to convey the fleet and transports round to the Delaware, in order to supply the army with the necessary stores and provisions, as well as to concur in the active operations of the campaign. After a dangerous and intricate voyage, the fleet arrived in the western or Pennsylvania shore, where they drew up and anchored. The passage to Philadelphia, however, was still impracticable, for the Americans had constructed great and numerous works with wonderful labour and industry to interrupt the navigation of the river. The principal of these were the strong batteries on a low and marshy island,

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or rather an accumulation of mud and sand at the junction of the Delaware and Schuylkill; a considerable fort or redoubt at a place called Red Bank on the opposite shore of New Jersey; and in the deep navigable channel between these forts there had been sunk several ranges of frames or machines, which from resemblance of construction were called *chevaux de frize*. These were composed of transverse beams, firmly united, and of such weight and strength as rendered it equally difficult to penetrate or remove them. About three miles lower down the river they had sunk other machines of a similar form, and erected new batteries on shore on the Jersey side to co-operate in the defence. Both were farther supported by several galleys mounting heavy cannon, together with two floating batteries, a number of armed vessels and small craft of various kinds, and some fire-ships.

The first thing requisite for opening the channel was to get the command of the shore. Accordingly, upon the representation of captain Hammond of the *Roebuck*, which, with some other ships of war, had arrived in the Delaware before lord Howe, the general detached two regiments to dislodge the enemy from Billingsfort, the principal place of strength on the Jersey shore. This service was successfully performed; and captain Hammond, after a vigorous contest with the marine force of the enemy, was able with much labour to weigh up as much of the *chevaux de frize* as opened a narrow and difficult passage through this lower barrier.

It was not attempted to remove the upper barrier, which was much the stronger, until the arrival of lord Howe, who concerted measures for this purpose with the general. The latter ordered batteries to be erected on the Pennsylvania shore, to assist in dislodging the enemy from Mud Island. He also detached, (22d October,) a strong body of Hessians to attack the redoubt at Red Bank; while lord Howe ordered the men of war and frigates to approach Mud Island, which was the main object of the assault. The operations by land and sea were equally unsuccessful. The Hessians were repulsed with great slaughter by the garrison at Red Bank, as well as by the floating batteries of the enemy. The ships could not bring their fire to bear with any considerable effect upon the island. The extraordinary obstructions with which the Americans had interrupted the free course of the river, had even affected its bed, and wrought some alteration on its known and natural channel. By this means the *Augusta* man of war of 64 guns, and *Merlin* sloop were grounded so fast at some distance from the *chevaux de frize*, that there was no possibility of getting them off. In this situation, though the skill of the officers, seconded by the activity of the crews, prevented the effect of four fire-ships sent

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to destroy the *Augusta*, she unfortunately took fire in the engagement, which obliged the others to retire at a distance from the expected explosion. The *Merlin* also was destroyed, but few lives were lost.

These untoward events did not prevent a second trial on the 15th November to perform the necessary work of opening the communication of the river. While the enemy left nothing undone to strengthen their defences, the British fleet were incessantly employed in conveying heavy artillery and stores up the river to a small morassy island, where they erected batteries which greatly incommoded the American works on Mud Island. At length every thing being prepared for an assault, the *Isis* and *Somerlet* men of war passed up the east channel, in order to attack the enemy's works in front; several frigates drew up against a newly erected fort near Manto Creek; and two armed vessels, mounted with 24 pounders, made their way through a narrow channel on the western side, in order to enfilade the principal works. The fire from the ships was terrible, and returned during the whole day with equal vivacity. Towards the evening the fire of the fort began to abate, and at length was totally silenced. The enemy perceiving that measures were taking for forcing their works on the following morning, set fire to every thing that could be destroyed, and escaped under favour of the night. The forts on the main land did not afterwards make much resistance, and, as well as that on the island, afforded a considerable quantity of artillery and military stores to the victors.

The American shipping having now lost all protection on either side of the river, several of their galleys, and other armed vessels, took the advantage of a favourable night to pass the batteries of Philadelphia, and fly to places of security farther up the river. This was no sooner discovered than the *Delaware* frigate, then lying at Philadelphia, was manned and sent in pursuit of them; and other measures were taken which rendered their escape impossible. Thus environed, the crews abandoned and set fire to their vessels, which were all consumed to the number of seventeen, including the two floating batteries and fire-ships: with all these advantages, the advanced season of the year and other impediments rendered the clearing of the river in any considerable degree impracticable; so that the making such a channel as afforded a passage for transports and vessels of easy burden, with provisions and necessaries for the army, was all that could be effected by the fleet; while the whole success of the army amounted only to their securing good winter quarters at Philadelphia.

If the consequences of victory were little calculated to remove the uneasiness which began to be felt in England, as to the nature

nature and result of the American war, the effects of defeat in the army of the north, intended to co-operate with the grand expedition, occasioned the most gloomy apprehensions. It had been resolved in the cabinet, where all the future operations of the campaign had been settled with a painful and minute accuracy, that while general Howe made a severe impression on the heart of America, the extremities should also feel the cruel effects of hostility. General Carleton, who had succeeded so well in this attempt in the former campaign, and to whose unremitting activity, directed by experienced wisdom, the nation are indebted for the preservation of Canada, was superseded in the command, which was bestowed by government on general Burgoyne. With an army of above seven thousand regular troops, provided in manner the most complete, and furnished with the finest train of artillery ever seen in the new world, that general proceeded to Canada, when being joined by the provincial militia of the country, he took measures according to his instructions for being reinforced by a powerful band of savages. About the middle of June, he met the Indians in Congress on the banks of Lake Champlain, where he said every thing that appeared most effectual for raising the valour, and bridling the ferocity of our new allies. Soon after he published a manifesto to the inhabitants of the northern provinces, setting forth the magnitude of his preparations, and denouncing against the rebellious all the calamities and outrages of war, arrayed in the most terrific forms. Encouragement and employment were assured to those, who, with a disposition and ability suited to the purpose, should cheerfully assist in redeeming their country from slavery, and in re-establishing legal government. Protection and security, clogged with conditions, restricted by circumstances, and rather obscurely and imperfectly expressed, were held out to the peaceable and industrious, who continued in their habitations.

After these previous steps, which the general judged necessary, it was intended, that the army, in concert with the naval force on the lakes, should proceed to the siege of Ticonderago, and after securing that important fortress, advance southward on the frontiers of the provinces, where they would at length join the force conducted by Sir Henry Clinton, and commodore Hotham, which, advancing northward from New York, destroyed the works, towns and country of the enemy on both sides of the river. At first every thing succeeded with general Burgoyne that could gratify the most sanguine hopes of those who employed him. Ticonderago was taken, the remainder of the rebel squadron on Lake George was pursued and defeated, and the enemy every where fled before the victorious troops, whom they had neither strength nor spirit to withstand. The first impressions

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of despair produced on the minds of the rebels had time to wear off by the delays of the march, in a country so impracticable, that in some places it was hardly possible to advance a mile in a day. The New England governments, the most immediately threatened, had time to recollect themselves, and to take every measure that seemed most necessary for their defence. Arnold, who alternately acted the part of a general and commodore, with equal skill and bravery, was sent to reinforce the declining courage of the American troops, and carried with him a considerable train of artillery. The terror excited by the savages, who were guilty of various enormities too shocking to be described, produced at length an effect directly contrary to what had been expected. The inhabitants of the open and frontier country were obliged to take up arms to defend themselves against this barbarous race; and when the regular army of the Provincials seemed to be nearly wasted, a new one and more formidable was poured forth from the woods, mountains and marshes, which in this part are thickly sown with plantations and villages. General Gates, an officer of tried ardour, and of a regular military education, took the command of this force, in which he co-operated with Arnold with the most singular unanimity. The consequence is well known, and will be long remembered. Burgoyne had gone too far to retreat to Canada, nor could he proceed to Albany, without forcing his way through the rebel army. After a number of skirmishes, marches, and two bloody engagements, he entered into the convention of Saratoga the 17th October, by which the British troops laid down their arms, and engaged never to assist more in attempting to subdue America.

During the operation of the causes which led to this humiliating transaction, Sir Henry Clinton conducted his expedition up the North River with uncommon success. Having embarked 3000 men for that expedition, accompanied by a suitable naval force, consisting of frigates, armed galleys, and smaller vessels, he attacked the Forts of Montgomery and Clinton. Several necessary motions being made to mask the real design, the troops were landed in two separate divisions, at such a distance as occasioned a considerable and difficult march through the mountains, which was conducted so skilfully, that they arrived at the forts, and began their respective attacks at the same moment of time. The surprise and terror of the garrison was increased by the appearance of the ships of war, and the arrival and near fire of the galleys, which approached so close as to strike the walls with their oars. Both forts were carried by storm, and the slaughter of the enemy, occasioned by the obstinacy of their resistance, was very considerable. Those who escaped set fire to two fine frigates and several other vessels, which,

which, with their artillery and stores, were consumed or sunk. Another fort called Constitution, was, in a day or two after, upon the approach of the combined naval and land forces, set on fire and abandoned. The artillery taken in all the three amounted to 67 pieces of different sizes. A few days afterwards Continental Village, containing barracks for 1500 men, and considerable stores, was destroyed. A large boom or chain, the expence of which was estimated at 70,000*l.* and which was considered as an extraordinary proof of American industry and skill, was sunk or carried away: and the whole loss was the greatest which the enemy had hitherto sustained. The navy continued to pursue the advantage. Sir James Wallace, with a flying squadron of light frigates, and general Vaughan, with a considerable detachment of troops, made various excursions up the river, carrying terror and destruction wherever they went. At the very time that general Burgoyne was negotiating conditions for his ruined army, the thriving town of Esopus, at no very great distance, was reduced to ashes, and not a house left standing. The troops and vessels did not retire to New York until they had dismantled the forts, and left the river totally defenceless. Thus it must be confessed that, amidst all our misfortunes, the navy carried on every operation in which they were concerned with their wonted spirit and success.

When the news of the various events which had marked and chequered this important year of the American war were brought to England, the nation were agitated by a tumult of passions which it is not easy to describe or analyse. The boasted preparations which were to bring America at our feet, and which seemed capable, instead of subduing the rebels by open force, to look them into unconditional submission, produced none of the great effects which had been so firmly expected. The armament conducted by the Howes, had not been able to gain any decisive advantage over the force of the Provincials; the northern army, whether through the incapacity of the minister, or the rashness of the general, had been delivered up or rather abandoned a miserable prey into the hands of our enemies. Great part of the shipping of the Americans had, indeed, been destroyed; some of their towns were in our possession; their country had felt the calamities of war; their works of defence, raised with great art and industry, had been weakened or demolished; but the spirit of the people was still unsubdued, and their unremitting activity in a cause which they adored, animated by the first gleams of success, would naturally prompt them to more vigorous and daring efforts than they had yet exerted.

Notwithstanding these fatal appearances, the English ministry were so entwined in the American war, that it was impossible for them conveniently to be disengaged from it: their measures,

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it seemed, could only be justified by success, which, had it depended on the liberality of the supplies, must doubtless have been obtained. On the 27th of November, 1777, 60,000 seamen, with 11,000 marines were voted for the service of the ensuing year. The maintaining of those, with the building and repairing of ships, the ordinary of the navy and half pay, and the discharge of a million of debt, made the whole expence of the fleet for the year 1778, amount to above five millions sterling. Yet this immense sum exceeded only by about half a million the expence of the land forces; for besides the national troops, we had taken into pay about 25,000 Hessians, Hanoverians, Brunswickers, and other Germans: and many corporations, as well as individuals, subscribed largely for raising new regiments to reinforce the standing military strength of the country. This measure which, in any other war, would have been universally approved as a mark of the highest public spirit, was loudly condemned by opposition, as furnishing troops to the king without consent of parliament; and the effect produced on the public by the factious clamours against the new levies, clearly showed the prevailing indifference, or rather disinclination to the continuance of a war, in which we had hitherto met with little else but disappointments and disgrace.

Mean while the news of the defeat and surrender of general Burgoyne's army were received in France the beginning of December, and began totally to change the views and behaviour of that court with regard to the Americans. The agents whom the Congress kept at Paris had hitherto been coolly received by the French ministry, though idolized by the levity or disinterestedness of the nation; but upon so favourable a turn in the affairs of their constituents, they renewed with more success their proposals for negotiating a treaty, while the French king received the compliments of his nobility on the misfortune of the British troops, with as much complacence as if his own hand obtained a signal victory. In consequence of these circumstances, so advantageous to the credit of the Americans, Monsieur Girard, royal syndic of Strasbourg, and secretary of his most Christian majesty's council of state, waited on the American agents by order of his majesty, the 16th December, and acquainted them, that, after long and full consideration of their affairs and propositions in council, his majesty was determined to acknowledge the independence of the Americans, and to make a treaty with them of amity and commerce. That in this treaty no advantage should be taken of their present situation to obtain terms which otherwise could not be convenient for them to agree to, his majesty desiring that the treaty once made should be durable, which could not be expected unless each nation found

found its interest in the continuance as well as in the commencement of it. It was therefore his intention to enter into such an agreement with them as they could not but approve, had their state been long established, and attained the fulness of strength and power. That his majesty was determined not only to acknowledge, but support their independence, even at the risk of a war; and, notwithstanding the expence and danger attending this measure, he expected no compensation on that account, as he pretended not to act wholly for their sakes, since, besides his real good-will to them and their cause, it was manifestly the interest of France that the power of England should be diminished, by separating America from it for ever. The only condition which he required, therefore, on the part of the Americans was, "That in no peace to be made with England they should give up their independence, and return to the obedience of that government." Upon this foundation the treaty was drawn up and signed, and soon after dispatched to receive the ratification of Congress.

It appears not from any thing laid before the public, that the British ministry were officially informed of this important transaction. Above two months afterwards the first lord of the treasury, and the minister for the southern department, declared they knew nothing for certain concerning any treaty between France and America. If this was really the case, the ambassador at Paris scarcely deserved those honourable and lucrative marks of royal approbation, which have been since so liberally bestowed on him; but if the fact is otherwise, and if we may give entire credit to the defence of that nobleman when called to account in the house of peers, it will be difficult to save the honour of ministers, whose character and veracity is of less importance to the public, than the humiliating and disgraceful condition in which this once great and respectable nation must appear in the eyes of Europe. In former times we should, instead of dissembling the treaty, have demanded a full communication of all its contents; but, to use the words of an ingenious author, "when people are dejected by frequent losses, torn by intestine factions, or any other way internally distressed, their deliberations are confused, their resolutions slow, and an apparent languor is visible, when they attempt to carry their resolutions into execution."

However this question may be decided between the ministry at home, and their ambassador at Paris, (for the tameness of the public has not yet brought this affair to a full explanation), it was generally believed that administration knew of the proposed treaty between France and America, and that the plan of conciliation proposed by Lord North the 17th of February, was intended to counterwork the negotiations of our rivals.

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The proposition of his lordship was for two acts of parliament : the first, a bill for enabling his majesty to appoint commissioners to treat, consent, and agree on the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of the colonies. The second, a bill declaring the intention of parliament concerning the exercise of the right of imposing taxes on the provinces of North America. Both bills were passed ; and, notwithstanding the nice distinctions which are made in his lordship's speech, it appeared to common understandings that we gave up, by the latter bill, not only the power of taxing America, but all that national pre-eminence and supremacy which had been so pompously described. We thus renounced the original ground of the quarrel, and more than America ever desired us to renounce ; but since the declaration of independency, and the conclusion of the treaty with France, it was little to be doubted that our present concessions would be attended with no better success than our former pretensions. In fact, the moderation of government, the unseasonableness of which prevented its having any effect on the resolutions of the rebels, served only to damp the spirits of those who had entered most heartily into all the measures of government and coercion ; and had not France, by throwing aside the veil through which our ministers were still fond to view her, roused the indignation and resentment of the British nation, the military ardour which had been so happily excited would have begun to subside, and the people would have again fallen back into a lethargic languor and inactivity. But, on the 13th of March, the marquis of Noailles, ambassador from France, delivered the following declaration, by order of his court, to lord viscount Weymouth ; " That the United States of America, who are in full possession of independence, as pronounced by them on the 4th of July, 1776, having proposed to the king to consolidate, by a formal convention, the connection begun to be established between the nations, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed a treaty of friendship and commerce, designed to serve as a foundation for their mutual good correspondence. His majesty being determined to cultivate the good understanding subsisting between France and Great Britain, by every means compatible with his dignity, and the good of his subjects, thinks it necessary to make this proceeding known to the court of London, and to declare at the same time, that the contracting parties have paid great attention not to stipulate any exclusive advantages in favour of the French nation ; and that the United States have reserved the liberty of treating with every nation whatever, upon the same footing of equality. In making this communication, his most Christian majesty observes, that the British ministry will find new proofs of his constant and sincere disposition for peace, and

and he therefore hopes they will take effectual measures to prevent the commerce between France and America from being interrupted, and to cause all the usages received between commercial nations to be in this respect preserved. In this just confidence he thinks it superfluous to acquaint them, that he has taken eventual measures, in concert with the United States of America, to maintain the dignity of his flag, and effectually to protect the lawful commerce of his subjects." This declaration was immediately laid before the house of lords, with a message from the king, setting forth the perfidy of France, and contrasting it with his own steady adherence to the faith of treaties. The message was answered by both lords and commons in a high strain of indignation and resentment against the restless ambition of the French court. The British ambassador at Paris was recalled, and the marquis of Noailles left London. The immediate consequences of these steps were an embargo laid on the shipping in the French and English ports; the warmest impress almost ever known; and the embodying and calling forth the militia to the number of thirty thousand men.

A war with France can never be unpopular in this country; and by bringing matters to such a point that the French appeared evidently to be the aggressors, and wantonly to provoke the hostility of Great Britain, the ministry, had this been their own work, would have possessed the merit of using the surest means of rousing the latent resentment and inherent antipathy of the English against their natural enemies. The great body of the people talked of nothing but violation of treaties, treachery, war and vengeance. The new levies were carried on with redoubled vigour, especially in Scotland. A majority of both houses redoubled the sentiments and language of the vulgar. A few only ventured to think that France had done nothing inconsistent with the universal practice of nations, and must have been deaf to every call of interest, if she had not availed herself of the misfortunes or misconduct of Great Britain to aggrandize her own power. Upon the same principle that Queen Elizabeth assisted with her troops and treasure the United States of the Netherlands to throw off the yoke of a monarch then formidable to all Europe, the French could not fail, in a more enlightened age, greedily to seize the occasion of supporting the independence of British America. If ever the French gave us fair play, it was surely on the present occasion; they allowed us to negotiate and to fight; to hesitate between war and peace; and to throw away many precious years in armed truce and pacific hostility; and it astonished all Europe, not that they interposed at length, but that they did not interpose sooner. Besides, as they had long assisted the Americans in an underhand manner, the open avowal of this assistance was the greatest advantage that,

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that, in our present circumstances, we could possibly obtain. It revived the decaying ardour of the nation, united every well-wisher to his country in a common cause, and called forth the most vigorous efforts, both public and private, that the hopes of plunder, interest, resentment, and a sense of national honour could inspire.

The effects of this spirit in augmenting our armaments by sea and land were soon visible. If we may credit the words of those who presided over the navy, in a short time we had, besides a vast number of armed vessels and privateers, 228 ships of the line, frigates and sloops in commission. Of these, 50 ships of the line were employed for the protection of Great Britain; the whole number of vessels on the coast of America amounted (as it was said by men in office) to 130; admiral Barrington was stationed at the Leeward Islands; Sir Peter Parker at Jamaica; the men of war appointed to attend the Senegal fleet, were ordered to remain on that coast for the protection of trade; and admiral Duff's squadron in the Mediterranean was reinforced with several capital ships. Nor were the French slow in their preparations. They had assembled a powerful squadron at Brest, and another at Toulon; and their troops crowded the sea-ports, and covered the northern parts of the kingdom.

While these preparations were going forward in Europe, nothing decisive had happened in America. The king's army had remained quiet in their winter quarters tolerably well supplied with provisions; and general Washington's troops continued huddled at Valley Forge, where it is said they suffered intolerable hardships. The greater part of the fleet remained at Rhode Island, from which detachments were sent to cruize before the principal sea-ports of the continent, where, as well as in the West-Indies, they were successful in making a great number of captures. As the spring approached, and the navigation of the Delaware became practicable, general Howe sent various detachments to range the country round Philadelphia, in order to open the communication for bringing in provisions, and to collect forage for the army. All these expeditions were successful; and on the 7th May major Maitland was detached with the second battalion of light infantry in flat boats, protected by three galleys and other armed vessels commanded by captain Henry of the navy, to destroy the American ships lying in the river between Philadelphia and Trenton; which was effected with great success. On the 25th of the same month was carried on a similar expedition from Rhode Island, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Campbell, and captain Clayton of the navy. They destroyed 125 boats, collected by the rebels in Hickamanet river, together with a galley under repair, destined for an invasi-

on of that island. Another detachment from the men of war destroyed the rebel vessels in Warren Creek; and a third burnt the saw-mills on a creek near Taunton river, employed in preparing materials to build boats and other suitable craft for the purpose of the before-mentioned invasion.

These operations of the *petite guerre* closed the military career of general Sir William Howe, who resigned the command to Sir Henry Clinton, and returned to England. The first operation of the new commander was to evacuate Philadelphia, pursuant to the instructions which he had received from the minister. This measure, though attended with great danger on account of the neighbourhood of Washington's army of 20,000 men, and, though accompanied with a certain degree of disgrace, necessarily attached to the abandoning of a town, the possession of which had been acquired at such an expence of blood and treasure, was yet deemed necessary to enable his majesty's forces to resist the united efforts of the Americans, and their new and powerful allies. On the 18th of June the army began their march, and proceeded to Gloucester Point, and from thence crossed the Delaware in safety, through the excellent disposition made by the admiral to secure their passage. They continued their march towards New-York till the 28th, without any interruption from the enemy, excepting what was occasioned by their having destroyed every bridge on the road. Then the rebels began to approach nearer the royal army, not in order to risk a general engagement, but to harraßs their march, and if possible to seize their baggage, which, as the country admitted of but one route, consisted of a train extending near twelve miles. The judicious dispositions made by general Clinton, and the bravery of his troops, compelled the assailants to retire on every side. The army marched without farther opposition to Navesink, where they waited two days, in hopes that general Washington might be induced to take post near Middletown, where he might have been attacked to advantage. But as he still declined affording an opportunity of coming to a general action, preparations were made for passing to Sandy-Hook Island by a bridge of flat boats, which by the extraordinary efforts of the navy, was soon compleated, and over which the whole army passed in about two hours time on the 5th of July, the horses and cattle having been previously transported. They were afterwards carried up to New-York; while the fleet, the proceedings of which had been regulated by the motions of the army, anchored off Staten-Island. This station was less disadvantageous than that of the Delaware, in case the French fleet at Toulon should escape to America. This unfortunately had happened; M. D'Estaing having sailed from Toulon the 13th of April with twelve ships of the line, besides frigates and store ships.

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The fact was known to the ministry the 27th of the same month ; but no effectual measure had been taken in consequence of it. It was several days even before a council was called to take this important matter into consideration. The succeeding month was spent in national reviews, and in parliamentary debates, in the course of which the ministers acknowledged that it was judged improper to detach any part of our fleet, until the internal safety of Great Britain was sufficiently provided for. Mean while D'Estaing's Squadron rode mistress of the sea, and pursuing their course to America, arrived on the coast of Virginia the 5th of July. On the 8th they anchored at the entrance of the Delaware, and on the 11th arrived on the northern coast of New-Jersey.

Lord Howe made no delay in taking the necessary measures to oppose their attempts, until the expected reinforcement under the command of admiral Byron should arrive from England. But nothing could be more blameable than the late departure, or more unfortunate than the tedious voyage of that admiral. He sailed the 5th of June, and worked out of the channel against a fresh wind at south west. Nothing very material happened till the 3d of July, when the squadron was separated in 49 degrees 4 minutes north latitude. and 26 degrees 48 minutes west longitude from the Lizard, in a most violent gale at north, accompanied with heavy rains. At eight o'clock next evening the storm abated, and of a squadron of 14 vessels shewed only the Princess Royal, Invincible, Culloden, and Guadaloupe. On the 6th the Culloden was ordered to look out to the north-east quarter, and the Guadaloupe to the south-west. The Guadaloupe joined again the next afternoon, and kept company till the 21st, when she and the Invincible separated in a thick fog on the banks of Newfoundland. On the 5th of August the admiral fell in with the Culloden, after being separated a month, but she parted company again in the night of the 11th. The Princess Royal being thus left by herself, the admiral continued his best endeavours to get to Sandy Hook, but the prevailing wind being from the south-west to west, he made very slow progress. On the 18th of August the crew of the Princess Royal perceived 12 sail of ships at anchor to leeward, distant about eight miles. These were soon discovered to be part of D'Estaing's Squadron, and as the admiral could neither get into the road of Sandy Hook, nor of New-York, without passing through the midst of the enemy, he bore away for Halifax, where he arrived the 26th of August, and found the Culloden, which had reached that port before him. The rest of the squadron afterwards dropped in gradually there, or into the harbour of New-York, their crews very sickly, and their furniture much impaired.

Mean while D'Estaing's squadron had, on the afternoon of the 12th of July, come to anchor off Shrewsbury Inlet, about four miles from Sandy Hook. They consisted of 12 sail of two decked ships, and 3 frigates. One of the large ships had 90 guns, one 80, six were of 74, three of 64, one of 50; the least of the frigates mounted 36 guns; and their complement in men was above 11000. To oppose this formidable squadron Lord Howe had only six sail of 64 gun ships, three of 50, two of 40, with some frigates and sloops, for the most part poorly manned. In this great disparity of force the spirit of British seamen blazed forth with more than its usual lustre. A thousand volunteers from the transports presented themselves to man the fleet. Such was their ardour, that many who had been detained as necessary for the watch in their respective ships, were found concealed in the boats which carried their more fortunate companions on board the several men of war. The army were equally forward and impatient to signalize their zeal in a line of service, which independent of the spirit that animated them, would have been extremely disagreeable to men unaccustomed to a sea life. Though scarcely recruited from the fatigues of a long, toilsome, and dangerous march, they were eager to cast lots to decide which should be appointed to embark as marines. The masters and mates of the merchantmen shewed equal alacrity; several taking their stations at the guns with the common sailors, others putting to sea in their small swift sailing shallops, to alarm such ships as might be bound for this port, and to look out for the long expected arrival of Byron's reinforcement. One, of the name of Duncan, with a spirit of disinterested patriotism, that would have done honour to the first names of Greece or Rome in the most brilliant period of those celebrated republics, wrote for leave to convert his vessel, the whole hopes of his fortune, into a fire-ship, to be conducted by himself; rejecting all idea of any other recompence than the honour of sacrificing his life, services and expectations, to an ardent love of his country.

Lord Howe, encouraged by the noble enthusiasm of every one who bore the name of Briton, and which could never have been executed under a commander who was not universally beloved and respected, lost not a moment in forming the disposition of his fleet, with determined purpose to resist the most vigorous exertions of the enemy. While the French admiral was employed in sounding the bar, his lordship placed his ships in the strongest situation the channel within the Hook would admit. He sounded its several depths in person; he ascertained the different setting of the currents; communicated his discoveries to the officers of the most experience, and after hearing their several opinions, formed such plans of arrangement as

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seemed best adapted to counteract the enemy's designs. He lengthened his line which was already formed of the *Iris*, *Eagle*, *Somerset*, *Frident*, *Nonfuch* and *Ardent*, by adding the *Leviathan* storeship, manned by volunteers for the occasion, and supplied with cannon from the train. One battery of two howitzers, and another of three eighteen pounders, were erected on the point, round which the enemy must have passed, to enter the channel.

During these vigorous preparations, the admiral had the daily mortification to see several of the English traders fall into the hands of the French. The *Stanly* armed brig, with five prizes, unfortunately anchored in the middle of their fleet, the darkness of the night concealing their ensigns, and was boarded before she discovered her mistake. If some traders and advice-boats had not escaped over the flats, the *Hope*, with a convoy from *Halifax*, would likewise have been taken and added to the general loss and indignation.

The French squadron had maintained a constant intercourse with the shore, by means of boats and small vessels; which was observed to cease on the 21st of July. On the day following, they appeared under way. The wind was favourable for crossing the bar, the spring tides were at the highest, and every circumstance concurred for attacking the British fleet to the greatest advantage. The admiral, therefore, had reason to expect one of the hottest actions ever fought between the two nations. Had the English men of war been defeated, the transports and victuallers must have been an easy acquisition; and the army, of course, compelled to surrender on any terms the enemy might impose. But *D'Eftang* seems not to have possessed sufficient courage to contend for so great a stake; and at three o'clock in the afternoon he bore off to the southward, to the great mortification of our gallant seamen, who, confident of victory, only longed for a battle.

Instructions were immediately dispatched to the advice-boats stationed without on the flats, to follow and observe the motions of the French fleet. It was generally supposed that the enemy's design was to force the port of *New York*, and that their bearing to the southward, was owing to the circumstances of the weather. But advice was received, that they were seen on the morning of the 23d, in the latitude of the *Delaware*. Soon after this intelligence, the English fleet received an unexpected accession of force by the arrival of the *Renown* from the *West Indies*; and so extremely inferior were they in every respect to the enemy, that the addition of a single fifty gun ship was a matter of general exultation. Such was the mortifying debility of the British fleet, while the first lord of the admiralty triumphed

ed in parliament in the superiority of lord Howe's squadron over that of M. D'Estaing.

The Dispatch arrived from Halifax, the 26th of July, which brought no intelligence to Byron, but informed the admiral that the *Raisonné* and *Centurion*, were both on their way to New York. These, as well as the *Cornwall*, formed a most seasonable reinforcement.

It was now known for certain, that the French fleet had sailed for Rhode Island. On the 29th, they had been seen off Newport harbour; the same day two of the frigates had entered the *Seconnet* passage; next morning two line of battle ships had run up the *Naraganset* passage; and the remainder of the squadron were at anchor without *Brenton's Lodge*, about five miles from the town. In this divided state of the enemy, Lord Howe, notwithstanding the great inferiority of his force even after the reinforcement, determined to save the British garrison at Rhode Island. Two additional fire-ships were constructed by his orders, and all his squadron was ready for sea by the first of August. The weather prevented, however, his arrival at Rhode Island, till the evening of the 9th. By this time D'Estaing had entered the harbour under an easy sail, cannonading the town, and batteries as he passed. His situation, therefore, was much stronger than that on which the English had depended at *Sandy Hook*. The rebels also were possessed of the left-hand shore, the whole length of the harbour, which gave them an opportunity not only to annoy the British fleet from the heights of *Conanicut*, near to which it must have approached, but, during the attack against D'Estaing, to bring all their guns to bear upon the English ships from the northern extremity of that island.

Next morning the wind blew directly out of the harbour, and in a short time the French squadron appeared standing out to sea with all their sails on board. Lord Howe immediately made the signal to get under way, and endeavoured by several masterly manœuvres to throw the enemy to leeward. The weather-gage was a matter of the utmost importance, as, unless he could obtain that, the fire-ships, in which were placed the greatest hopes in contending with such a superior force, could not be brought into action; and the frigates which had charge of them would likewise have been prevented from engaging. But the attention of the French was as great to preserve this advantage, as the solicitude of the English to acquire it. Night put an end to the manœuvres on both sides, and the next morning presented the two fleets in the same situation with regard to the weather, but at somewhat greater distance. The wind still being to the eastward, blowing fresh, and there appeared no prospect of change, Lord Howe, therefore, ordered the frigates which had

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the charge of the fire-ships, to be informed, that should the enemy continue to preserve the weather-gage, he should wait their approach with the squadron formed in a line of battle ahead, from the wind to the starboard. At the same time he took a step upon which no officer could have ventured, whose character for personal bravery was less fully established. It is well known that a commander in chief, stationed in the line, cannot, after the action is commenced, observe the general conduct of the battle. His services are then of no more avail than those of any other officer, equally brave and expert in the management of a single ship. But as Lord Howe had on this occasion to engage under so many disadvantages, it was necessary to seek resource in his superior skill and activity, to be ready to profit of every fortuitous occurrence, and to compensate for the inferiority of his force by his address in applying it. He therefore shifted his flag on board the Apollo frigate, leaving the Eagle in the center, and moved to a convenient distance to take a view of the whole line. Having by this gained a nearer view of the French fleet, and observed that they had placed their strongest ships in the van, he strengthened the rear of the British to receive their attack. About four o'clock the French admiral altered his bearing, and new-formed his line to engage to leeward. Lord Howe crossed through the interstices of the English line with the frigates and fire ships, and in a few minutes after made a signal for his ships to shorten sail, and close to the center. The engagement seemed now to be decided on by the commanders of both squadrons; but in a short time the French again altered their course, and bearing to the southward were speedily, from the state of the weather, entirely out of sight.

The wind blew so hard that it was necessary for the British to lie to all night to prevent the separation of their fleet. But the gale increased to such violence, that notwithstanding this precaution, the Blue division was totally separated from the rest; the center and van with most of the frigates still keeping together. The Apollo, in which the admiral was embarked, having lost her foremast in the night, he shifted his flag the next day on board the Phoenix, captain Hammond, then in company with the Centurion, Ardent, Richmond, Vigilant and Roebuck. The whole fleet was greatly disabled by the storm, their sails shattered, their masts sprung, and the fire-ships rendered by the wet totally unfit for service. But, though the elements warred against them, they failed not to assail their enemies wherever the opportunity offered. On the evening of the 13th, captain Dawson, in the Renown of fifty guns, fell in with the Langue-doc, carrying M. D'Estaing, totally dismasted. Having run close under her lee, he gave her all his upper-deck guns; then standing

standing off to windward, opened his lower ports, and, at half a cable's length, poured in three broadsides. The darkness obliged him to lie to for the night, in the resolution of renewing the attack next morning: but at the first dawn six French ships hove in sight, three of which remained with the wreck, and the other three gave him chase. The same evening commodore Hotham would have taken the *Tonant*, had it not been for the intervention of other French ships. A circumstance of another kind prevented the *Cæsar*, a 74 gun ship, from becoming a prize to the *Isis*, after an action as brilliant as any on record in the history of the English navy. Captain Rayner of the *Isis*, discovering the force of his opponent, at first endeavoured to escape her; but she proved to be the fastest sailer. In a short time they were close on board each other, and engaged for an hour and a half within pistol-shot. Notwithstanding the extraordinary disproportion of force, the address and intrepidity of the English captain was so happily seconded by the ardour of his officers and men, that the Frenchman was forced to put before the wind. The *Isis* was incapable of pursuing him, being so much shattered in her masts and rigging. Mr. Bougainville, the French captain, lost his arm, the first lieutenant his leg, and they acknowledged seventy men killed, and fourteen wounded. After these honourable but partial engagements, the English ships sailed for the general rendezvous, which the admiral had appointed at the Hook, where they found their consorts almost as much shattered by the storm, as they had been by the storm and the French fleet together.

During the time requisite for repairing the disabled ships, the *Experiment*, being sent to explore the state of affairs at Newport, brought intelligence, the 23d of August, that D'Estaing's Squadron had again returned to Rhode Island. Lieutenant Stanhope arrived next day, having with great gallantry passed through the body of the French fleet in a whale-boat, conveying more complete information of the situation of the enemy. He had left them at anchor at the harbour's mouth, which it was not probable they had entered, as the wind had all along continued at east. The rebels, to the number of twenty thousand, had advanced within fifteen hundred yards of our works. From them, however, Sir Robert Pigot, who commanded the English garrison, apprehended little danger; but should the French fleet come in, the governor ordered his messenger to say it would make an alarming change.

Lord Howe lost not a moment, upon this information, to set sail for the relief of the place. But he was met at sea by the *Galatea* with dispatches from general Pigot, acquainting him that D'Estaing had sailed from his anchorage, and steered in a course for Boston. His lordship, therefore, detached the *Nautilus*,

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tilus, Sphinx, and Vigilant to Rhode Island, and proceeded with the remainder of his squadron in quest of the enemy. As it was not probable the French would attempt to navigate their large ships in their disabled state through the south channel, within George's Bank, his lordship was in hopes that, by following that course, he might intercept their passage to Bolton Bay. But on entering that bay the 30th, he found to his great mortification that the enemy had anticipated his arrival. The next day he endeavoured to take advantage of a leading wind to view their position, but was prevented by the St. Albans running on shore near the point of Cape Cod. He effected his purpose, however, on the 1st of September, and judging that no attempt could be made against them in their present situation with the smallest prospect of success, he stood off to sea, in order to disengage his ships from the navigation of the coast, which was extremely dangerous, the wind blowing fresh from the east, and the appearance of the weather in other respects unfavourable. When he arrived at Newport, he found that the measure which he had taken, had been effectual in relieving that important garrison; the rebel general Sullivan, on the unexpected retreat of D'Estaing, having retired from before the place, after uttering many bitter reproaches against the brittle faith of his new allies. Lord Howe afterwards returned to Sandy Hook, and his health being infirm, surrendered the powers with which he was intrusted to rear-admiral Gambier, and set sail for England, where he arrived the 25th of October.

The naval operations in Europe, though far less complicated, were not more decisive than in America. The French, as early as the month of May, had in the road of Brest nineteen ships of 74 guns, three of 80, and fourteen frigates, commanded by the count D'Orvilliers, lieutenant-general of the marine. The duke of Chartres, eldest son of the first prince of the blood, commanded an eighty-gun ship, and gave the splendour of his name to this formidable equipment. The British fleet, destined to act against the main force of the enemy, was committed to admiral Keppel, who sailed from St. Helen's the 8th of June. Nothing particular happened until the 17th, when the English fleet being in line of battle, 25 miles distant from the Lizard, they perceived two ships and two tenders, which seemed to watch their motions. The admiral immediately directed the whole fleet to chase; and between five and six in the evening the Milford had got close along-side the leeward ship which proved to be a large French frigate called the *Licorne*, of 32 guns and 230 men. Her commander could not be persuaded by civil words to bring his vessel to the English fleet, so that it was necessary to fire a gun, which made him prepare to obey the English officer's request. The other French ship was pursued by the *Arethusa* and

and Alert cutter, and at some distance astern, the Valiant and Monarque. Mean while the French frigate which had been overtaken by the Milford, and was now attended by the America, changed her course, and went upon a different tack with a view to escape. One of the English ships attending her, fired a shot across her, which was immediately followed by the French frigate's discharging a whole broadside into the America, at the very moment lord Longford was upon the gunwale talking to the French captain in the most civil strain. The latter then struck his colours; and though his conduct merited the fire of the America, lord Longford's magnanimity disdained to take vengeance of an enemy whom he had entirely in his power. On the 19th the Valiant and Monarque who had chased the other French ship, were seen making for the fleet with a disabled ship in tow, which was soon perceived to be the Arethusa with her main-mast gone, and much shattered in other respects. The Arethusa had, on the night of the 17th, come up with her chace, which proved to be the Belle Poule, a large French frigate with heavy metal. The French captain peremptorily refused to bring to, which obliged captain Marshall of the Arethusa to fire a shot, which was immediately returned by a whole broadside from the French frigate. This brought on an engagement, which lasted upwards of two hours. In this conflict the Arethusa was much shattered in her masts, sails, and rigging; and there being little wind to govern her, she could not prevent the French ship from getting into a small bay, where boats at day light came out and towed her into safety. Captain Fairfax of the Alert cutter was more fortunate, having taken a French schooner of ten carriage-guns and ten swivels that attended the Belle Poule. And on the 18th the Foudroyant, Courageux, and Robuste, had chased and taken the Pallas, a French frigate of thirty-two guns and two hundred men.

These actions were preludes to a general engagement. In the month of July the French ships ventured to quit their harbours in greater numbers. On the 23d a great fleet appeared, which the admiral pursued the following days. Until the 27th the winds were constantly in the south-west and north-west quarters, and the French fleet always to windward; so that the admiral in vain endeavoured to attack them, as they anxiously declined permitting him to bring up his vessels to a regular engagement. But on the morning of the 27th the change of the wind allowed the van of the English fleet to lead up, and to close in with the rear and centre of the enemy. In the account of this engagement published by authority, no material circumstance of which has yet been disproved, we are told, that the French began firing upon the headmost of vice-admiral Sir Robert Harland's division, and other ships as they led up; which cannonade was soon

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soon returned by the leading ships, and by all the others, as soon as they could approach near enough to the French fleet. The main object of the latter seemed to be the disabling of the English ships in the masts and sails, which were so far accomplished, that many of them were unable to follow the admiral when he wore to stand after the enemy. This obliged him to wear again in order to join those ships, during which the French had time to range their ships in line of battle to leeward of the English fleet. As it was near the close of the day, the admiral allowed them to do this without firing upon them, thinking they meant handsomely to try their force with him next morning: but they had been so beaten in the day, that they took advantage of the night to go off. The wind and weather not affording the smallest prospect of coming up with them before they reached their own shore, and the English ships being much shattered in their masts, yards, and sails, the admiral had no choice but to return and refit. In the engagement he had 113 men killed, and 373 wounded. The French loss has never been exactly ascertained, but even from their own accounts it was infinitely greater than ours.

It is certain the contents of this letter by no means answered the expectations of the public. An equality of success could not be supposed to satisfy those who had been thought to arrogate to themselves the most decided naval superiority. At sea every thing appeared a victory to the French which was not clearly a defeat; and therefore, while many who were totally unacquainted with the nature of naval engagements, accused the conduct of the admiral; while others only imagined that his letter to the admiralty was judiciously drawn up, as it expresses an opinion that the French after being beaten, would risk an engagement, which, he says, they had cautiously declined when their force was entire; the wiser part were seized with very gloomy apprehensions when they considered that there had been such a general engagement of the ships on both sides, without the loss of one vessel taken or destroyed on the part of the enemy. They reflected on the advantages which the French derived from having their fleet manned with a proportion of American sailors. A few brave men, it is well known, can inspire courage into a whole fleet or army. The French in the late engagement were observed to keep to their guns better than they had done on any occasion in the last or preceding war, and they had laid aside the awkward mode of managing them, and adopted the same method that had been long and successfully practised by the English. These circumstances, however mortifying to pride, or painful to patriotism, cannot easily be denied; and in them, united with the accidents of wind and weather, we must seek the cause of the unexpected and little favourable issue of the late engagement;

engagement; especially as, in the opinion of the best seamen, the conduct of the English admiral was unexceptionable.

The commissioners appointed to settle matters amicably with the Americans had so little effect in suspending the military or naval operations across the Atlantic, that it was not necessary to interrupt the thread of our narration by giving an account of their proceedings. But as the proposals which they were empowered to make altered entirely the object of the war, it is necessary to explain the purport of their commission, the means used for giving it effect, and the sentiments with which it was received. They sailed the 21st of April in his majesty's ship the Trident, and their arrival in America was notified the 9th of June, in a letter from Sir Henry Clinton to general Washington, intimating that the earl of Carlisle, William Eden, and George Johnston, three of the commissioners for restoring peace between Great Britain and America, were then at Philadelphia, and requesting a passport for their secretary Dr. Ferguson, with a letter from them to Congress. General Washington declined granting this request until the pleasure of Congress should be known; but while that assembly were deliberating on the expediency of the measure referred to them, an express arrived from the general, carrying a letter from the commissioners addressed to his excellency Henry Laurens the president, and other members of the Congress. This letter, after much debate, was read. It contained the powers with which the commissioners were furnished to suspend hostilities, to remove grievances, and to grant the requests which the colonies had frequently made on the subject of acts of parliament passed since the year 1763, and to settle a plan of policy for the future government of America, which should obtain force, when ratified by the parliament of Great Britain: the whole strain of the letter is highly respectful. The commissioners declare it is their inclination "to establish the powers of the legislatures in each particular *State* of America, to settle its revenue, its civil and military establishment, and to allow it the exercise of a perfect freedom of legislation and internal government." They also declare themselves ready "to concur in measures towards extending every freedom to trade that the respective interests of Great Britain and America can require: to agree that no military force shall be kept up in the different states of North America without the consent of the General Congress, or particular assemblies; and to concur in measures calculated to discharge the debts of America, and raise the value and credit of the paper circulation." To these advantageous and condescending propo-

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fals the Congress answered in terms of great haughtiness. The commissioners proceeded on a supposition, that the Americans were subjects of Great Britain, an idea utterly inadmissible. The commissioners mentioned the insidious interposition of France, an expression so disrespectful to his most Christian majesty, the good and great ally of the United States, that nothing but an earnest desire to spare the farther effusion of blood could have persuaded Congress to allow the reading of a paper drawn up with such bold indecency of language. They observe, however, that, "they will be contented to enter upon a consideration of a treaty of peace and commerce with Great Britain," "not inconsistent with treaties already subsisting, when his Britannic majesty shall demonstrate a sincere disposition for that purpose. The only solid proof of this disposition will be an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of these states, or the withdrawing of his fleets and armies." Such were the fruits of a negotiation, proposed with much triumph by ministers, and accepted with great unanimity by parliament. By the same fatal misconduct, or the same unexampled misfortune, which had marked every step of the proceedings of the British administration with regard to the colonies, the army had orders to evacuate Philadelphia at the time of the arrival of the commissioners. At the moment that we held out terms of peace, we discovered our inability to continue the war with effect. Such a remarkable coincidence naturally damped the hopes of our negotiators as well as of all those who were still attached to the interests of the mother country. The English general had expected to receive a powerful reinforcement of troops; he received commissioners who had powers to negotiate away the principal objects for which he fought. The commissioners expected to add weight and persuasion to their proposals by being seconded by the active operations of the army. They were obliged to retire with that army, which now abandoned its conquests, and, instead of aspiring at advantage, discovered great merit in being able to make a retreat without sustaining any irreparable loss.

Thus it happened by a fatality unknown in any other age or country, that the proposals of the commissioners damped the spirits and checked the ardour of the troops, while the conduct of the troops, however necessary and proper in itself, weakened, disgraced and vilified the proposals of the commissioners. After this inauspicious beginning, it could scarcely be expected that any future measures should be attended with better success. The commissioners, however, continued in America for four months, publishing proclamations of grace and pardon to those who despised their power; offering friendship and union to those who

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avowed that they were not only divided from us for ever, but leagued with our worst enemies; and endeavouring to treat with assemblies, or correspond with private persons, all which endeavours were rejected with marks of ineffable contempt. At length, after being exposed to such indignities as we do not recollect that the ministers of any independent nation ever submitted to among a civilized people, and after condescending to such degrading language of their constituents, as was never held by the representatives of any kingdom upon earth, they determined to return home, previous to which they published a manifesto dated at New York the 3d of October, 1778. This contained a recapitulation of the advantages which they were empowered to confer, with an appeal from the resolutions of the Congress to the inhabitants at large, and a denunciation of a more destructive war than had hitherto been carried on, since, if the British colonies were to become an accession to France, prudence would dictate to Great Britain the necessity of rendering that accession of as little avail as possible to her enemy: Soon after the publication of this paper, which was not more effectual than the rest of their proceedings, they set sail for England.

The military and naval operations, it has been observed, were little interrupted by this extraordinary negotiation. The advanced season of the year, however, prevented those active and powerful exertions which alone could produce any decisive effect, the spirits and vigour of the troops and seamen seemed gradually to languish; and their operations naturally degenerated into the *petite guerre*. In those partial hostilities the king's troops were generally successful. They destroyed several magazines belonging to the enemy; laid waste the possessions of some of the most obstinate of the rebels; and demolished by the assistance of the ships, some villages which were built for the reception of prize goods, and the accommodation of the sailors belonging to the American privateers. But no general engagement took place; nor was any thing decisive performed by the English or French squadrons, both of which suffered greater injury from the weather, than from the assaults of the enemy. The surrender of Dominica by the English, was in some measure compensated by the taking of the Islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, which were the only settlements the French possessed in the northern parts of America. Thus every thing seemed to tend to an equality; and we had the mortification to mourn over our loss in the course of the war, without any prospect of being soon able to repair it. We had already lost two ships of the line, thirteen frigates, and seven sloops of war. The merchant ships taken by the American privateers, were near a thousand in number, and valued at nearly two millions sterling. We had not one

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one capital ship from the French, nor excepting the Pallas and Licorne frigates, any man of war worth mentioning. After the naval force of the Americans seemed to be totally destroyed, it arose more than once from its ruins, and harrassed our trade as much as before. The value of American captures, however, made by English vessels, exceeded, by several hundred thousand pounds, the loss which the British merchants had sustained; and when we take into the account the captures from the French, particularly the *Modeste* and Carnatic Indiamen, each of which were worth near half a million, the balance will appear to be considerably in favour of Great Britain. But in estimating national advantages, we must not compensate the loss of English merchants by the gains of English seamen. The latter being chiefly the profit of a few individuals, is not to be put in competition with the benefit of the great body of merchants and manufacturers; nor does it even indemnify the public for the damage and diminution which the navy itself has suffered by the misfortunes of the sea, and sustained from the efforts of the enemy.

In taking a general retrospect of the conduct of the war, in as far as the navy is concerned, it appears that the commander in chief, as well as the captains of particular vessels, have for the most part acted with their usual bravery and wisdom. Whatever aspersions may be thrown on those who superintend the management of our marine, no dishonour has been fixed on the British flag, nor has the ancient glory of our seamen been tarnished. Hitherto, indeed, their spirited ardour and intrepidity have not produced the effects that usually result from them. But we are not to account for this, by supposing any diminution of those eminent qualities for which they have been long distinguished. The inauspicious and fatal influence which prevails in a high department has continued to give us one proof after another, that no people can be great without being virtuous. The iniquities of the ministers have been visited on the nation——

Quicquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi.

But that very circumstance which has hitherto occasioned our perplexity and distress, the unhappy superintendence of our naval affairs, is what ought at present to afford us just grounds of consolation. If our boundless supplies and powerful armaments had been managed and directed by the wisdom and virtue of ministers, and if, notwithstanding this most favourable circumstance, the exertions of our forces by sea and land had been unable to maintain with honour the cause in which we are engaged, we should have just reason to despair; because it is plain, that,

that in such a case we could not expect, by any alteration of management, to defeat the malignant purposes of our natural and inveterate enemies. But if our fleets and armies were condemned to reluctant inactivity at the beginning of the war; if while we had the Americans only to contend with, we took no resolutions becoming the dignity of a great nation; if while our enemies prepared for hostility, by augmenting their troops and equipping their squadrons, our own were allowed to rot, languish, and moulder away in a state the most deplorable; if after the message delivered by the French ambassador, which was in effect a declaration of war, had roused the spirit of the nation, our ministers still remained profoundly sunk in lethargic security, totally incapable of those vigorous measures which their situation required, and in every instance behind hand with our enemies; what could we possibly expect from such a conduct, but misfortune, disgrace, and complicated calamity? A French fleet was equipped at Brest, and another at Toulon. The destination of the latter appeared plainly to every body, not concerned in administration, to be for America. But the first lord of the admiralty remained in doubtful suspense. He knew not what part of the empire might be attacked. He continued motionless himself, and received patiently the hostile assault; like an unskilful boxer, intending to cover the part on which he had already received a blow, and then shifting his hand to another part just wounded; but possessing neither spirit nor address sufficient to ward off the impending stroke. Even after D'Estaing's squadron had sailed, the account of which we obtained by the vigilance of a foreign resident, without any thanks to the court of admiralty, the important pass of the Mediterranean was left unguarded. It was still pretended, that the destination of this fleet was uncertain: their sailing in an American direction might be a feint; if a squadron should be detached from our fleet in pursuit of them, they might perhaps return, and form a junction with D'Orvilliers, which would give him a decisive advantage over admiral Keppel. Then the disgrace of the nation burst forth with irresistible evidence. Notwithstanding the boasted declarations that our fleet was superior to the united power of France and Spain, it happened that the fleet of France alone commanded more than our respect. The immense sums voted for the navy supplies for these three years past, could not furnish us with ships to follow D'Estaing without leaving our own coast defenceless.

The consequence of this was, that while we employed several months in gleaning the old stores, that had lain for years rotting in the different dock yards, splicing and knotting cordage that had long been condemned as unserviceable, and patching up masts and yards from the remnants of a fleet once the

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terror of the world, D'Estaing rode the waves in triumph, carrying protection and independence to America. If the fortune of Lord Howe had not been equal to his activity, his fatigued vessels, considering part of which, from the nature of the service in which they were engaged, lay dispersed over the wide-extended coast of North America, must have been attacked in detail, and defeated by piece-meal. The admiral himself, with the main force of his squadron, narrowly escaped destruction in the Delaware; for had the French fleet arrived a few days sooner, he would have been surprized in that river with two ships of 64 guns, one of 50, two of 40, and a few frigates, encumbered with a fleet of transports, victuallers and private traders, laden for the most part with the refugees from Philadelphia, who seized this last opportunity of transporting their families and the wreck of their fortunes.

Thus was the main force of Great Britain on that side of the Atlantic left to be the sport of contingencies. It was saved by something that nearly resembles a miracle. Lord Howe resisted until Byron's fleet, which had long been kept waving in the harbour of Portsmouth, to the no small entertainment of the populace, at length arrived in America. But this squadron had been equipped in such a manner as rendered it fitter for a naval review than for any effective service. It was unable to weather a summer's storm, and approached the coast of America, having more need of protection than ability to yield assistance. Among these and all the other multiplied errors which disgrace every part of our naval administration, we find the great source of our present calamities. If the same administration, or any thing like it, should continue, still greater misfortunes await. But if we make a thorough reformation in this important department, we shall soon see that there is no reason to despair, until the whole mass of citizens become as corrupt as those men who have brought disgrace and calamity upon their country.

Before concluding this chapter, we have thought proper to wait for the judgment of the court martial concerning the conduct of admiral Keppel in the action of the 27th of July. Though the period of this decision extends beyond the limits assigned to the present work, yet as it tends to clear up an important transaction, the principal circumstances of which have been already related, we have thought it essential to the naval history of the year 1778. Soon after the action, the newspapers were filled, as usual, with encomiums or satires on the admiral, according to the various opinions, inclinations, or humours of the different writers, who chose to celebrate or to arraign his character and conduct. As the admiral had little personal connection with the king's ministers, and belonged to a family which

had been distinguished by peculiar marks of friendship from the late duke of Cumberland, whom they followed in opposition, it was evident that he owed the high command conferred on him, to his professional abilities alone, without the smallest assistance from court favour. Those who approved all the measures of administration were naturally, therefore, the loudest in condemning his behaviour, while the anti-ministerial party not only justified his proceedings, but held him forth as an object deserving the warmest gratitude and applause of his fellow-citizens. Various anonymous paragraphs were published and answered. The panegyric of Sir Hugh Palliser, vice-admiral of the Blue, occasioned a criticism on his conduct; it was said that he disobeyed orders by neglecting to pay any attention to the admiral's signals, and thereby prevented the destruction of the whole French fleet. These invectives and recriminations might have passed on both sides without any material consequence, and the propriety of admiral Keppel's behaviour being blended with the prejudices of party, would probably have remained a matter of doubt, until the passions of contending factions subsiding, had left time for listening to the impartiality of some future historian. But Sir Hugh Palliser took a decisive step on the 4th of November; and by giving his name to the public in a letter written for his own justification, conveyed an indirect insinuation against his commander. In the beginning of December these imputations were echoed in the house of commons, which called up the admiral to vindicate his professional character. "If he was to go over the business of the 27th of July again, he would conduct himself in the same manner. Every thing that could be done had been done; and he was happy to say, the British flag had not been tarnished in his hands. He felt himself perfectly easy on that head, and should never be ashamed of his conduct on the day alluded to. The oldest and most experienced officers in his majesty's navy, in every engagement, saw something which they were before unacquainted with; and that day presented something new. He impeached no man of neglect of duty, because he was satisfied that the officer alluded to had manifested no want of courage, the quality most essential in a British seaman." He said, "he was much surprized when an officer under his command had made an appeal to the public in a common newspaper, signed with his name, before any accusation had been made against him, and which tended to render him odious and despicable in the eyes of his countrymen." Sir Hugh Palliser declared "he was so conscious of not having been any hindrance to a re-action with the Brest fleet on the 27th of July, that he was equally indifferent with the honourable admiral how soon an enquiry were set on foot. He had discovered from what the admiral had just said, that

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“ the principal matter which weighed against him in the admiral’s mind was the publication in the newspapers, which he had signed with his name, and by which he would abide. If it was imprudent, if it was wrong, the consequence was to himself. To say any thing against a friend was to a man of sensibility the most disagreeable thing in nature ; but where an officer’s reputation was at stake, the removing an unjust stigma was certainly the first object. If there was any reason of accusation, why not make it openly and fairly ? If not, why insinuate that he had been wanting in point of conduct, though a testimony was given in favour of his courage ? This,” he said, was a language extremely different from that of the admiral’s dispatch, containing an account of the action, in which he informed the admiralty board of the spirited and gallant conduct of all the officers under his command.” Admiral Keppel acknowledged “ he had given that approbation, and was ready to repeat it, and point the testimony particularly as well as generally. The vice admiral had alluded to signals, and said that it was no fault of his that the fleet of France was not re-attacked. As to that he could only say, that he presumed every inferior officer was to obey the signs of his command ; and now when called upon to speak out, he would inform the house and the public, that the signal for coming into the Victory’s wake was flying from three o’clock in the afternoon till eight in the evening unobeyed ; at the same time he did not charge the vice admiral with actual disobedience. He doubted not but, if an inquiry should be thought necessary, that he would be able to justify himself, because he was fully persuaded of his personal bravery.”

In consequence of this altercation, Sir Hugh Palliser drew up the following charge against admiral Keppel, which he exhibited at the board of admiralty on the 9th of December.

CHARGE of MISCONDUCT and NEGLECT of DUTY
against the Honourable ADMIRAL KEPPEL, on the 27th and 28th of July, 1778, in divers instances as under mentioned.

“ I. THAT on the morning of the 27th of July, 1778, having a fleet of thirty ships of the line under his command, and being then in the presence of a French fleet of the like number of ships of the line, the said admiral did not make the necessary preparations for fight, did not put his fleet into a line of battle, or into any order proper either for receiving or attacking an enemy of such force ; but, on the contrary, although his fleet was already dispersed and in disorder, he, by

“ making the signal for several ships of the vice admiral of the
 “ Blue division to chase to windward, increased the disorder of
 “ that part of his fleet, and the ships were in consequence more
 “ scattered than they had been before ; and, whilst in this dis-
 “ order, he advanced to the enemy, and made the signal for
 “ battle. That the above conduct was the more unaccounta-
 “ ble, as the enemy's fleet was not then in disorder, nor beaten,
 “ nor flying, but formed in a regular line of battle on that tack
 “ which approached the British fleet, all their motions plainly
 “ indicating a design to give battle, and they edged down and
 “ attacked it whilst in disorder. By this unofficer-like conduct,
 “ a general engagement was not brought on, but the other flag-
 “ officers and captains were left to engage without order or re-
 “ gularity, from which great confusion ensued : some of his
 “ ships were prevented from getting into action at all ; others
 “ were not near enough to the enemy ; and some, from the
 “ confusion, fired into others of the king's ships, and did them
 “ considerable damage : and the vice admiral of the Blue was
 “ left alone to engage single and unsupported. In these instan-
 “ ces the said admiral Keppel negligently performed the duty
 “ imposed on him.

“ II. That after the van and centre divisions of the British
 “ fleet passed the rear of the enemy, the admiral did not imme-
 “ diately tack and double upon the enemy with these two divi-
 “ sions, and continue the battle, nor did he collect them toge-
 “ ther at that time, and keep so near the enemy as to renew
 “ the battle as soon as it might be proper : on the contrary, he
 “ stood away beyond the enemy to a great distance before he
 “ wore to stand towards them again, leaving the vice admiral
 “ of the Blue engaged with the enemy, and expecting to be
 “ cut off.

“ That after the vice admiral of the Blue had passed the
 “ last of the enemy's ships, and immediately wore, and laid his
 “ own ship's head towards the enemy again, being then in their
 “ wake, and at a little distance only, and expecting the admiral
 “ to advance with all the ships to renew the fight, the admiral
 “ did not advance for that purpose, but shortened sail, and hauled
 “ down the signal for battle ; nor did he at that time, nor at
 “ any other time, whilst standing towards the enemy, call the
 “ ships together in order to renew the attack, as he might have
 “ done, particularly the vice admiral of the Red and his division,
 “ which had received the least damage, had been the longest
 “ out of action, were ready and fit to renew it, were then to
 “ windward, and could have bore down and fetched any part
 “ of the French fleet, if the signal for battle had not been haul-
 “ ed down, or if the said admiral Keppel had availed himself of
 “ the signal appointed by the 31st article of the fighting instruc-

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" tions, by which he might have ordered those to lead, who are
 " to lead with the starboard tacks on board, by a wind; which
 " signal was applicable to the occasion for renewing the engage-
 " ment with advantage, after the French fleet had been beaten,
 " their line broken, and in disorder. In these instances he did
 " not do the utmost in his power to take, sink, burn, or destroy
 " the French fleet that had attacked the British fleet.

" IV. That instead of advancing to renew the engagement,
 " as in the preceding articles is alledged, and as he might and
 " ought to have done, the admiral wore, and made sail directly
 " from the enemy, and thus he led the whole British fleet away
 " from them, which gave them an opportunity to rally unmo-
 " lested, and to form again into a line of battle, and to stand
 " after the British fleet. This was disgraceful to the British flag;
 " for it had the appearance of a flight, and gave the French ad-
 " miral a pretence to claim the victory, and to publish to the
 " world, that the British fleet ran away, and that he pursued it
 " with the fleet of France, and offered it battle.

" V. That on the morning of the 28th of July, 1778, when
 " it was perceived that only three of the French fleet remained
 " near the British in the situation the whole had been in the
 " night before, and that the rest were to leeward at a greater
 " distance, not in a line of battle but in a heap, the admiral did
 " not cause the fleet to pursue the flying enemy, nor even to chase
 " the three ships that fled after the rest, but on the contrary
 " he led the British fleet another way directly from the enemy.
 " By these instances of misconduct and neglect a glorious op-
 " portunity was lost of doing a most essential service to the state,
 " and the honour of the British flag.

H. PALLISER."

This charge was sent to the admiralty on the afternoon of the 9th of December, and intimation thereof was given by that board to admiral Keppel the same evening.

When the contents of the accusation were laid before the public, the opinions of men, warped by a thousand prejudices, and shaded by all the different gradations of knowledge and ignorance, were infinitely various, inconsistent, opposite, and contradictory. Those who only knew that we had neither taken nor destroyed any of the French ships in the late engagement, a circumstance which they could not hesitate in ascribing to the misconduct of our commanders, understood, or fancied they understood, the charges alledged against the admiral. They wished that the man who had tarnished the ancient lustre of the British flag might be brought to condign punishment; for never any crisis was more alarming than the present, or more loudly demanded every exertion of discipline and severity, that to those
 who,

who, sheltered under great examples, negligently or ignorantly performed the service required of them, might be roused to a sense of their duty or insufficiency, and either acquire such talents as were beneficial to the public, or decline the weight of a command too heavy for their abilities.

This torrent of popular censure, which on another occasion would have burst forth with irresistible fury, was effectually checked by two circumstances, extremely honourable to the admiral. His candid, open, liberal behaviour had endeared him to the great body of British seamen, who loved his manners, and respected his courage. He was known to have little connection with the present ministry, and especially to be no favourite with the first lord of the admiralty. This was sufficient to occasion a suspicion that the ministers in general heartily concurred in the accusation, partly to divert the public from melancholy reflections on our present deplorable condition, and partly to share with others the blame which must otherwise have laid entirely on their own shoulders. It was known that almost every officer intrusted with a principal command had fallen under their displeasure; and although errors, doubtless, must have been committed by our commanders in the course of the war, yet a repeated series of calamity could only be occasioned by an error at head-quarters, a defect of preparation, a want of vigour, skill, or integrity in those who fitted out, planned, and directed our naval and military expeditions.

The cause and reputation of admiral Keppel were still further supported by a memorial presented to his Majesty, the 30th of December, and signed by the first names in the British navy. This paper, drawn up in the form of a petition, contained, in elegant and nervous language, a severe remonstrance against the conduct not only of Sir Hugh Palliser, but of the lords of the admiralty. The subscribing admirals represented to the wisdom and justice of his majesty, that Sir Hugh Palliser had withheld the accusation against his commander in chief, from the twenty-seventh day of July to the ninth of December: that the avowed motive of the accusation, was to recriminate against charges conjectured by Sir Hugh Palliser, but which in fact were never made; that the commissioners of the admiralty, without considering these circumstances, or giving any previous notice to the party accused, had, on the same day on which the charge was preferred, intimated their intention that a court-martial should be held on him, after forty years of meritorious service, in which the glory of the British flag had been maintained and increased in various parts of the world. The consequences of such measures are represented as dangerous to the honour of his majesty's officers, subversive of the discipline of the navy, and destructive to the public order of society.

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This memorial occasioned no alteration in the measures adopted by the lords of the admiralty, who issued their orders to Sir Thomas Pye, admiral of the White Squadron of his majesty's fleet, to hold a court-martial at Portsmouth, the 7th of January, for the trial of admiral Keppel. The court accordingly was assembled on the day appointed, with the usual formalities; and continued, by several adjournments till the 11th of February. In the course of the evidence brought by the prosecutor, no one fact was proved that could give the smallest support to a single article in the charge. Admiral Keppel, before bringing forward his witnesses, made a particular reply to the various accusations of his adversary; and in this reply, some circumstances are incidentally mentioned, which place the administration of the marine department in the same light, in which it must already have appeared to every one who considers with attention the naval history of the present period. In the month of March, 1778, the admiral was told that a fleet lay ready for him to command. Having reached Portsmouth, he saw but six ships ready, and, "on viewing those with a seaman's eye, he was not by any means pleased with their condition." On the 30th of June, he sailed with twenty ships of the line. Thirty-two ships of the line lay in Brest water, besides an incredible number of frigates. "Was I to seek an engagement," says the admiral, "with a superior force? I never did, nor shall I ever fear to engage a force superior to one I then commanded, or that I may hereafter command. But I well know what men and ships can do, and if the fleet I commanded had been destroyed, we must have left the French masters of the sea. To refit a fleet requires time. From the situation of affairs, naval stores are not very soon supplied. Never did I experience so deep a melancholy as when I found myself forced to turn my back on France! I quitted my station, and courage was never put to so severe a trial."

The admiral was permitted to sail a second time, without receiving official praise or blame for the part which he had acted. Having taken two French frigates, he was fearful that a war with France, and all its consequences, might be laid to his charge. "This," he says, "for any thing I can tell, may be treasured up to furnish another matter for future accusation." He was surprized, on his return, to be threatened with the fate of admiral Byng, and still more surprized to be charged with cowardice. "I am exceedingly sorry that the admiralty have refused me the liberty of producing my instructions. In all former courts-martial, the instructions and orders have been sent with the charge to the members of the court. Although on the 27th of July I fought and beat my enemy, and compelled them to take shelter by returning into port, yet the ef-

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“ fort did by no means answer my wishes. I rushed on to re-
 “ attack the enemy; and why I did not accomplish my design
 “ will be seen in the evidence which I shall produce.”

When the admiral's witnesses were examined, it appeared, that if he had waited for forming the line of battle, and had not immediately taken advantage of a change of wind to close with the enemy, there could have been no engagement on the 27th of July. It was proved, that, having passed the French fleet, he wore ship in order to renew the engagement as soon as it was proper; as he could not have done it sooner, had the state of his own ship admitted of it, without throwing the ships astern into the greatest confusion. The English fleet at no time exhibited any signs of flying from the enemy; when the French after the engagement edged away, and made for some of our disabled ships, it was necessary to wear again, in order to prevent those ships from falling into their hands. The three French ships which were seen on the morning of the 28th of July, could not have been pursued with the smallest prospect of success. These facts, which entirely destroyed the charge against admiral Keppel, were established by the witnesses on both sides. The evidence brought by the admiral, and particularly the testimony of admiral Campbell, Sir John Lindsay and captain Jarvis, proved, that the reason why the British fleet did not re-attack the French, was the disobedience of Sir Hugh Palliser, vice-admiral of the Blue, who disregarded the admiral's signal for forming the line, which continued flying from three o'clock in the afternoon till the evening. The court having heard the prosecutor's evidence and the prisoner's defence, unanimously proceeded to give sentence on the 11th of February, in the following terms: “ That it is their opinion the charge against admiral Keppel is malicious and ill-founded, it having appeared “ that the said admiral, so far from having by misconduct “ and neglect of duty, on the days therein alluded to, lost an “ opportunity of rendering essential service to the state, and “ tarnished the honour of the British navy, behaved as became a judicious, brave, and experienced officer.” The president then delivered him his sword, congratulating him on its being restored with so much honour, and hoped ere long he would be called forth by his sovereign to draw it again in the service of his country.

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